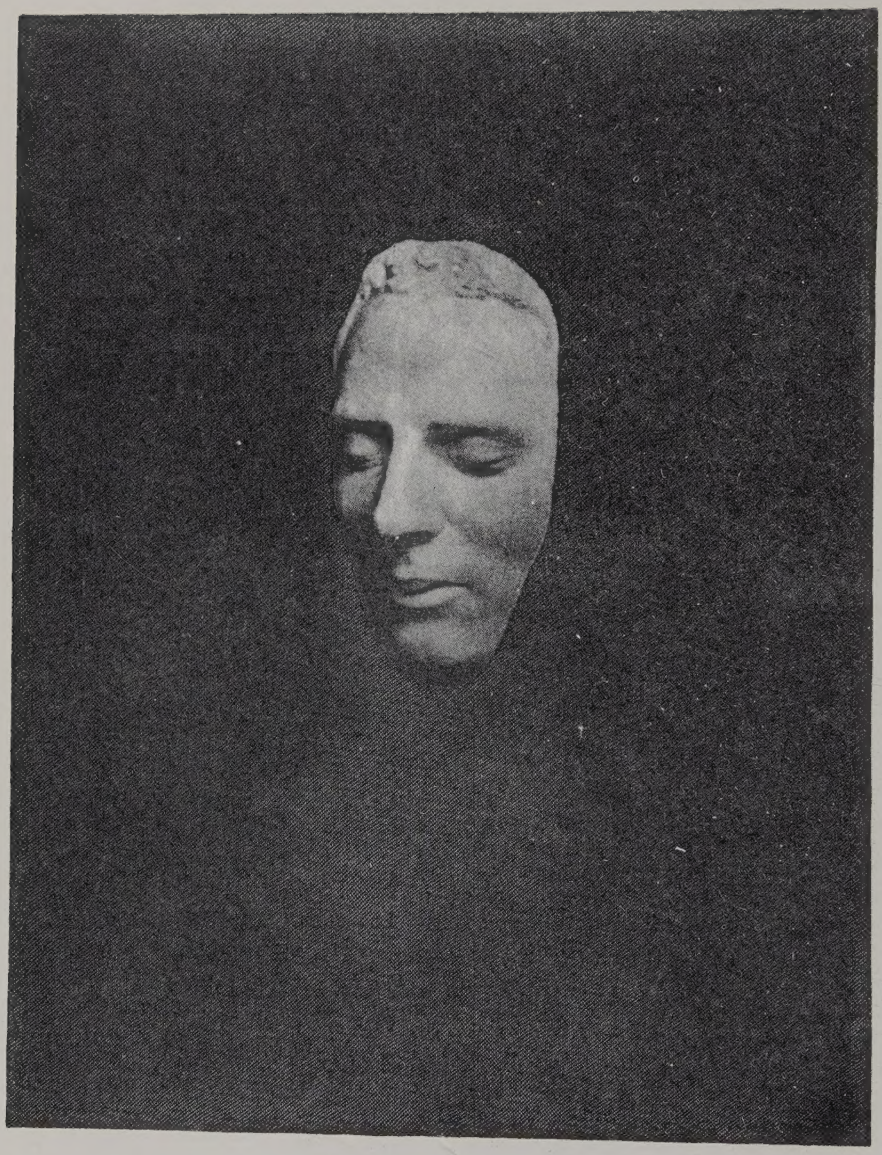

DEATH MASK—JOSEPH SMITH—1844

A Comprehensive History

OF

The Church of Jesus Christ

OF

Latter-day Saints

CENTURY I

In Six Volumes

By B. H. ROBERTS

Author of—Outlines of Ecclesiastical History; Doctrine of Deity (a discussion); New Witnesses for God (3 vols.); Defense of the Faith and the Saints (2 vols.); Joseph Smith the Prophet Teacher; The Falling Away (16 Radio Addresses, 1929); etc., etc.

VOL. II

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1930

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Volume II

Volume II of the *Comprehensive History* carries the story of the unfolding of the New Dispensation of the Fulness of Times from the arrival of the Missouri-exiled saints in Illinois, their settlement there—1839—to the very verge of the breaking up at Nauvoo and the departure of the church thence into the western wilderness; where, after a trek of thirteen hundred miles, the saints will found communities and build states and become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains as predicted by their Prophet while yet at Nauvoo, then at the height of her development and glory.

Between these two points of time occur the events which make up the narrative of this Volume II; and what a sector of the Latter-day Saint history it unrolls!

It represents in its early chapters a people numbering several thousand, perhaps ten thousand, peeled and broken by years of relentless persecution, without food or shelter, sick and many dying, scattered in small groups in their wagons, their only homes, along both sides of the Mississippi between Quincy, Illinois, and the dilapidated steamboat landing called "Commerce"; with a few families wandering about in the sparsely settled prairies and high-rolling hills of the then territory of Iowa.

This narrative of Volume II recounts the rise of these saints from their fallen fortunes until they are settled in a compact community within the limits of Hancock county, Illinois, and Montrose, on the Iowa side of the Mississippi—but chiefly in the City of Nauvoo—of from thirty to forty thousand people. Commerce is transformed from a mere steamboat landing place of a warehouse or two, a few scattered, tumble-down residences and stores to Nauvoo, the Beautiful, the largest and best built city of the rapidly developing state of Illinois. A noble temple of light colored stone rose on a commanding height above the broad river bottom, and overlooked the great stretches of it north and south, as also it overlooked for miles around the farm and prairie lands eastward. This period witnessed farms opened, manufactures begun, and preparations negotiated to utilize the water power of the Des Moines rapids of the Mississippi, at the head of which Nauvoo was located, and naturally would become the chief beneficiary of it. The federal government was petitioned to construct a canal around these same rapids to enhance the value of the great "Father of Waters" as an all-year round, navigable stream; for at low water periods the rapids

were impassible for large steamboats. This with a dam in the stream for power purposes would have improved Nauvoo's harbor facilities and would easily have made her the queen city of commerce and industry of the upper Mississippi valley.

Nauvoo had secured a charter from the state for a university, and an organization for such an institution was effected; which, with the genius for learning, and aspirations for knowledge inherent in the doctrines of the church of which Nauvoo was now become the center, could not have resulted otherwise than that Nauvoo would have become a great center of education and of art and science which attend upon the higher institutions of education wherever established. The Church of the Latter-day Saints held to the aphorism given of God through her Prophet:

The Glory of God is Intelligence.

Intelligence the Prophet defined to be *"the light of truth,"* which could mean no other than the light or power by which truth is discerned; the power which discovers and appropriates by using truth. Also their Prophet taught: "It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance." "Knowledge saves a man; and in the world of spirits no man can be exalted but by knowledge." "The principle of knowledge is the principle of salvation." "The principle of salvation is given us through the knowledge of Jesus Christ." "Then knowledge through our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ is the grand key that unlocks the glories and mysteries of the kingdom of heaven." "Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection. And if a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come."[1]

With such doctrines as these as incentives to acquirement of knowledge and intellectual development—what a "blue print" for the building of a university—a great institution of learning!

From Nauvoo in this period, the twelve apostles, a majority of them, were sent to England to enlarge the work already opened in that land, by one of their number, 1837; but now that work was to be enlarged and from which mission was to begin that veritable stream of faithful converts which would prove continuous and greatly enrich the church membership in moral and spiritual fiber and material strength. Two of the twelve also were sent to Palestine, and one, Orson Hyde,

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1. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxxi:6; also *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, p. 387.

arrived there and blessed the land and the people of Israel, that they might gather there and renew Israel's national life in the promised land.

In this second volume period nearly every state east of the Mississippi and Canada heard the proclamation of the New Dispensation of the gospel. No other religion at the time was so much discussed throughout the land as the faith of the Latter-day Saints. No religious minister was more widely known than Joseph Smith; no city more talked about than Nauvoo. Here the Prophet developed the truths he had been receiving through the period of *Origins*. His discourses took on more consistent form and reached loftier themes, and his influence became more masterful. Many and sometimes prominent were his visitors. The redmen in groups came to see him and avowed their friendship. He admonished them to peace both among themselves and with the white race, and urged them to modes of civilized life, and they promised compliance.

The Prophet also formed larger contact with the statesmen of the country, both real and alleged. He visited Washington and saw congress and courts and cabinets convened; and met the president of the United States; he petitioned for and argued for the redress of the wrongs inflicted upon the saints by Missouri. He took new measurements of himself as compared and contrasted with the public men whom he met.

During the period he enlarged his conceptions on the application of the gospel by which it should be made to reach all the generations of men; this through baptism and other ordinance work for the dead. He taught larger conceptions of the order and powers of the priesthood and provided for its more perfect organization. His conceptions of God clarified and the relations of man with Deity, to time, to eternity, to everlasting progress, to might, to honor and power and glory for men—all these things took on unity and drew nearer of attainment in him and with his people. He was living his life *increscendo*—the life of a prophet of God, a seer, a revelator, a teacher sent of God, for clearly by his works it was evident that God was with him.

Here also arose the forces which seemingly would overwhelm him. Where the quarry is there will beasts and birds of prey be gathered together. Forces of evil, destructive forces as well as constructive forces were assembled at Nauvoo. The region northward along the river had for years been infested by semi-outcasts from society, lawless men, inclined to live by adventure on the river boats, gamblers, plying their trade, counterfeiters, thieves. They quickly perceived how their crimes could now be charged to the account of the Latter-day Saints already widely suspected and charged of evil—what mischief may not be charged

upon them? And much of evil was thus charged upon them. Apostates found in these lawless elements of evil congenial spirits for their embittered hatreds of the Prophet and his efforts to unfold a plan of righteousness for individual and community living. Old and vindictive enemies of Missouri, out-witted in their designs of destroying the Prophet and his people, are within easy contact of Nauvoo, a union of these with enemies multiplying in western Illinois can easily be effected and hence that succession of vexatious law suits repeated illegal attempts at kidnapping which for years greatly harrassed the Prophet and disturbed the peace of Nauvoo. Hence the rise of the mob spirit which clamored for the sacrifice of the Prophet as the cause of all this turmoil and the settled determination that he must be sacrificed. It was the voice of Caiaphas again speaking, with the community voice, "It is expedient that one man should die for the people."[2] "Law cannot reach this man, but powder and ball must," became the slogan of his enemies; and at last that happened. The Prophet made a complete self-surrender to the demands of the law and to those who were its representatives: and at a time when escape from those clamoring for his life was not only feasible but accomplished—he was free and with trusted friends was faced westward where for him light and liberty opened to a prolonged career. From this he turned away to certain death—to martyrdom. He willingly affixed the broad seal of his shed blood to his life's testimony. "For where a Testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the Testator; for a Testament is of force after men are dead; otherwise it is of no strength at all while the Testator liveth."[3]

Of such things as these this Volume II treats.

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2. *St. John*, xviii, 14.
3. *Heb.* ix, 16, 17.

A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

Century One

CHAPTER XL

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CHURCH IN ILLINOIS—UNCERTAINTY—COMMERCE—NAUVOO

THERE is nothing in our church annals which indicates the objective point to which the saints intended to move when they began their flight from Missouri. Was it the intention of the main body of the church to move back to northern Ohio that led them eastward? The temple was there, and some still had claims upon lands in that vicinity. Others had come from points still further east, and from Canada. Was it their intention to return to their former homes, and was the church, if not on the eve of disintegration, at least upon the eve of seeing its membership scattered and the attempt to live together as a community for the exemplification of those principles for which the church stood, abandoned? There was much in the unsettled circumstances of the people to justify such a thought. It would seem also that as late as the 25th of March, 1839, President Joseph Smith had no definite plan to suggest as to a location for the people, then fleeing from Missouri, and taking temporary

refuge in western Illinois. Under the date given the Prophet wrote from Liberty prison:

"Now brethren, concerning the places for the location of the saints, we cannot counsel you as we could if we were present with you; and as to the things that were written heretofore, we did not consider them anything very binding, therefore we now say once for all, that we think it most proper that the general affairs of the church, which are necessary to be considered, while your humble servant remains in bondage, should be transacted by a general conference of the most faithful and the most respectable of the authorities of the church, and a minute of those transactions may be kept, and forwarded from time to time, to your humble servant; and if there should be any corrections by the word of the Lord, they shall be freely transmitted, and your humble servant will approve all things whatsoever is acceptable unto God."[1]

The Prophet Undaunted

Yet it is clear that the Prophet's mind was undaunted, and that he was still determined to hold his people together as a community, and resume the work where it had been halted by the calamities that had befallen the church in Missouri. "I would suggest," said he in the communication above alluded to, "for the consideration of the conference, its being carefully and wisely understood by the council or conference that our brethren scattered abroad, who understand the spirit of the gathering, that they fall into the places and refuge of safety that God shall open unto them, between Kirtland and Far West. Those from the east and from the west, and from the far countries, let them fall in somewhere between those two boundaries, in the most safe and quiet places they can find; and let this be the present understanding, until God shall open a more effectual door for us for further considerations."[2]

The Prophet further suggested for the consideration of the conference "that there be no organization of large bodies upon common stock principles in property, or of large companies or firms, until the Lord shall signify it in a proper manner, as it opens such a dreadful field for the avaricious,

1. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iii, p. 295.
2. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iii, p. 301.

the indolent, and the corrupt-hearted to prey upon the innocent and virtuous, and honest."[3]

This was all in the way of plans for settlement that had been devised.

Quincy, Illinois—Kindly Reception of the Saints

The principal point of exodus from Missouri was Quincy, Illinois. This place was chosen, doubtless, because it was in the direct line of the movement eastward, and also because of its ferriage facilities. Quincy is located on the east bank of the Mississippi on a limestone bluff, one hundred and twenty-five feet above low water mark. Quincy bay is an arm of the river and affords a natural harbor for river craft. Three years after the arrival of the first white settlers, 1825, it was laid out a town. It was not made a town, however, until 1834; in 1839 it became an incorporated city.

A kind reception was given to the exiled saints by the people of Quincy and vicinity.[4] The spectacle of a people in free America being driven from their homes and expelled from one of the states of the American union on account of their religion, might well arouse the indignation and excite the sympathy of the people of other states. The Democratic Association of Quincy was especially active in the interests of the exiles. In the month of February a meeting was called by this association to inquire into the situation of the "Mormon" exiles.[5] At this first meeting all that was done was to pass a resolution, to the effect that the people called the Latter-day Saints were in a situation requiring the aid of the people of Quincy. A committee of eight was appointed to call a general meeting of both citizens and "Mormons," and to receive a statement from the latter of their condition, with a view to having their necessities relieved. The second meeting was held in the courthouse, and the special committee

3. *Ibid*, p. 301.
4. See *Note* 1, end of chapter.
5. See *Note* 2, end of chapter.

appointed at the first meeting reported its labors. The committee had received statements from Sidney Rigdon and others in relation to the expulsion of the Latter-day Saints from Missouri, and suggested a series of resolutions setting forth that the exiled strangers were entitled to the sympathy and aid of the people of Quincy; that a numerous committee, composed of individuals from every part of the town, be appointed to allay the prejudices of the misguided citizens of Quincy, and explain that it was not the design of the exiles to lower the wages of the laboring classes, but to secure something to save them from starvation; that a standing committee be appointed to relieve, so far as in their power, the wants of the destitute and homeless; and to use their utmost endeavors to procure employment for those who were able and willing to labor. The report closed by saying:

"We recommend to all the citizens of Quincy that in all their intercourse with the strangers, they use and observe a becoming decorum and delicacy, and be particularly careful not to indulge in any conversation or expression calculated to wound their feelings, or in any way to reflect upon those who, by every law of humanity, are entitled to our sympathy and commiseration."

This good work begun by the Democratic Association was continued by them for some time, and substantial assistance was given to the suffering exiles through these exertions. At a subsequent meeting of the association the following resolutions were adopted:

The Rights of Conscience Expounded

"That we regard the right of conscience as natural and inalienable, and the most sacredly guaranteed by the Constitution of our free government;

That we regard the acts of all mobs in violation of law; and those who compose them individually responsible, both to the laws of God and man, for every depredation committed upon the property, rights, or life of any citizen;

That the inhabitants upon the western frontier of the state of Missouri, in their late persecution of the people denominated 'Mormons,' have violated the sacred rights of conscience and every law of justice and humanity;

That the governor of Missouri, in refusing protection to this class

of people, when pressed upon by a heartless mob, and turning upon them a band of unprincipled militia, with orders encouraging their extermination, has brought a lasting disgrace upon the state over which he presides."

Thus with expressions of sympathy and material aid did the people of Ouincy assist the exiles and bid them hope for better days. Nor was this kindly feeling confined to the people of Quincy and vicinity; it extended throughout the state; and especially was it exhibited by some of the leading men thereof, including Governor Carlin, Stephen A. Douglas, Dr. Isaac Galland and others.

A Door Opened in Iowa

While the great body of the church made its exit from Missouri *via* Quincy, all did not do so. Some went northward into the then territory of Iowa. Among these was a brother Israel Barlow, who, taking a northeasterly course from Far West, struck the Des Moines river a short distance above its mouth. He was without food and destitute of clothing. Making his wants known to the people living in that locality, they kindly supplied him with food and raiment. To them he related the story of the persecution of the Latter-day Saints in Missouri, and how his people, poor and destitute as himself, were fleeing from the state *en mass.* His relation of the sufferings of the saints, and the cruelties heaped upon them by their heartless persecutors, enlisted the sympathies of his hearers, and they gave him letters of introduction to several gentlemen, among which was one to Dr. Isaac Galland, a gentleman of some influence, living at Commerce, a small settlement on the banks of the Mississippi, in Illinois.

Dr. Galland owned considerable land in Commerce and vicinity; also he had claims upon an immense tract of land in Iowa called the "half-breed land."[6] He wrote the saints lo-

6. Galland's title to the half-breed tract was in dispute. "To him the acquisition of a few thousand industrious settlers upon his lands must at any time have been no small object. It was especially so in view of the complicated litigation in which the half-breed tract was involved, that being likely to terminate in favor of the actual possessor." (Hunt's *Mormonism,* 1844, Appendix, pp. 5, 6.)

cated in Quincy that several farms could doubtless be rented in his locality, and that perhaps some fifty families could be accommodated at Commerce. In addition to this offer of lands made to the church, another and a previous one had been made of twenty thousand acres, between the Des Moines and the Mississippi rivers, (the half-breed tract). This tract could have been purchased at two dollars per acre, to be paid in twenty annual payments without interest. A conference was convened at Quincy in February, and the advisability of making the purchase and settling the saints in a body came up for consideration. It was decided by the conference that it was not advisable to locate lands at that time.

Subsequently, however, on the ninth day of March, the saints having received further offers of land in Illinois and Iowa, called another public meeting and appointed a committee to go and examine the lands offered. In Iowa the people and officers of the territory expressed a kindly feeling toward the exiles. The governor of Iowa—Robert Lucas—had known many of the saints in Ohio, and testified to Dr. Galland that the "Mormon" people, when they were in Ohio, were good citizens, and he respected them as such now, and would treat them accordingly, should they, or any part of them, decide to settle in Iowa. The governor's statement is made in answer to a letter of inquiry on the subject of the "Mormons" settling in Iowa. He wrote to Dr. Isaac Galland as follows:

GOVERNOR ROBERT LUCAS (IOWA) TO DR. ISAAC GALLAND (COMMERCE)

"Executive Office, Iowa, Burlington, March, 1839.

Dear Sir:—On my return to this city, after a few weeks absence in the interior of the territory, I received your letter of the 25th *ultimo*, in which you give a short account of the suffering of the people called 'Mormons,' and ask 'whether they could be permitted to purchase lands, and settle upon them, in the territory of Iowa, and there worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, secure from oppression,' etc.

In answer to your inquiry, I would say, that I know of no authority that can constitutionally deprive them of this right. They

are citizens of the United States, and are entitled to all the rights and privileges of other citizens. The 2nd section of the 4th article of the Constitution of the United States (which all are solemnly bound to support), declares that the 'citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states.' This privilege extends in full force to the territories of the United States. The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States declares 'that congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'

The ordinance of congress of the 13th of July, 1787, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, secures to the citizens of said territory, and the citizens of the states thereafter to be formed therein, certain privileges which were, by the late act of congress organizing the territory of Iowa, extended to the citizens of this territory.

The first fundamental article in that ordinance, which is declared to be forever unalterable, except by common consent, reads as follows, to wit: 'No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments in said territory.'

These principles, I trust, will ever be adhered to in the territory of Iowa. They make no distinction between religious sects. They extend equal privileges and protection to all; each must rest upon its own merits, and will prosper in proportion to the purity of its principles, and the fruit of holiness and piety produced thereby.

With regard to the peculiar people mentioned in your letter, I know but little. They had a community in the northern part of Ohio for several years; and I have no recollection of ever having heard in that state of any complaints against them from violating the laws of the country. Their religious opinions, I consider have nothing to do with our political transactions. They are citizens of the United States, and are entitled to the same political rights and legal protection that other citizens are entitled to.

The foregoing are briefly my views on the subject of your inquiries. With sincere respect,

I am your obedient servant,

To Isaac Galland, Esq. [Signed] "Robert Lucas."

Commerce, Illinois."

This communication Dr. Galland sent to the *Quincy Argus,* accompanied by the following note.

"Commerce, Illinois, April 12, 1839.

Messrs. Editors:—

Enclosed I send you a communication from Governor Lucas of Iowa territory. If you think the publication thereof will in any way promote the cause of justice, by vindicating the slandered reputation of the people called 'Mormons,' from the ridiculous falsehoods which the malice, cupidity and envy of their murderers in Missouri

have endeavored to heap upon them, you are respectfully solicited to publish it in the *Argus*. The testimony of Governor Lucas as to the good moral character of these people, I think will have its deserved influence upon the people of Illinois, in encouraging our citizens in their humane and benevolent exertions to relieve this distressed people, who are now wandering in our neighborhood without comfortable food, raiment, or a shelter from the pelting storm.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

[Signed] "Isaac Galland."

In conversation with Dr. Galland, Isaac Van Allen, Esq., attorney general for Iowa, gave him to understand that he would, so far as within his power, protect the "Mormon" people from insult and injury. It was these assurances of sympathy and protection which led to a reconsideration of the conclusion of the former conference, and the appointment of a committee to examine the lands offered. But little or nothing was ever done by this committtee.

Initial Purchase of Lands at Commerce

As before stated,[7] Joseph Smith arrived in Quincy on the 22nd of April. The day following he spent in greeting his friends, and receiving visits from the brethren, but on the twenty-fourth he called and presided over a conference, at which, in connection with Bishop Knight and Alanson Ripley, he was appointed to go to Iowa to select a place for the gathering of the exiled saints. The conference also advised the brethren, who could do so, to go to Commerce and locate in Dr. Galland's neighborhood.

On the first of May the committee purchased from Hugh White, a farm of one hundred and thirty-five acres, for which they agreed to pay five thousand dollars; also another and a larger farm of Dr. Galland for nine thousand dollars. This was the first purchase of lands made in Commerce. The place is thus described by the Prophet: "When I made the purchase of White and Galland, there was one stone house, three

7. See *ante*, chapter xxxviii.

frame houses, and two block houses, which constituted the whole city of Commerce."

This small collection of houses was immediately on the banks of the river, and scattered between them and what afterwards became the south part of the city of Nauvoo, were one stone and three log houses. Back some distance from the river, however, were other dwellings scattered over the country, one of which was the home of Daniel H. Wells, a justice of the peace for the district of Commerce, and who afterwards became a prominent church leader, one of the counselors, in fact, in the first presidency of the church.

Later, when referring to the purchase of lands about Commerce, the Prophet Joseph said:

> "The place was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it was so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty that a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was unhealthy, very few could live there; but believing that it might become a healthy place by the blessing of heaven to the saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city."

Subsequent Purchases of Lands

Having spoken of the first purchase of lands at Commerce, it may not be amiss here to say that subsequently more extensive purchases were made of Dr. Galland and Messrs. Hubbard, Wells, Hotchkiss, Hiram Kimball, and others. Considerable difficulty and embarrassment to President Smith personally and to the church in general arose over misunderstandings about the Hotchkiss land purchase. Hotchkiss sold to Joseph Smith for the church upwards of five hundred acres of land in Commerce, for which he was to receive fifty-three thousand five hunderd dollars, half to be paid in ten years, and the remainder in twenty years. This amount was secured to Hotchkiss & Company by two notes, one payable in ten years and the other in twenty, signed by Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon. The difficulty connected with this extensive land purchase arose from some exchanges

that were made of property in the east by some of the saints, for its equivalent in value in land out of the Hotchkiss purchase in Commerce; the matter, however, was finally amicably settled.

Dr. Isaac Galland: Generosity of to the Saints

The terms on which Dr. Galland let the church have lands were extremely advantageous to the saints. He sold at a reasonable rate, and on long credit, that the people might not be distressed in paying for the inheritance they purchased. In addition to the first purchase, he exchanged lands with the saints in the vicinity of Commerce for lands in Missouri, to the value of eighty thousand dollars. And he gave them a good title to the same. He is described as a man of literary attainments and extensive information and influence. All of which he used for the good of the exiles in giving them a standing among his friends. Finally he joined the church (July 3rd, 1839), thus casting in his lot with the exiled people he had so materially assisted.[8]

In addition to these land purchases the church made others; some of them even more extensive than those already mentioned. The village of Nashville, in Lee county, Iowa, and twenty thousand acres of land adjoining, was bought. Another purchase also in Iowa was made by Bishop Knight, and a settlement was started there called Zarahemla, which was opposite to Nauvoo on the Iowa side of the Mississippi river. This place was organized into a stake of Zion, but in January, 1842, the stake organization was discontinued, though Zarahemla continued as an organized branch of the church.

Stakes of Zion in the following year were organized at Lima, in Illinois; also at Quincy, in Adams county, for the

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8. Governor Ford in his *History of Illinois*, p. 406, charges that Dr. Galland in the early part of his life had been "a notorious horse thief and counterfeiter, belonging to the 'Massac gang'," and that when running for representative to congress from the congressional district comprising Hancock, Adams and Pike counties, in 1834, Galland freely admitted the charge.

NAUVOO THE BEAUTIFUL, RIVER VIEW
(Looking Eastward)

benefit of the saints who continued there. Another stake was organized at Columbus, in Adams county, Illinois, known as Mount Hope stake; besides these stakes, branches of the church were organized in various parts of Lee county, Iowa, and Adams and Hancock counties, Illinois. But as Nauvoo rose from the swamps and underbrush of Commerce, and, under the industry and enterprise of the saints, and the blessings of God developed into a healthy, beautiful and prosperous commercial and manufacturing city, these stake organizations in the surrounding country were discontinued and Nauvoo became the one great gathering place.

Nauvoo—Commerce Transformed Into

The name "Commerce" by which the little cluster of houses on the banks of the Mississippi was called, was early changed by Joseph Smith to "Nauvoo." The word Nauvoo comes from the Hebrew, and signifies beautiful location; "carrying with it also," says Joseph Smith, "the idea of rest." And indeed, the location of the city is beautiful. It stands on a bold point around which sweeps the placid, but majestic "Father of Waters"—the Mississippi. The city is nearly half encircled by that noble stream. From its banks the ground rises gradually for at least a mile where it reaches the common level of the prairie that stretches out to the eastward, farther than the eye can reach, in a beautifully undulating surface, once covered by a luxuriant growth of natural grasses and wild flowers, with here and there patches of timber; but now chequered with an endless succession of meadows and cultivated fields.

Opposite Nauvoo, on the west bank of the river, the bluffs rise rather abruptly, almost from the water's edge, and were covered at the time of the advent of the saints in Illinois, with a fine growth of timber. Nestling at the foot of one of the highest of these bluffs, and immediately on the bank of the river, is the little village of Montrose, and back of these bluffs before mentioned, rolled off the alternate prairie

and woodlands of Iowa. Between Montrose and Nauvoo, and perhaps two-thirds of the distance across the river from the Illinois side, is an island, from three-fourths of a mile to a mile in length, and from fifty to one or two hundred yards in width, having its greatest extent north and south.

Nauvoo is situated just at the head of what are called the Des Moines Rapids, about one hundred and ninety miles above St. Louis. These rapids were a serious obstacle to the navigation of the Mississippi at this point, as in the season of low water they could not be passed by the steamboats plying the river. This difficulty, however, was later obviated by the general government building a fine canal, running parallel with the west bank of the river, from Keokuk to Montrose, a distance of twelve or fifteen miles, at a cost of several millions of dollars.

Such is the location of Nauvoo; such its immediate surroundings.

Notes

1. The Hearty Reception of the Saints in Illinois not Wholly Disinterested

(a) Economic Contributions: Much has been made of the kind reception given to the exiled saints by the people of Quincy and of western Illinois quite generally. Far be it from me to detract one iota from the kindness of those who extended the helping hand to the saints in the hour of their distress. Many were the acts of disinterested kindness extended to them by the people of Quincy and western Illinois; and every such act I am sure was and is remembered both by those who were the direct recipients of such acts of kindness and by their grateful descendants. But speaking of this reception of the saints *en mass,* by Illinois, and leaving out of consideration for the moment—since they have already been acknowledged—the individual acts of kindness bestowed upon the exiles, was this reception of the saints by Illinois wholly disinterested? Were there no benefits which the saints could bestow upon the state in return for the heartiness of the reception given? Would it not have been, under all the circumstances, the gravest of blunders for Illinois to have refused asylum to these exiles? Is it to be presumed that the public men of western Illinois were so blind to their own interests as not to see in these twelve or fifteen thousand people a mighty advantage to the state? It is true they were poor in this world's goods; but they were rich in labor power, and their reputation for habits of sobriety and of industry had preceded them. Here were

thousands of husbandmen seeking lands. Illinois had thousands of acres of unoccupied lands awaiting husbandmen. How shortsighted and unstatesman-like it would have been for the men of Illinois not to have welcomed these settlers into their state? With half an eye it is easy to see that the benefits of this reception of the exiled "Mormons" by Illinois is not by any means a one-sided affair; and it would be doing an injustice to the intelligence of the people of that state to suppose they were blind to these advantages. This will more fully appear when other conditions are taken into account. Illinois has an area of 56,650 square miles; and at the time of the advent of the saints in that state a white population of less than four hundred thousand, as against a present population of more than five and a half millions.[9] It will be seen then, that in 1839, the year of the advent of the saints into that state, Illinois was very sparsely settled, and needed above all things for her development and prosperity, people to subdue her wilderness and cultivate her rich lands, especially people desirous of making homes, and becoming permanent citizens. Moreover, Illinois had recently launched an extensive system of internal improvements by state aid. This system included the construction of 1,300 miles of railroads in the state, besides provisions for the improvement of the navigation of the Kaskaskia, Illinois, Great and Little Wabash, and Rock rivers. Also the construction of a canal from Lake Michigan to the navigable waters of the Illinois river, a distance of more than one hundred miles (from Chicago to Peru). To carry out this system of internal improvements the state legislature of 1836-7 had appropriated the sum of $12,000,000; and to raise the money, state bonds were placed on the stock markets of the eastern states and in England. It is not my province here even to note the wisdom or unwisdom of this policy of wholesale state aid for these internal improvements; let the wisdom or unwisdom be what it may, these conditions emphasized Illinois' demand for population, and again makes it evident that it would have been the height of folly for the people of that state to do other than give hearty welcome to this body of population so rich in labor power; so potent in wealth-producing energy.

(b) POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS: Another thing to be noted is the fact that about the time of the advent of the saints into Illinois, political parties were just taking form in the state, and it is within the record of the facts in the case, as well as of great likelihood, that a desire for obtaining political advantage was at least in the background of motives prompting the heartiness of the reception to the saints.[10]

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9. The population in 1830 was but 155,061; in 1840, 472,254; in 1920 the population was 6,485,280.

10. "The greeting of the Mormons in Illinois, in its practical shape, had both a political and a business reason. Party feeling ran very high throughout the country in those days. The house of representatives at Washington, after very great excitement, organized early in December, 1839, by choosing a Whig speaker. and at the same time the Whig National Convention, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, nominated General W. H. Harrison for president. Thus the expulsion from Missouri occurred on the eve of one of our most exciting presidential campaigns, and the Illinois politicians were quick to appraise the value of the voting strength of

2. Illinois

Illinois was admitted into the Union in 1818, but it is a matter of common knowledge that in the early years of her history as a state, her officers were elected not on any well defined political party principles, but chiefly on the strength of the personality of the candidates and the special things for which they individually stood. Indeed, it was not until 1830 that anything like party lines were drawn in the state, and that it became a battle ground for the two great national parties, Whigs and Democrats. It was a committee from a Democratic party organization in Quincy, Illinois, that took the initiative in welcoming the saints into the state, and strive how one may, it is difficult to think there was not some political advantage sought through this action. On the other hand, the Whigs were not slow to urge upon the incoming exiles that it was a Democratic state and a Democratic administration in that state which had not only permitted, but had really ordered their expulsion from Missouri, and that doubtless the injustice they had suffered was owing to Democratic ideas of the administration of government. Joseph Smith, the Prophet, found it necessary to reprove some of his people who were rapidly making the question of their expulsion from Missouri a political party question in Illinois. This effort to win the saints to one political party or the other, continued to be a factor in their affairs so long as they remained at Nauvoo.

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the immigrants. As a residence of six months in the state gave a man the right to vote, the Mormon vote would count in the approaching presidential election.

"Accordingly, we find that in February, 1839, the Democratic Association of Quincy, at a public meeting in the courthouse, received a report from a committee previously appointed, strongly in favor of the refugees, and adopted resolutions condemning the treatment of the Mormons by the people and officers of Missouri. The *Quincy Argus* declared that, because of this treatment, Missouri was now so fallen that we could wish her star stricken out from the bright constellation of the Union. In April, 1839, Rigdon wrote to the 'saints in prison' that Governor Carlin of Illinois and his wife 'enter with all the enthusiasm of their nature' into his plan to have the governor of each state present to congress the unconstitutional course of Missouri toward the Mormons, with a view to federal relief. * * * The business reason for the welcome of the Mormons in Illinois and Iowa was the natural ambition to secure an increase of population. In all of Hancock county there were in 1830 only 483 inhabitants, as compared with 32,215 in 1900." (*Story of the Mormons*, Linn, p. 221).

CHAPTER XLI

Events in the Summer of 1839—The Mission of the Twelve Apostles to England—The Appeal of the Saints to the General Government—Joseph Smith in Washington

THEY are not all Israel that are of Israel, said Paul to the Roman Christians. So in these last days all were not saints who flocked into Quincy with the exiles from Missouri. Many who were nominally members were unworthy of any standing whatever in the church; and some had already been disfellowshiped. These several classes of delinquents preyed upon the hospitality of the people of Quincy to such an extent that the church by action of a conference authorized Elder John Taylor to write the following letter, which was printed in the *Quincy Argus* of May 1st, 1839:

"Jackals"

"To the Editor of the Argus:

Sir:—In consequence of so great an influx of strangers arriving in this place daily, owing to their late expulsion from the state of Missouri, there must of necessity be, and we wish to state to the citizens of Quincy and the vicinity, through the medium of your columns, that there are many individuals amongst the number who have already arrived, as well as among those who are now on their way here, who never did belong to our church, and others who once did, but who, for various reasons, have been expelled from our fellowship. Amongst these there are some who have contracted habits which are at variance with the principles of moral rectitude, (such as swearing, dram-drinking, etc.), which immoralities the church of Latter-day Saints is liable to be charged with, owing to our amalgamation [with them] under our late existing circumstances. And as we as a people do not wish to lie under any such imputation, we should also state that such individuals do not hold a name nor a place amongst us; that we altogether discountenance everything of the kind; that every person belonging to our community, contracting or persisting in such immoral habits, has hitherto been expelled from our society; and that we will hold no communion with any such as we may hereafter be informed of, but will withdraw our fellowship from them.

We wish to further state that we feel ourselves laid under peculiar obligations to the citizens of this place for the patriotic feeling

which has been manifested, and for the hand of liberality and friendship which has been extended to us in our late difficulties; and should feel sorry to see that philanthropy and benevolence abused by wicked and designing people, who under pretense of poverty and distress would try to work upon the feelings of the charitable and humane, get into their debt without any prospect or intention of paying, and finally perhaps, we, as a people, be charged with dishonesty.

We say that we altogether disapprove of such practices, and we warn the citizens of Quincy against such individuals, who may pretend to belong to our community.

By inserting this in your columns, you, sir, will confer upon us a very peculiar favor.

Written and signed in behalf of the Church of Latter-day Saints. by your very humble servant,[1] [Signed] "John Taylor."

I have given this letter *in extenso,* because it bears upon its face the evidence of the honesty of the church, and its disposition to treat with candor the people of Illinois, who had so nobly and kindly received its members in the days of their distress. It also tells us of a class even then in the church, who by the irregularities of their lives gave some coloring to the charges subsequently so unjustly made against the whole church; a class who brought upon the church reproach; an unrighteous, apostate element, which lingered with the church for the sake of advantage—the bane of the body religious.

Avoidance of Political Entanglements

About this time also some dissatisfaction arose because of an attempt on the part of some church members to make a partisan political issue of the expulsion of the church from Missouri. Prominent in this effort was Lyman Wight. He began the publication of a series of letters in the *Quincy Whig,* in which he laid the responsibility of the outrages perpetrated against the saints in Missouri upon the Democratic party, implicating not only the Democrats of Missouri, but indirectly the National Democratic party. This gave much dissatisfaction to members of that party in the vicinity of Quincy, a number of whom, as we have already seen, had

1. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iii, pp. 341-2.

been very active in assisting the saints; and some of the leading men approached prominent brethren, who still remained in Quincy, and desired to know if the church sustained the assertions of Lyman Wight. Elder R. B. Thompson wrote a letter to President Joseph Smith on the subject, in which he protested against the course taken by Lyman Wight, because of the influence it was having on many of those who had so nobly befriended the saints in the day of their distress. Besides it was altogether unjust, for no particular political party in Missouri was responsible for the cruelty practiced towards the saints. Those who were in the mobs which robbed them of their homes, burned their houses, ran off their stock, and who whipped, murdered and finally drove the people from the state of Missouri, were made up of individuals of every shade of political faith, and of every religion, and many of no religion whatever. It was unfair, then, under these circumstances, that the responsibility should be laid at the charge of any one party or sect of religion. So that Wight's course was not only doing much mischief, but was also unjust.

To counteract the evil effect of Lyman Wight's communication to the *Quincy Whig,* Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith, then the presiding quorum of the church, published a letter in the *Whig,* from which I make the following quotation:

LETTER TO THE QUINCY WHIG

"We have not at any time thought there was any political party, as such, chargeable with the Missouri barbarities, neither any religious sect, as such. They were committed by a mob, composed of all parties, regardless of difference of opinion, either political or religious.

The determined stand in this state, and by the people of Quincy in particular, made against the lawless outrages of the Missouri mobbers by all parties in politics and religion, have entitled them equally to our thanks and our profoundest regards; and such, gentlemen, we hope they will always receive from us. * * * We wish to say to the public, through your paper, that we disclaim any intention of making a political question of our difficulties with Missouri, believing that we are not justified in so doing."[2]

2. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iii, pp. 354-5, where the letter is given *in extenso.*

In reply to the letter of R. B. Thompson concerning this matter, President Joseph Smith admitted that the course of Wight was unfair, and said: "The church was not willing to make of their troubles a political question;" but he also said he considered it to be "the indefeasible right of every free man to hold his own opinion in politics and religion;" and therefore would have it understood that, as an individual, Lyman Wight had the right to entertain and express whatever opinion he pleased in regard to their troubles in Missouri; only intimating that care should be taken not to set forth individual views as the views of the church.[3] In writing to Lyman Wight on the subject, Joseph Smith did not upbraid him, nor peremptorily order him to discontinue the publication of his letters, or retract them, but he informed him that the matter had been considered in a council of the church, and that the result was that his course was disapproved.[4]

The Aftermath of Sickness Following the Expulsion From Missouri

During the summer of 1839 the saints who had been driven from Missouri continued to gather at Nauvoo and settle on the lands which had been purchased by the church authorities. The violent persecution they had passed through in Missouri had well-nigh wrecked the people. The exposure and hardships endured made them an easy prey to the malaria that infected Nauvoo and vicinity. A period of relaxation, too, was following the intense excitement under which they had lived for more than a year. They had reached a haven of rest. The fearful strain on the nervous system under which they had labored during the mobbings in Missouri and their flight from the state was removed; and they fell down in Nauvoo physically exhausted, to be a prey to the deadly malaria.

Such was the condition of the Latter-day Saints bivouacked about Commerce on the morning of the 22nd of July.

3. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iii, pp. 363-4.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 366-7.

President Smith's house was crowded with sick whom he was trying to nurse back to health. In his dooryard were a number of people camped in tents, who had newly arrived, but upon whom the fever had seized. Joseph himself was prostrate with sickness, and the general distress of the saints weighed down his spirit with sadness. While still thinking of the trials of his people in the past, and the gloom that then overshadowed them, the Spirit of God rested upon him and he was immediately healed. He arose and began to administer to the sick in his house, all of whom immediately recovered. He then healed those encamped in his dooryard, and from thence went from house to house calling on the sick to arise from their beds of affliction, and they obeyed and were healed.

In company with Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Heber C. Kimball, and John E. Page, he crossed the river to Montrose and healed the sick there. One case is mentioned by all who have written on the subject as being very remarkable. This was the case of Elijah Fordham. He was almost unconscious and nearly dead. Bending over him, the Prophet asked the dying man if he knew him, and believed him to be a servant of God. In a whisper Fordham replied that he did. Joseph then took him by the hand, "and with an energy that would have awoke the dead" he commanded him in the name of Jesus Christ to arise from his bed and walk. Brother Fordham leaped from his bed, removed the bandages and mustard plasters from his feet, dressed himself, ate a bowl of bread and milk, and accompanied the brethren to the other houses on their mission of love.

All day the work continued; and to the saints who witnessed the remarkable manifestation of divine power in behalf of the sick, it was a testimony that God was with them; for they witnessed a fulfillment of his ancient promise to his people, *viz*:

"Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of

the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up."[5]

And again:

"These signs shall follow them that believe. In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; * * * they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover."[6]

These ancient promises to God's people had also been renewed to the Latter-day Saints in modern revelations to the church through the Prophet Joseph himself:

"As I said unto mine apostles I say unto you again, that every soul who believeth on your words, and is baptized by water for the remission of sins shall receive the Holy Ghost; and these signs shall follow them that believe. In my name they shall do many wonderful works:

In my name they shall cast out devils;

In my name they shall heal the sick;

In my name they shall open the eyes of the blind, and unstop the ears of the deaf and the tongue of the dumb shall speak; and if any man shall administer poison unto them it shall not hurt them. * * * *But a commandment I give unto them, that they shall not boast themselves of these things, neither speak them before the world.*"[7]

The only mention that the Prophet himself makes in his journal of this notable experience is: —

"*Monday* and *Tuesday*, 22nd and 23rd (July)—The sick were administered unto with great success, but many remained sick, and new cases are occurring daily."

Then on the following Sunday this entry:

"*Sunday*, 28.—I spoke, and admonished the members of the church individually to set their houses in order, to make clean the inside of the platter, and to meet on the next Sabbath to partake of the sacrament, in order that by our obedience to the ordinances, we might be enabled to prevail with God against the destroyer, and that the sick might be healed.

All this week chiefly spent among the sick, who in general are gaining strength, and recovering health."[8]

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5. *St. James*, v:14, 15.
6. *St. Mark*, xvi; 17.
7. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxxiv, pp. 64-73. The revelation was given in September, 1832.
8. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, pp. 4, 5 and *Note*, end of chapter.

A Manifestation of God's Power

The modesty of the Prophet in making allusion to an incident so remarkable, and to which there were many witnesses, goes far towards correcting the reports that the Prophet sought notoriety as a "worker of miracles," even resorting to trickery to win such reputation.[9] The incident, however, is worthy of a fuller statement than is above given and hence I quote the following paragraphs from the *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, one of the twelve apostles, and a participator in the remarkable events described:

Woodruff's Testimony

"In consequence of the persecution of the saints in Missouri, and the exposures to which they were subjected, many of them were taken sick soon after their arrival at Commerce, afterwards called Nauvoo; and as there was but a small number of dwellings for them to occupy, Joseph had filled his house and tent with them, and through constantly attending to their wants, he soon fell sick himself. After being confined to his house several days, and while meditating upon his situation, he had a great desire to attend to the duties of his office. On the morning of the 22nd of July, 1839, he arose from his bed and commenced to administer to the sick in his own house and dooryard, and he commanded them in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to arise and be made whole; and the sick were healed upon every side of him.

Many lay sick along the bank of the river; Joseph walked along up to the lower stone house, occupied by Sidney Rigdon, and he healed all the sick that lay in his path. Among the number was Henry G. Sherwood, who was nigh unto death, Joseph stood in the door of his tent and commanded him in the name of Jesus Christ to arise and come out of his tent, and he obeyed him and was healed. Brother Benjamin Brown and his family also lay sick, the former appearing to be in a dying condition. Joseph healed them in the name of the Lord. After healing all that lay sick upon the bank of the river as far as the stone house, he called upon Elder Kimball and some others to accompany him across the river to visit the sick at Montrose. Many of the saints were living at the old military barracks. Among the number were several of the twelve. On his arrival the first house he visited was that occupied by Elder Brigham Young, the president of the quorum of the twelve, who lay sick. Joseph healed him, then he arose and accompanied the Prophet on his visit to others who were in the same condition. They visited Elder Wilford Woodruff, also Elders Orson Pratt, and John Taylor, all of whom were living in Montrose. They also [arose and] accompanied him."

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9. See Howe, Tucker, Cregg, Caswall, Kidder and nearly all anti-"Mormon" writers.

Elder Woodruff then relates the case of Elijah Fordham substantially as given above but in greater detail, and then continues:

"The company next visited Brother Joseph Bates Noble, who lay very sick. He also was healed by the Prophet. By this time the wicked became alarmed and followed the company into Brother Noble's house. After Brother Noble was healed, all kneeled down to pray. Brother Fordham was mouth, and while praying, he fell to the floor. The Prophet arose, and on looking around he saw quite a number of unbelievers in the house, whom he ordered out. When the room was cleared of the wicked, Brother Fordham came to and finished his prayer.

After healing the sick in Montrose, all the company followed Joseph to the bank of the river, where he was going to take the boat to return home. While waiting for the boat a man from the west, who had seen that the sick and dying were healed, asked Joseph if he would not go to his house and heal two of his children, who were very sick. They were twins and were three months old. Joseph told the man he could not go, but he would send some one to heal them. He told Elder Woodruff to go with the man and heal his children. At the same time he took from his pocket a silk bandanna handkerchief, and gave to Brother Woodruff, telling him to wipe the faces of the children with it, and they should be healed; and remarked at the same time: 'As long as you keep that handkerchief it shall remain a league between you and me.' Elder Woodruff did as he was commanded, and the children were healed, and he keeps the handkerchief to this day.

There were many sick whom Joseph could not visit, so he counseled the twelve to go and visit and heal them, and many were healed under their hands. On the day following that upon which the above-described events took place, Joseph sent Elders George A. and Don Carlos Smith up the river to heal the sick. They went up as far as Ebenezer Robinson's—one or two miles—and did as they were commanded, and the sick were healed."[10]

Departure of the Twelve for England

Another event that made the summer of 1839 a memorable one, was the departure of the twelve upon their mission "over the great waters," to England. They had taken leave of the saints from the public square of Far West on the 26th day of April previous, in fulfillment of the appointment by revelation as already detailed;[11] but such was the condition

10. *Leaves from My Journal*, Wilford Woodruff, ch. xix. Also *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, pp. 3-5. The incident is also detailed at some length in Parley P. Pratt's *Autobiography*, p. 325.

11. *Ante*, chapter xxxviii—closing pages.

of their families and of the church that they had halted at Nauvoo to set matters somewhat in order before continuing their journey. But the call of the mission was heavy upon them, and in the latter part of the summer they began taking their leave of the saints at Nauvoo. The circumstance of their departure is worthy some detail:

Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor were the first of the quorum to leave Nauvoo for England. Elder Woodruff at this time was living at Montrose, and was rowed across the river in a canoe by Brigham Young. On landing, he lay down to rest on a side of sole leather, near the post office. The Prophet came along and said: "Well, Brother Woodruff, you have started on your mission?" "Yes, but I feel and look more like a subject for the dissecting room than a missionary," was the reply. "What did you say that for?" asked Joseph. "Get up and go along, all will be well with you."

Shortly afterwards Elder Woodruff was joined by Elder Taylor, and together they began their journey. On their way they passed Parley P. Pratt, stripped, bareheaded and barefooted, hewing some logs for a house. He hailed the brethren as they passed and gave them a purse, though he had nothing to put in it. Elder Heber C. Kimball, who was but a short distance away, stripped as Elder Pratt was, came up and said: "As Brother Parley has given you a purse, I have a dollar I will give you to put in it." And mutually blessing each other, they separated to meet again in foreign lands.

On the twenty-ninth of August, Parley P. Pratt and his brother Orson started for England, leaving Nauvoo in their own carriage.

On the fourteenth of September, Brigham Young left his home at Montrose and started for England. He had been prostrated for some time by sickness, and at the time of starting on his mission was so feeble that he had to be assisted to the ferry, only some thirty rods from his house. All his children were sick, and he left his wife with a babe but ten

days old, and in the poorest circumstances, for the mobs of Missouri had robbed him of all he had. After crossing the river to the Nauvoo side, Israel Barlow took him on a horse behind him and carried him to the house of Elder Heber C. Kimball, where his strength altogether failed him, and he had to remain there for several days, nursed by his wife, who, hearing that he was unable to get farther than Brother Kimball's, had crossed the river from Montrose to care for him.

On the eighteenth of the month, however, Elder Young, in company with Heber C. Kimball, made another start. A brother by the name of Charles Hubbard sent a boy with a team to take them a day's journey on their way. Elder Kimball left his wife in bed shaking with ague, and all his children sick. It was only by the assistance of some of the brethren that Heber himself could climb into the wagon. "It seemed to me," he remarked afterwards in relating the circumstance, "as though my very inmost parts would melt within me at the thought of leaving my family in such a condition, as it were, almost in the arms of death. I felt as though I could scarcely endure it."

"Hold up!" said he to the teamster, who had just started. "Brother Brigham, this is pretty tough, but let us rise and give them a cheer." Brigham, with much difficulty, rose to his feet, and joined Elder Kimball in swinging his hat and shouting, "Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah for Israel!" Sisters Young and Kimball, hearing the cheer came to the door—Sister Kimball with great difficulty—and waved a farewell; and the two apostles continued their journey without purse, without script, for England.

The departure of Elders George A. Smith, Reuben Hedlock, and Theodore Turley, the last two not of the twelve, but of the seventy, was but little less remarkable.[12] They

12. This was all of the twelve who departed from Nauvoo for England—seven, a majority of the quorum. John E. Page was at this time living below Warsaw, in Hancock county, and for some cause, indifference most likely, did not go with his brethren to England. Orson Hyde had repented of his apostasy in Missouri, and in the month of June, 1839, had been restored to fellowship in the apostle's

were feeble in health, in fact, down with the ague. Before they were out of sight of Nauvoo their wagon upset and spilled them down the bank of the river. Elders Smith and Turley were unable to get up, not because of any injuries they had received, but because of their weakened condition from illness. Elder Hedlock helped them into the wagon and they resumed their journey. They had not proceeded far when they met some gentleman who stopped their team and said to the driver: "Mr., what graveyard have you been robbing?" The remark being elicited by the ghostly appearance of the elders *en route* for England.

Thus in sickness and poverty, without purse and without script, leaving their families destitute of the comforts of life, with nothing but the assurances of the people who were as poor as themselves, that they should be provided for, the twelve turned their faces toward England to preach the gospel to the highly civilized people of that land. They had ringing in their ears the words of Jesus: "He that loveth father or mother, houses or lands, wives or children more than he loveth me is not worthy of me." And again they had the promise: "There is no man that hath left houses, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come, life everlasting."[13]

With this warning and this promise before them, the twelve made their way by different routes, but at last met in England, where an effectual door was opened for the preaching of the gospel, and thousands with joy embraced the truth.

These men went out weeping, bearing precious seeds;

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quorum, but was reserved for another mission, *viz.*, a mission to the Jews in Palestine; and Wm. Smith—brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith, was not in full fellowship with the church at this time. The vacancies occasioned by Marsh's apostasy and Patten's death were not yet filled; but fortunately a majority of this quorum after the awful experience of the church in Missouri were firm in the faith, in full fellowship with the saints and in every way worthy to be special witnesses of the Lord Jesus in foreign lands, and to act in their calling as the traveling presiding high council of the church—"to build up the church, and regulate the affairs of the same in all nations."

13. *St. Matt.*, x:37 and *St. Luke*, xvii:28-30

we shall see in time how they returned bringing their sheaves with them, and had joy in their harvest. And what shall separate these men—who endured so much for the gospel's sake—from the love of God? "Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" "Nay, in all these things they shall be more than conquerors through him that loved them."[14]

The Times and Seasons Founded

It has already been stated that the *Elders' Journal,* which succeeded the *Messenger and Advocate* at Kirtland, but only published two numbers there, was revived at Far West, Joseph Smith being the editor. There also it issued two numbers, July and August. On the night that the mob-militia forces of General Lucas surrounded Far West the *Journal* press and type were buried in the dooryard of a brother Dawson. The form for the third number of the *Journal,* was buried with the ink on it in the hurry to get it safely hidden from the enemy. It remained in its place of concealment until taken up by Elias Smith, Hyrum Clark and some others, and shipped to Commerce, where, in the fall of 1839, the press was set up again in a cellar, and on it was published the *Times and Seasons*—the fourth periodical begun by the church.

This periodical was issued first as a sixteen page monthly, but afterwards became a semi-monthly. Its first editor and manager was Don Carlos Smith, the youngest brother of Joseph Smith, who learned the printer's art in the office of Oliver Cowdery. At the time he took charge of the *Times and Seasons* Don Carlos Smith was but twenty-four years of age. Ebenezer Robinson was associated with him in the work. The first issue came from the press in November, 1839.

Don Carlos Smith continued to act as editor of the *Times and Seasons* until his death, which occurred on the

14. *Romans,* viii:35-37.

seventh of August, 1841. Ebenezer Robinson then became the editor and Elder Robert B. Thompson was appointed to assist him. The manner in which the paper was conducted by these editors was very unsatisfactory to the church authorities, and the twelve apostles took charge of it with Elders John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff as its managers, and President Joseph Smith as editor-in-chief. It was conducted by these gentlemen for about a year, when the Prophet Joseph resigned the editorial chair, and Elder John Taylor was assigned to the position of editor-in-chief, and kept that place until the discontinuance of the publication, in consequence of the saints being driven from Nauvoo. The last number was published on the 15th of February, 1846. It was a valuable means of communication for the church authorities, especially in the first years after the settlement of Nauvoo, as they were enabled by means of it to reach the saints through its columns notwithstanding their scattered condition; and in its pages are collected the principal historical events which occurred in the early days of the church; which, in connection with the principles and doctrine expounded by its editors, and the communications of the Prophet, make it of inestimable value as a depository of church history and a record of the development of church doctrine.

An Appeal to the General Government for Redress of Missouri Grievances

When Sidney Rigdon arrived in Quincy early in the spring of 1839, he soon won the friendship of Governor Carlin of Illinois, a Whig, and other leading men of western Illinois; and of Governor Lucas of the territory of Iowa. The latter gave him letters of introduction to President Van Buren, and to Governor Shannon of Ohio. Elder Rigdon conceived the idea of impeaching Missouri on the ground that she had abdicated republican government in her treatment of the Latter-day Saints, and as the Constitution provides that the United States shall guarantee to every state in the Union a

republican form of government,[15] his idea seems to have been that the general government could be brought to coerce the state in some way to deal justly by the saints and indemnify them for their losses. His plan was to have the governor of every state make Missouri's abdiction of republican government a subject in their messages to the legislatures of the respective states, and after the action of the state legislatures, the case was to be presented by petition to the president of the United States and congress. Governor Carlin gave his approval to the plan, and promised to bring the matter before the Illinois legislature and have the action of that body upon it. Elder Rigdon also represents that Carlin was active in preparing papers to be signed by leading men in western Illinois asking for a favorable hearing in Washington for representatives of the church. "Governor Carlin and his lady," wrote Elder Rigdon to the Prophet, while the latter was yet in prison, "enter with all the enthusiasm of their natures into this work, having no doubt but that we can accomplish this object."[16]

Not much headway, however, was made with this rather gigantic and fanciful scheme. On the fifth of May the subject was considered in a conference of the church at Quincy —the Prophet in the meantime having arrived—and the following resolution was passed:

> "Resolved that this conference send a delegate to the city of Washington to lay our case before the general government; and that President Rigdon be the delegate; and that Colonel Lyman Wight be appointed to receive the affidavits which are to be sent to the city of Washington."

This of course simplified the plans of appealing to the general government; but here the matter rested for a time through the inactivity of President Rigdon, whose ardor in the work of the New Dispensation about this time began to wane.

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15. *United States Constitution*, Art. iv, sec. 4.

16. Rigdon's Letter to the Prophet, April 10, 1839, *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iii, pp. 310-311.

Joseph Smith at the Nation's Capital

In consequence of the inactivity and lack of interest manifested by Sidney Rigdon, at a high council meeting, held at Commerce on the twentieth of October, 1839, the Prophet Joseph was appointed to be the delegate to Washington, and a few days later Sidney Rigdon and Elias Higbee were appoined by the same council to assist him in this mission. The ninth day after the Prophet was appointed he left Commerce with a two-horse carriage, accompanied by Elders Rigdon, Higbee and Orrin P. Rockwell—the last as teamster—*en route* for Washington.

The mission for the city of Washington passed through Springfield, the capital of the state of Illinois, on their journey, and here met with Dr. Robert D. Foster, who afterwards became prominently connected with events at Nauvoo; Elder Rigdon being ill, Dr. Foster prescribed for him and accompanied the party for several days to give him medical attention.

While at Springfield the Prophet met another man destined to take a prominent part in the drama to be enacted at Nauvoo. This was William Law. He was then leading a small company of saints from Canada to Nauvoo. The Prophet's company remained a number of days at Springfield, and President Smith preached there several times, staying at the home of James Adams, the probate judge of that county. Judge Adams treated the Prophet with all the kindness of a father, and became a most staunch and reliable friend during the remaining years of his life.

Elder Rigdon became so weak on the journey that it was necessary for the party to leave him near Columbus, Ohio, and Orrin P. Rockwell and Dr. Foster remained with him, while President Smith and Judge Higbee continued on to Washington, where they arrived on the 28th of November and took up their abode at an unpretentious boarding house on the corner of Missouri and Third street.

An incident occurred as the party approached Washing-

ton which borders on the romantic. The coachman stopped his horses in front of one of the many public houses they passed *en route* to get his grog, when the horses took fright, and dashed down the road at break-neck speed. The passengers, as might be expected, became terror-stricken, and one woman in her excitement tried to throw her babe out of the window; she was prevented, however, by Joseph Smith, who calmed her fears, and persuaded the rest of the passengers to keep their seats. He then opened the door of the coach and succeeded in climbing up the side of the vehicle, and reaching the driver's seat. Gathering up the reins, he stopped the horses before any accident occurred either to coach or passengers.

It is needless to say that the Prophet's heroism drew from his fellow passengers their warmest expressions of admiration and gratitude. No terms were sufficiently strong to convey their admiration of his daring. Among the passengers were several members of congress who proposed mentioning the incident to congress, for they believed that body would reward his conduct by some public act. With this object in view they asked for his name, and were dumbfounded to learn that they had been saved from their imminent peril by the courage of the "Mormon Prophet." After that the profusion of thanks and admiration was stayed, "and," says the Prophet, "I heard no more of their praise, gratitude or reward."

The first move of the delegation in Washington was to call upon the president, from whom they received little encouragement. Their presence seemed to be an annoyance to him. "What can I do," he asked. "I can do nothing for you! If I do anything, I shall come in contact with the whole state of Missouri."[16]

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17. The above remark is from the Prophet's letter to his brother Hyrum, under date of Dec. 5th, 1839 (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, p. 40). Describing this interview about a year later the Prophet said: "During my stay I had an interview with Martin Van Buren, the president, who treated me very insolently, and it was with great reluctance he listened to our message, which, when he heard, he said: 'Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you. If I take up for you, I shall lose the vote of Missouri.' His whole course

After the meeting with the president, a meeting with the Illinois delegation in congress was arranged, to take into consideration the best means of getting the wrongs of the saints before congress. This meeting took place on the sixth of December. A Mr. Robinson of that delegation, took a stand against the saints presenting any claims to be liquidated by the United States; but Joseph contended against him, and presented the constitutional rights of the people in such light that Mr. Robinson promised to reconsider the subject. At a meeting of the delegation next day it was decided that a memorial and petition be drawn in concise form and presented by Richard M. Young, one of the United States senators from Illinois, who had taken a lively interest in the cause of the saints.

The petition presented to congress related the outrages committed against the church at considerable length, from the commencement of difficulties in Jackson county, in the autumn of 1833, until their final expulsion from the state in the winter of 1838-9; and made emphatic the infamy of Governor Boggs' exterminating orders, which gave the coloring of authority for the action of the state mob-militia. They said in their statement of wrongs that if given an opportunity they could prove every allegation they made against the state of Missouri; and that "neither the 'Mormons' as a body, nor as individuals of that body, had been guilty of any offense against the laws of Missouri, or of the United States; but their only offense had been their religious opinions."

In conclusion the petition represents that for the wrongs endured—

To Whom Shall the Exiles Look for Redress

"The Mormons ought to have some redress; yet how and where shall they seek and obtain it?

went to show that he was an office-seeker, that self-aggrandizement was his ruling passion, and that justice and righteousness were no part of his composition."

This answer accords well with the circumstances. Mr. Van Buren was a candidate to succeed himself and the election would take place in about one year, so that the "Mormon" question, with Missouri's vote in the electoral college as the prize, presented a vexed situation to Van Buren.

Your Constitution guarantees to every citizen, even the humblest, the enjoyment of life, liberty and property. It promises to all their religious freedom, the right to worship God beneath their own vine and fig tree, according to their own conscience. It guarantees to all the citizens of the several states the right to become citizens of any one of the states, and to enjoy all the rights and immunities of the citizens of the state of his adoption. Yet of all these rights have the Mormons been deprived. They have, without cause, without a trial, been deprived of life, liberty and property. They have been persecuted for their religious opinions. They have been driven from the state of Missouri at the point of the bayonet, and prevented from enjoying and exercising the rights of citizens of the state of Missouri. It is the theory of our laws, that for the protection of every legal right, there is a legal remedy. What, then, we would ask, is the remedy for the 'Mormons'? Shall they appeal to the legislature of the state of Missouri for redress? They have done so. They have petitioned, and these petitions have been treated with silence and contempt. Shall they apply to the federal courts? They were at the time, citizens of the state of Missouri. Shall they apply to the courts of the state of Missouri? Whom shall they sue? The order for their destruction, their extermination, was granted by the executive of the state of Missouri. Is not this a plea of justification for the loss of individuals, done in pursuance of the order? If not, before whom shall the Mormons institute a trial? Shall they summon a jury of the individuals who composed the mob? An appeal to them were in vain. They [the saints] dare not go to Missouri to institute a suit, their lives would be in danger.

For ourselves we see no redress, unless it be awarded by the congress of the United States. And we here make our appal as American citizens, as Christians, and as men—believing the high sense of justice which exists in your honorable bodies, will not allow such oppression to be practiced upon any portion of the citizens of this vast republic with impunity, but that some measure which your wisdom may dictate, may be taken, so that the great body of people who have been thus abused, may have redress for the wrongs which they have suffered."

The statement of wrongs and petition for their redress was introduced into the senate by Senator Richard M. Young, and referred to the committee on judiciary of which General Wall was chairman.

At this stage of the proceedings Joseph Smith became convinced that nothing was to be expected in the way of obtaining redress of grievances for his people from the very cautious politicians then in control of the government, all of whom were anxious, apparently, to palliate the actions of Missouri with reference to the saints for the sake of retaining

her political influence on their side; and also because of a prevailing inclination to a strict construction of the powers of the general government in its relations to the states. The Prophet, therefore, left Washington and went to Philadelphia, where he labored in the ministry among the saints, until the forepart of February when he left for Nauvoo, arriving there on the fourth of March.

While in the east the Prophet held public meetings both in Philadelphia and Washington, in which he delivered his message and expounded his faith;[18] and Judge Elias Higbee was left in Washington to look after the interests of the petitioners before the senate committee.[19] The subject was held under advisement by them, and discussed occasionally, until the fourth of March, 1840, when the committee reported. That report was of a character to crush forever the hopes of obtaining, at the hands of the general government, any redress for the outrages perpetrated against them in Missouri. The report said that after full examination and consideration, the committee unanimously concurred

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18. The following is a pen picture of President Smith at the time he delivered one of these discourses, by M. L. Davis, a member of congress, in a letter to his wife: "I went last evening to hear 'Joe Smith' the celebrated 'Mormon,' expound his doctrine. I, with several others, had a desire to understand his tenets as explained by himself. He is not an educated man; but he is a plain, sensible, strong-minded man. Everything he says, is said in a manner to leave an impression that he is sincere. He is apparently from forty to forty-five years of age, rather above the middle stature, and what you ladies would call a very good looking man. In his garb there are no peculiarities; his dress being that of a plain, unpretending citizen. He is by profession a farmer, but is evidently well read." Then follows a full synopsis of the discourse. (Mr. Davis' letter will be found in full in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, pp. 78-80. See also *Note* end of chapter).

19. Judge Higbee deserves great credit for the manner in which he conducted the case of the saints in the hearing given their cause before the senate judiciary committee. His earnest, though temperate zeal; his courage and judgment and patience in that trying ordeal, for he made the fight single-handed and alone, were all highly commendable. His reports to the church at Nauvoo, as the case progressed, will be found in the *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, pp. 81-100. His course was heartily approved by the high council of the church at Nauvoo on the 17th of March, 1840. His letters making his progressive report were also read to a large number of the brethren, and the letter conveying to him the approval of the high council said: "On Monday evening, last, your letters were read to a large concourse of our brethren, and other persons who were assembled to hear the same; and I must say that the greatest satisfaction was manifested by the assembled multitude, with the noble stand and straighforward and honorable course which you had pursued; and before the assembly separated, a vote of thanks to you was unanimously agreed upon." (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, pp. 96-7).

in the opinion: "that the case presented for their investigation is not such a one as will justify or authorize any interposition of this government"—i. e. the general government.

REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

The committee stated that the wrongs complained of were not alleged to have been committed by officers of the United States; that the charges were all against the citizens and authorities of the state of Missouri; that the petitioners were citizens or inhabitants of Missouri; that the grievances complained of were committed within the territory of Missouri; and for these reasons the senate judiciary committee did "not consider themselves justified in inquiring into the truth or falsehood of facts charged in the petition." The committee represented that if the charges were true, then the petitioners must seek redress in the courts of judicature, either of Missouri or of the United States, whichever might have jurisdiction in the case. "Or," said the report, "the petitioners may, if they see proper, apply to the justice and magnanimity of the state of Missouri—an appeal which the committee feel justified in believing will never be made in vain by the injured or oppressed." The report said that it could not be presumed that a state wanted either the power or lacked the disposition to redress the wrongs of its own citizens, committed within its own territory, "whether they proceed from the lawless acts of her officers or any other person."

The resolution was passed without dissent, and thus the appeal to congress for redress of the outrages committed against the saints by Missouri ended.

At a conference of the church held in April following, a number of resolutions were adopted, regretting and condemning the action of the senate judiciary committee, and approving the course pursued by their delegation to congress, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Elias Higbee, and requesting them to continue their exertions to obtain redress for a suffering people as opportunities became more favorable for

such efforts, and if at last all hopes of obtaining satisfaction for the injuries inflicted upon the saints be entirely blasted, that they then "appeal our case to the Court of Heaven, believing that the Great Jehovah, who rules over the destiny of nations, and who notices the falling sparrows, will undoubtedly redress our wrongs, and ere long avenge us of our adversaries."[20]

Advice Never Acted Upon—And Why

This suggestion to take their case to the United States courts of jurisdiction in Missouri was never acted upon by the saints, nor does it appear in what manner it would have been practicable for them to do so. True it is expressly provided in the Constitution that "The judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state," etc. The case of the exiled saints could fall under any one of the clauses enumerated in the above quotation. Under controversies arising "between a state (Missouri) and citizens of another state" (the saints, now citizens, of Illinois); or "between citizens of different states," the saints, citizens of Illinois, and their former persecutors, citizens of Missouri, or "between citizens of the same state," the saints regarded as citizens of Missouri at the time their wrongs were inflicted upon them.

In considering the question under cases of the first class it must be remembered that the eleventh amendment to the Constitution (declared in force 1798) provides that "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state." It

20. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, p. 108.

is held that "the power as well as the dignity of a state would be gone if it could be dragged into court by a private plaintiff."

The supreme court in the case Chisholm *vs.* the state of Georgia, had decided (1793) that an action did lie against the state of Georgia at a suit of private plaintiff. The state, however, refused to appear, whereupon the supreme court proceeded, a year later, to give judgment against her by default in case she should not appear, and plead before a day; whereupon there arose such a storm of protest, not only in Georgia, but in other states as well, that the eleventh amendment was adopted exempting a state from being sued in the courts of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens subjects of any foreign state. Moreover, states are not suable in any event except with their consent; and if a state waive its immunity, it may attach any conditions it pleases to its consent. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the saints never attempted to bring Missouri before the United States courts. They could only have planted suit against the state by her consent, and if she consented, then under such conditions as she might be pleased to attach to that consent. Moreover, the saints had the best of reasons for believing that Missouri would never consent.

As to suing their persecutors as individuals before the United States courts, as citizens of one state suing citizens of another, it is only necessary to remind the reader of the insuperable difficulties attending upon that procedure to convince him of the futility of such action. The expensiveness of the undertaking, and the extreme poverty of the exiles alone would be sufficient to bar such an undertaking; for every one knows how bitterly hard it is for the poor to set the judicial machinery of organized society in motion in their favor. Then there was the evident conspiracy entered into by the mobs of Missouri to defeat the ends of justice in respect of the saints; mobs which an unfriendly governor had converted into a state militia; to which that same governor gave an order to expel from the state or exterminate the

entire people; under which order said mob-militia did expel from the state some twelve thousand citizens, depriving them of their property and liberty without due process of law; and afterwards the state through its legislature sanctioning and applauding the actions of this mob-militia for the part it had taken in causing said expulsion—though attended by acts of unspeakable atrocity—by appropriating $200,000 to meet the expenses of the mob-militia in carrying out the governor's illegal orders. After these crimes against the Constitution and laws of the state, against American institutions and the civilization of the age—after all this, I say, it is not difficult to understand how farcical would be any procedure before either the state or the federal courts in Missouri. By acts of perjury, in order to still further defeat the ends of justice and protect each other from the penalties due to their crimes, it would have been easy for the people of Missouri to defeat the ends of justice. And after having committed the crimes of murder and robbery; after having unlawfully expelled a whole people, numbering thousands, from their homes—of which the despoilers were then possessed—it is not to be believed that such characters would hesitate to suborn witnesses, commit perjury, or hesitate to do any other thing, however criminal, in order to escape the just punishment for their crimes.

The offense of the state of Missouri against the saints was a denial of political as well as of civil rights. She had in her treatment of the saints abdicated republican government. Her officers, including the chief executive of the state had violated the Constitution of the state in that they had entered into a wide-spread conspiracy to deprive the "Mormon" people of their liberty and property without due process of law; and in fact had deprived them of those rights by expelling them by force of arms from the state.

These were the wrongs the saints endured; this the nature of the crime of the state of Missouri against them, and it seems that for these things which they suffered there

could be found no remedy; for, as already explained, a state could not be made party to a suit before the courts, either state or federal, without her consent; and it is a well settled principle of American law that "a suit nominally against an officer but really against a state to enforce performance of its obligations in its political capacity, will not lie." A state, therefore, could not be directly arraigned before the courts or any kind of tribunal for failure to enforce its political obligations; nor could it be indirectly so arraigned through its officers since such an arraignment would undoubtedly have been held to be but "nominally against the officers and really against the state;" hence void. The only arraignment of the state that could be made was evidently at the bar of public opinion and sentiment, and this opinion, unfortunately vitiated by misrepresentations, was against the Latter-day Saints. All things considered then, there was little wisdom behind the recommendation of the senate judiciary committee for the saints to prosecute their case before the federal courts having jurisdiction in Missouri; and the suggestion that they apply to the justice and magnanimity of the state of Missouri, though doubtless not intended so, bordered upon mockery.

Note

Joseph Smith in Washington

The comments and views of the Prophet in relation to the president and congress are interesting, and doubtless his visit there was of great educational value to him. While in Washington he was brought in contact with and interviewed such men as Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, President Martin Van Buren, different members of the cabinet, senators, and representatives. Such contact enabled him to take new measurements, not only of a different class of men from those with whom he had been accustomed to associate, but new measurements of himself by comparison and contrast of himself with those leading spirits of the nation.

Describing Martin Van Buren, he said: "Now we shall endeavor to express our feelings and views concerning the president, as we have been eye-witness to his majesty. He is a small man, sandy complexion, and ordinary features, with frowning brow, and considerable body, but not well proportioned as to his arms and legs. * * and in fine, to come directly to the point, he is so much of a fop or a fool (for

he judged our cause before he knew it), we could find no place to put truth into him. We do not say the saints will not vote for him, but we do say boldly, that we do not intend he shall have our vote."

President Smith was not favorably impressed with congressmen on the whole. "For a general thing there is but little solidity and honorable deportment among those who are sent here to represent the people, but a great deal of pomposity and show. * * * There is such an itching disposition to display their oratory on the most trivial occasions, and so much etiquette, bowing and scraping, twisting and turning, to make a display of their witticism, that it seems to us rather a display of folly and show, more than substance and gravity, such as becomes a great nation like ours. However, there are some exceptions."

In some respects, however, it was unfortunate that the Prophet was not more cosmopolitan in his training and in his views of life on the occasion of this visit to the nation's capital; for lack of such training and views of life led him to the formation of rather hasty judgments as to the character of our nation's public men at that time. He undoubtedly had sticking to him as yet, some of the prejudices of his New England and New York sectional prejudice; and at the time of his visit the spirit of the public men of the nation at Washington was largely influenced by the southern character and spirit. Bourbon Democracy was at its height. The gentlemen of the south with their extreme notions of chivalry and polite deportment, predominated. In those days men were held to strict, personal account for their manner of address one to another. An improper word, a slight, magnified into an insult, meant a challenge to mortal combat on "the field of honor," and in this sense of personal responsibility for utterances begot, no doubt, an extreme politeness in personal deportment which seemed puerile to those reared in another atmosphere and influenced by other sentiments than those which resulted from education in the south. Joseph Smith's judgment upon manners and customs in Washington, was doubtless New England's judgment upon southern customs with which it had no patience, much less sympathy. It is only from these considerations that the rather harsh judgment of the Prophet in relation to conditions in Washington can be properly understood.

CHAPTER XLII

Important Events at Nauvoo—Summer of 1840—Death's Harvest—Hyde's Mission to Palestine—The Coming of John C. Bennett—Founding a City—Nauvoo

MANY and various were the events of the summer of 1840 in Nauvoo. Death for one thing reaped a rich harvest. Before his ruthless stroke fell many worthy members who had been connected with the church from the time it was founded.

Edward Partridge

Among the first to fall was Bishop Edward Partridge. He died on the twenty-seventh of May, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He was the first bishop in the church, and in that capacity had presided over the saints who gathered to Zion in Jackson county, Missouri, during the years 1830-33. the Prophet described him as a "pattern of piety;" and the Lord himself declared that he was like Nathaniel of old—an Israelite without guile. His life was indeed an eventful one. He was called from his merchandising and became a preacher of righteousness. Much, in fact all, of his riches fell into the hands of the mobs of Jackson county, in the autumn of 1833, and upon his meek and uncovered head fell a double portion of their fury. Five years later he passed through those trying times experienced by the saints in their exodus from the state of Missouri, under the exterminating order of Governor Boggs; and at that time he again saw the fruit of his industry fall a prey to the rapacity of his relentless enemies. Stripped of his earthly possessions and broken in health, he reached Commerce, but the trials through which he had passed had proven too much for his constitution, which was never robust, and he passed away, a victim to the intolerance and religious bigotry of his generation.

Death of Joseph Smith, Sen., Father of the Prophet

On the fourteenth of September of the same year "Father Joseph Smith," patriarch to the church—the first in the New Dispensation—and father of the Prophet Joseph died in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He was baptized on the sixth day of April, 1830, and was one of its six charter members. Indeed he was the one who first received the testimony of his son after the angel Moroni visited him on that memorable night of September 21, 1823; and it was he who first exhorted his son to be faithful and diligent to the message he had received. He endured many persecutions on account of the claims made by his son Joseph to being a prophet of God; for Joseph's declarations that he had received heavenly visions and revelations together with a divine commission to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, not only brought down upon himself the wrath of bigoted men, but involved his whole family in the persecutions which followed him throughout his life. Of these things, however, his father never complained, but endured all things patiently, and with true heroism. An account of his birth, ancestry, and a sketch of his personal history up to the time of the birth of his prophet-son have already been given in chapter one of this *History;* after that his life's story is merged in that of the church.

Father Smith was a large man, ordinarily weighing two hundred pounds; he was six feet two inches in height, and well proportioned, strong and active; and almost up to the time of his death he stood unbowed beneath the accumulated sorrows and hardships he had experienced during his nearly three score and ten years of sojourn in life. The exposure he suffered in the exodus from Missouri, however, brought on him consumption, of which he died. His was an unassuming nature—noted mostly, perhaps, for its sincerity and unwavering integrity. He was a child of nature and one of nature's noblest. He belonged to that type of men,

so well described by one of our American poets in the following lines:

"Humble their lot, yet his the race
When liberty sent forth her cry,
Who thronged in conflict's deadliest place,
To fight—to bleed—to die;
Who cumbered Bunker's height of red,
By hope through weary years were led,
And witnessed Yorktown's sun
Blaze on a nation's banner spread—
A nation's freedom won!"[1]

The patriarch's funeral services took place on the fifteenth of September, and a fitting eulogy upon his life and character was delivered by Elder Robert B. Thompson.[2]

About a year later death also claimed the eulogist at "Father Smith's" obsequies, Robert B. Thompson; and also Don Carlos Smith, youngest brother of the Prophet. Both were young men and died within a month of each other, the former in his thirtieth, the latter in his twenty-sixth year. They were the editors of the *Times and Seasons* at the time of their demise, and both gave promise of useful careers as citizens and as officers of the church. The loss of Elder Thompson was particularly to be regretted, since he was a man of education, refinement, a forceful character, and a writer of unusual ability. He frequently acted as the Prophet's scribe, and in that capacity was most helpful to the great leader. He was born in England, but removed to upper Canada in 1834, and was among those who were brought into the church by the ministry of Elder Parley P. Pratt.

Death of Don Carlos Smith, the Prophet's Brother

Don Carlos Smith, the youngest son of Lucy and Joseph Smith, Sen., was a lovable character; noted chiefly for his

1. *The Settlers*, Albert B. Street.
2. It will be found *in extenso* in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, pp. 191-197.

quiet demeanor, courage, fidelity, uprightness, and faithfulness in his friendships. He was dearly beloved by the Prophet, who said of him:

> "I never knew any fault in him; I never saw the first immoral act, or the first irreligious or ignoble disposition in the child from the time he was born until the time of his death. He was a lovely, a good-natured, a kind-hearted and a virtuous and a faithful, upright child; and where his soul goes, let mine go also. He lies by the side of my father.[3] He was six feet four inches high, was very straight and well made, had light hair, and was very strong and active. His usual weight when in health was two hundred pounds. He was universally beloved of the Saints."[4]

Judah Remembered

Next in importance to the mission of the twelve apostles to England, noted in chapter xl, was Orson Hyde's mission to Palestine, upon which he started in company with Elder John E. Page in this eventful summer of 1840. From the very beginning of the New Dispensation, it was declared that it carried within it an important message for the house of Israel. On the occasion of the angel Moroni's first visit to Joseph Smith he quoted part of the third chapter of *Malachi*, which announces the coming of a messenger to prepare the way for the coming of the Lord, who, it is declared, "shall suddenly come to his temple;" "and he shall purify the sons of Levi, * * * that they may offer an offering unto the Lord in righteousness. Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in the former years."

The angel also quoted the eleventh chapter of *Isaiah*, which deals with the same theme as the above from *Malachi* —*viz.*, the restoration of Israel to the favor of God. Moroni explained that this chapter of *Isaiah* was "about to be fulfilled." Among other verses that give promise of good days for Israel are the following:

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3. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v. p. 127.

4. Joseph Smith's description, see *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, p. 399.

"And it shall come to pass in that day that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people which shall be left from Assyria, and from Egypt. * * * And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim."

The *Book of Mormon* itself is replete with prophetic passages upon the gathering of Israel in the last days, and the restoration of the Jews to the land of their fathers. So, too, are the early revelations to Joseph Smith. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that a mission should be sent to Palestine to begin this work; and this mission the church appointed at its April conference, 1840, by calling Elders Orson Hyde and John E. Page on a mission to the Jews in the large cities of Europe and other places, designating especially London, Amsterdam, Constantinople and Jerusalem. The purpose of the mission was to visit these places and others that they might deem expedient: "converse with the priests, rulers, and elders of the Jews, and obtain from them all the information possible, and communicate the same to some principal paper for publication." "The Jewish [meaning Israelitish] nations," said Elder Hyde's letter of appointment, "have been scattered abroad among the Gentiles for a long period; and in our estimation the time of the commencement of their return to the Holy Land has already arrived." Judging the purpose of the mission by what was done by Elder Hyde when on the Mount of Olives, a year later, those composing the mission were authorized, though it is not specifically so stated in the letter of appointment, to dedicate the land of Palestine by apostolic authority, preparatory to the return of the Jews to possess it, in fulfillment of the promises made to their fathers.[5]

Elder Hyde, to whom principally this mission to the Jews was entrusted, had found his way back to the church

5. See Hyde's letter of appointment and also minutes of the 1840 April conference, *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, ch. v.

after his defection in Missouri; he had been forgiven by the church and restored to his standing in the quorum of the apostles at a conference of that body in June, 1839.[6] Elder Hyde it appears was a descendant of the tribe of Judah;[7] and sometime after the Prophet had become acquainted with him, most probably in the year 1832, in the course of pronouncing a blessing upon him, said: "In due time thou shalt go to Jerusalem, the land of thy fathers, and be a watchman unto the house of Israel; and by thy hand shall the Most High do a work, which shall prepare the way and greatly facilitate the gathering together of that people." It was in fulfillment of this prediction upon his head that he had been called upon this mission to Jerusalem.

Elder John E. Page, Hyde's fellow apostle, was associated with him in this mission and together they left Nauvoo about the middle of April to make their way through the eastern states to New York where they were to sail for Europe. Their movements, however, were somewhat dilatory and they lingered among the branches of the saints in Cincinnati, New York and Philadelphia, until January, 1841. They were sharply reproved by the word of the Lord, and requested by the first presidency "to hasten their journey towards their destination."[8] In the meantime, however, Elder Page had lost the spirit of his appointment and had no disposition to fulfill his mission, but Orson Hyde on the receipt of this reproof set sail at once from New York for England.

A general history may not follow Elder Hyde through

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6. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iii, p. 397.

Later—*viz.*, April 19th, 1843—the Prophet extended an invitation to Oliver Cowdery to return to the church and participate with Elder Hyde in this mission to the Jews. While laying out some work for the elders of the church to undertake he said to his secretary; "Write Oliver Cowdery, and ask him if he has not eaten husks long enough. If he is not almost ready to return, be clothed with robes of righteousness, and go up to Jerusalem. Orson Hyde hath need of him." A letter was written accordingly, but the Prophet's generous tender of forgiveness and fellowship called forth no response from Oliver Cowdery. (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, p. 368).

7. See Hyde's Letter to Rabbi Hirschell (London), *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, pp. 374-8.

8. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, p. 274.

all his meanderings in Europe, or relate his trials or his perils in crossing the seas, and passing through states in which war was raging. He succeeded in reaching the Holy City sometime in October, and early on Sunday morning, on the twenty-fourth of that month, 1841, was seated on the Mount of Olives, as he had seen himself in vision, and there wrote the prayer he had to offer in behalf of the Jews and their city, which had been for so long trodden down of the Gentiles.

In that prayer Elder Hyde referred to the prophecies of God's servants in relation to the Jews and Jerusalem, and asked that all might be fulfilled. He called for the richest blessings of heaven upon the Jews; he blessed, by virtue of his priesthood, and by his special calling as an apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ, the city, the land, and all the elements, to the end that Judah might be gathered, Jerusalem rebuilt, and become a "Holy City," that the Lord's name might be glorified in all the earth.

The prayer is beautiful and soul-moving;[9] at its close Elder Hyde erected a pile of stones on the Mount of Olives as an altar and a memorial of his prayer; and another on Mount Zion. Having completed his mission he returned through Europe to Nauvoo, where he arrived in December, 1842.

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9. The prayer will be found complete in the *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, ch. xxvi, pp. 454-459. After referring to the covenants made to the fathers "concerning Judah and Jerusalem," the scattered condition of Israel and the barrenness of his lands, Elder Hyde proceeds: "Grant, therefore, O Lord, in the name of thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, to remove the barrenness and sterility of this land, and let springs of living water break forth to water its thirsty soil. Let the vine and olive produce in their strength, and the fig-tree bloom and flourish. Let the land become abundantly fruitful when possessed by its rightful heirs; let it again flow with plenty to feed the returning prodigals who come home with a spirit of grace and supplication; upon it let the clouds distil virtue and richness, and let the fields smile with plenty. Let the flocks and the herds greatly increase and multiply upon the mountains and the hills; and let thy great kindness conquer and subdue the unbelief of thy people. Do thou take from them their stony heart, and give them a heart of flesh; and may the sun of thy favor dispel the cold mists of darkness which have beclouded their atmosphere. Incline them to gather in upon this land according to thy word. Let them come down like clouds and like doves to their windows. Let the large ships of the nations bring them from the distant isles; and let kings become their nursing fathers, and queens with motherly fondness wipe the tear of sorrow from their eye." (See *Note* 1, close of the chapter).

In the summer of 1840, John Cook Bennett came to Nauvoo, and proposed to link his fortunes with those of the church.[10] As Dr. Bennett may properly be regarded as the "Benedict Arnold" of "Mormon History," I think it necessary to give more than a passing notice of his advent among the saints.

John Cook Bennett

This man has been variously described by those who have written of his connections with the church. Ex-Governor Ford of Illinois speaks of him as "probably the greatest scamp in the western country."[11] Gregg says he was a man "of liberal education, excessively vain and pompous," but of "good address." He also says that Bennett brought with him to Nauvoo, "if not a tainted, at least a questionable reputation."[12] H. H. Bancroft grows positively abusive of Bennett: speaks of him as "a fraud;" "he has ability, he has brains, but no soul."[13] Linn declares him to be "a man who seems to lack moral character, but who had filled positions of importance."[14]

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10. John Cook Bennett was "born in Massachusetts in 1804, he practiced as a physician in Ohio, and later in Illinois, holding a professorship in Willoughby University, Ohio, and taking with him to Illinois testimonials as to his professional skill. In the latter state he showed a taste for military affairs, and after being elected brigadier-general of the 'Invincible Dragoons,' he was appointed quartermaster general of the state, 1840, and held that position at the state capital when the Mormons applied to the legislature for a charter for Nauvoo." (*The Story of the Mormons*, Linn, p. 236).

11. *History of Illinois*, Ford, p. 263. Continuing from the above characterization he says: "I have made particular inquiries concerning him, and have traced him in several places in which he had lived before he joined the Mormons; in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and he was everywhere accounted the same debauched, unprincipled and profligate character."

12. *The Prophet of Palmyra*, p. 173.

13. *History of Utah*, p. 149. This is Bancroft's description of Bennett: "About this time there comes to Joseph Smith a somewhat singular individual, making somewhat singular advances. He is a yankee huckster of the first class, only for his merchandise, instead of patent clocks and wooden nutmegs, he offers for sale theology, medicine, and a general assortment of political and military wares. The thing is a fraud, and before long he openly announces himself as such. As his manhood is far inferior to his duplicity, so his name, the 'Reverend General John C. Bennett, M. D., U. S. A.,' president, chancellor, and master in chancery, as we may observe, is subordinate to his titles. He has ability, he has brains and fingers; but he has no soul."

14. *The Story of the Mormons*, Linn, p. 236.

It must be remembered, however, that more or less of prejudice enters into these characterizations of Dr. Bennett, because of his connection with "Mormonism." The Prophet speaks of him as "a man of enterprise, extensive acquirements, and of independent mind;" and as "calculated to be a great blessing to our community."[15] Notwithstanding this estimate of Dr. Bennett's abilities, there is a temptation, when the whole truth about this man is known, to regard him as an adventurer and a wicked man from the beginning. But those who had, perhaps, the best opportunity to know him held that his motives for coming to Nauvoo were honest, that his intentions in life at that time were honorable, but that he later fell into transgression and would not repent. Such were the views of the late President John Taylor, who was closely associated with Bennett in affairs at Nauvoo;[16] and the Lord in the revelation given on the 19th of January, 1841, accepts of him and speaks approvingly of Bennett's love for the work: "And for his love he shall be great. * * * I have seen the work which he hath done, which I accept, *if he continue,* and will crown him with blessings and great glory."[17]

It cannot be otherwise, then, but that John C. Bennett in coming to the saints did so out of love for the work, he had a desire to work righteousness, but he was among those who failed—*he did not continue in his right intentions.* It is possible even for men whose lives are not above reproach to feel indignation at acts of injustice, such as were perpetrated upon the Latter-day Saints by the state of Missouri; and

15. Proclamation of the First Presidency, *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iv, p. 276.

16. Elder Taylor's testimony is as follows: "Respecting John C. Bennett: I was well acquainted with him. At one time he was a good man, but fell into adultery, and was cut off from the church for his iniquity; and so bad was his conduct, that he was also expelled from the municipal court, of which he was a member. He then went lecturing through the country, and commenced writing pamphlets for the sake of making money, charging so much for admittance to his lectures, and selling his slanders. His remarks, however, were so bad, and his statements so obscene and disgraceful that respectable people were disgusted." (From Public Discussion in France, *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, p. 81, note).

17. *Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. cxxiv:17.

sure it is that John C. Bennett expressed himself very pronouncedly against the injustice suffered by the church at the hands of the officers and people of that state; and he "proffered his military knowledge and prowess" to the saints while the latter were yet in Missouri, but undergoing expulsion. His proposal was to go to their assistance with all the forces he could raise in Illinois, as "his bosom swelled with indignation" at the treatment the saints were receiving at the hands of the Missourians. That proffered service, however, was not accepted, because the saints depended for vindication of their reputation, and redress of their wrongs upon the officers of the state and nation, rather than upon indignation of incensed persons, however sincere and well-meaning, who offered their service to wage war upon their enemies. But after the saints began gathering at Commerce, Bennett again expressed a desire to connect his fortunes with them. When he contemplated removing to Commerce, he held the position of quartermaster-general in the militia of the state of Illinois, a position he did not wish to resign. Indeed he expressed a desire to hold the position for a number of years. He was also a physician with an extensive practice, and forwarded extracts to the Prophet from the Louisville *Courier-Journal* which gave evidence of high standing in his profession. Writing of these things to the Prophet, he said:

> "I do not expect to resign my office of quartermaster-general of the state of Illinois, in the event of my removal to Commerce, unless you advise otherwise. I shall likewise expect to practice my profession, but at the same time your people shall have all the benefit of my speaking powers, and my untiring energies in behalf of the good and holy faith. You are aware that at the time of your most bitter persecution, I was with you in feeling, and proffered you my military knowledge and prowess."

While Joseph extended a hearty welcome to the doctor to come to Commerce, he by no means held out any very flattering inducements to him, as may be seen by his letters in answer to Bennett's expressing his determination to join the saints. The Prophet said:

"I have no doubt that you would be of great service to this community in practicing your profession, as well as those other abilities of which you are in possession. Though to devote your time and abilities in the cause of truth and a suffering people, may not be the means of exalting you in the eyes of this generation, or securing you the riches of this world, yet by so doing you may rely on the approval of Jehovah, 'that blessing which maketh rich and addeth no sorrow.' * * * Therefore, my general invitation is, let all who will come, come and partake of the poverty of Nauvoo, freely. I should be disposed to give you a special invitation to come as early as possible, believing you will be of great service to us. However you must make your own arrangements according to your circumstances. Were it possible for you to come here this season to suffer affliction with the people of God, no one will be more pleased to give you a cordial welcome than myself."[18]

Surely this was frank enough, and ought to have dispelled from the Doctor's mind all thoughts of winning worldly fame, or gratifying vain ambition, by linking his fortunes with those of the church of Jesus Christ. The whole course of the Prophet here outlined dealing with the advent of John C. Bennett, vindicates him and the church from any complicity with the subsequent wickedness and vileness of that man.

Bennett's activities in the affairs of Nauvoo, and his final perfidy and apostasy belong to future chapters.

Missouri Again Active

The summer of 1840 saw Missouri renew her attacks upon the church. Every effort had been made by the people of that state, chiefly through the state officers, to destroy the reputation of the saints as citizens in order to give color of justification to the acts of lawlessness under which they were expelled from Missouri. In this the Missourians were not successful, for the representation made by a state guilty of such outrages as those committed by Missouri against a body of her own citizens, had but little weight at this time in Illinois. Finding that their accusations against the people whom they had wronged had little or no effect, an effort was

18. Bennett's somewhat effusive letters and the Prophet's answer are published in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, ch. ix.

made to give coloring to their statements by conveying stolen goods from Missouri to the vicinity of Commerce, so that when they were found, suspicion might rest upon the people in whose neighborhood the stolen articles were discovered.

Nor did their outrages stop at this. A company of men led by William Allensworth, H. M. Woodyard, Wm. Martin, J. H. Owsely, John Bain, Light T. Lait and Halsey White, crossed over the Mississippi to Illinois at a point a few miles above Quincy, and kidnapped Alanson Brown, James Allred, Benjamin Boyce and Noah Rogers, and without any writ or warrant of any character whatever, they dragged them over into Missouri to a neighborhood called Tully, in Lewis county. These unfortunate men were imprisoned for a day or two in an old log cabin, during which time their lives were repeatedly threatened. At one time Brown was taken out, a rope placed around his neck, and he was hung up to a tree until he was nearly strangled to death. Boyce at the same time was tied to a tree, stripped of his clothing and inhumanly beaten. Rogers was also beaten, and Allred was stripped of every particle of clothing and tied up to a tree for the greater part of the night, and threatened frequently by a man named Monday, exclaiming: "G—d d—n you, I'll cut you to the hollow."

After the brethren had received this kind of inhuman treatment, their captors performed an act purely Missourian in its character, that is, they gave them the following note of acquittal:

"Tully, Missouri, July 12, 1840.

The people of Tully having taken up Mr. Allred, with some others, and having examined into the offenses committed, find nothing to justify his detention any longer, and have released him.

By order of the committee.

H. M. WOODYARD."[19]

As soon as the people of Commerce and vicinity were informed of this outrage, Gentiles as well as "Mormons"

19. The account of this matter with all the documents is given in great detail in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, pp. 154-160.

were loud in their condemnation of it; a mass meeting was promptly called, and resolutions were adopted, expressing the unqualified indignation of the entire community, and calling upon the governor of Illinois to take the necessary steps to punish those who had committed the outrage, and by vindicating the law, give the Missourians to understand that there was a limit beyond which their deeds of violence must not pass.

Daniel H. Wells, not then a member of the church, and George Miller were appointed a committee to wait upon Governor Carlin and lay the case before him. For this purpose they repaired to Quincy, the governor's place of residence, and at the recital of the cruelties practiced upon the victims of the Missourians, the governor was greatly agitated. The governor's wife was present at the interview and was moved to tears. Governor Carlin promised to counsel with the state's attorney, who by law was made his advisor, and promised to take such steps as the case seemed to require, and that the law would justify. The guilty parties, however, were never brought to justice, nor even to trial. No requisition was made for their apprehension. It may be that the regard which Governor Carlin once professed for the saints, and which at last became dead, had begun even at this time to grow cold.

Scarcely had the excitement occasioned by the kidnapping of Allred and his associates, subsided, when Governor Boggs of Missouri made a requisition upon Governor Carlin of Illinois, for the persons of Joseph Smith, Jun., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin and Alanson Brown, as fugitives from justice. Governor Carlin granted the requisition—was it another case of Herod and Pilate being made friends over the surrender of God's prophet? When the sheriff went to Commerce with his requisition, Joseph Smith and his brethren "were not at home," and could not be found; so that the officer returned without them. These men sought by the officers were not fugitives from

justice, the sheriff and judge of the court before which they had been arraigned had connived at their escape. There is even good reason to believe that Governor Boggs himself was privy to their escape, and doubtless had a hand in the planning for it. At any rate such in effect was the statement of Samuel Tillery, the jailor at Liberty, to the prisoners about the time Sidney Rigdon was admitted to bail. He told the prisoners that Governor Boggs was heartily ashamed of the whole transaction against the "Mormons," and would be glad to set the prisoners free if only "he dared to do it." "But," said Tillery to the prisoners, "you need not be concerned, for the governor has laid a plan for your release."[20] Tillery also said that Judge Burch had been instructed to so fix the papers that the prisoners would be clear from any incumbrances in a very short time.[21] All which is so very like what took place with respect to the escape of the prisoners; as also with what would most likely be the views of Governor Boggs when he found that the treatment of the "Mormons" in Missouri was bringing so much reproach upon his administration, that his connivance at the escape of Joseph Smith and his associates was very likely.[22]

Nauvoo Made an Incorporated City

Meantime Commerce became Nauvoo. The city was incorporated by act of the legislature of Illinois in the closing month of 1840. The charter granted on that date described the boundaries of the city, but gave to the citizens—whom it erected a body corporate and political—the right to extend its area whenever any tract of land adjoining should have been laid out into town lots and recorded according to law. The city council was to consist of a mayor, four aldermen and nine councilors to be elected by the qualified voters of the

20. See chapter xxxviii this *History*, also *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iii, p. 421.

21. Affidavit of Hyrum Smith, *Ibid*, pp. 404-424.

22. The documents in this case, affidavits, minutes of the public meeting of Nauvoo, Memorial to Governor Carlin, etc., will be found in *History of the Church*. Period I, vol. iv, ch. vii.

city. The first Monday in the ensuing February was appointed for the first election of officers.

The charter granted to the citizens of Nauvoo the most plenary powers in the management of their local affairs. Indeed, about the only limit placed upon their powers was that they do nothing inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, and the state Constitution of Illinois. But inside of those lines they were all powerful to make and execute such ordinances as in the wisdom of the city council were necessary for peace, good order, and general welfare of the city. It afterwards became a question in the state as to whether or not powers too great had not been granted to the city government. The leading men of the state, however, appeared not only willing but anxious to grant the privileges of this city government to the saints. S. H. Little, of the upper house of the state legislature, especially stood by the saints, and urged the passage of their charter; so also did Messrs. Snyder, Ralston, Moore, Ross, and Stapp, while Mr. John F. Charles, the representative to the lower house from the district in which Nauvoo was located, loyally served his Nauvoo constituents by using all his energy to secure for them their city government.[23]

The saints rejoiced in the prospects of liberty secured to them by their city government, and of it the Prophet said:

> "I concocted it for the salvation of the church, and on principles so broad that every honest man might dwell secure under its protecting influence, without distinction of sect or party."

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23. An incident connecting Abraham Lincoln with the passage of this charter may not be without interest. The state of Illinois was at that time divided into two political parties, Whigs and Democrats. Both parties were friendly to the saints, who considered themselves equally bound to both parties for acts of kindness. Lincoln was a Whig, and in the November election his name was on the state electoral ticket as a Whig candidate for the state legislature. But many of the people of Nauvoo, wishing to divide their vote, and to show kindness to the Democrats, for the part they took in welcoming the saints when exiles into the state, erased the name of Lincoln, and substituted that of Ralston, a Democrat. It was with no ill feeling, however, towards Mr. Lincoln that this was done, and when the vote was called on the final passage of the Nauvoo charter, he had the magnanimity to vote for it; and congratulated John C. Bennett on his success in securing its enactment. (Letter of John C. Bennett to *Times and Seasons*, Dec. 16, 1840; and published in the *Times and Seasons*, Jan. 1st, 1841).

The Nauvoo Charter

An inspection of the charter will bear out this opinion of it, for while it was "concocted for the salvation of the church," it by no means sought to secure that "salvation" by trespassing upon the rights of others, but by recognizing the rights of the saints to be equal to the rights of other citizens. Nor was it intended that Nauvoo should be an exclusive city for people of the "Mormon" faith; on the contrary, all worthy people were invited to come and assist to build up and partake of its liberty and anticipated prosperity. An official proclamation, issued over the signatures of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Hyrum Smith, who then constituted the first presidency of the church, contains the following passage:

"We wish it likewise to be distinctly understood that we claim no privileges but what we feel cheerfully disposed to share with our fellow citizens of every denomination, and every sentiment of religion; and therefore say, that so far from being restricted to our own faith, let all those who desire to locate in this place [Nauvoo] or the vicinity, come and we will hail them as citizens and friends, and shall feel it not only a duty, but a privilege to reciprocate the kindness we have received from the benevolent and kind-hearted citizens of the state of Illinois."

And as an earnest of the intention, so far as the saints were concerned, of carrying out in practice these liberal sentiments and extending equal rights to people of all religious persuasions, among the first acts of the city council was the passage of the following ordinance, introduced by Joseph Smith:

"*Section* 1. Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Nauvoo that the Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Latter-day Saints, Quakers, Episcopalians, Universalists, Unitarians, Mohammedans, and all other religious sects and denominations, whatever, shall have free toleration and equal privileges in this city, and should any person be guilty of ridiculing and abusing, or otherwise deprecating another, in consequence of his religion, or of disturbing or interrupting any religious meeting within the limits of this city, he shall, on conviction before the mayor or municipal court, be considered a disturber of the public peace, and fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred

dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding six months, or both, at the discretion of said mayor and court."

The second section made it the duty of all municipal officers to notice and report any violations of this law, and, in fact, of any other law of the city—to the mayor; and the municipal officers were authorized to arrest all violators of this law, either with or without process; so that the fullest religious liberty was secured to all sects, and all religions, and to people of no religion at all if any such there should be. Under such an ordinance, people could worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, without fear of molestation from any one; but they were restrained from interfering with the religion or mode of worship of their fellows—they were taught, in a word, that their liberties ended where those of other people commenced.

On the first of February, 1841, the first election for members of the city council took place, as provided by the city charter. John C. Bennett was chosen mayor; William Marks, Samuel H. Smith, D. H. Wells, and N. K. Whitney, aldermen; Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Chas. C. Rich, John T. Barnett, Wilson Law, Don C. Smith, John P. Greene and Vinson Knight, councilors. On the third of the month the city council was organized, by appointing the following officers: marshal, H. G. Sherwood; recorder, James Sloan; treasurer, R. B. Thompson; assessor, James Robinson; supervisor of streets, Austin Cowles.

Mayor Bennett, the same day, delivered his inaugural address. After making several recommendations to the council relative to the establishment of educational institutions, the militia, the enactment of a temperance ordinance, and other measures affecting the manufacturing and commercial interests of the city, and further recommending that the protecting *aegis* of the corporation be thrown around every moral and religious institution of the day, which was in any way calculated to ennoble or ameliorate the condition of the citizens, he concluded his speech in these words:

"As the chief magistrate of your city I am determined to execute all state laws and city ordinances passed in pursuance of law, to the very letter, should it require the strong arm of military power to enable me to do so. As an officer, I know no man; the peaceful unoffending citizen shall be protected in the full exercise of all his civil, political and religious rights, and the guilty violator of the law shall be punished without respect to persons."

The first act of the city council, after its organization, was to express its gratitude for the privileges and powers conferred upon the city by its charter. For this purpose the following resolution was introduced by Joseph Smith, and adopted:

"Resolved, by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the unfeigned thanks of this community be respectfully tendered to the governor, council of revision, and legislature of the state of Illinois, as a feeble testimonial of their respect and esteem of noble, high-minded and patriotic statesmen; and as an evidence of gratitude for the signal powers recently conferred; also that the citizens of Quincy be held in everlasting remembrance for their unparalleled liberality and marked kindness to our people, when in their greatest state of suffering and want."[24]

The next move was to pass a temperance ordinance, which practically made Nauvoo a prohibition city.

University and Military Charters

The Nauvoo charter proper really contained two other charters, *viz*: One for the establishment of a university within the limits of the city "for the teaching of the arts and sciences, and learned professions;" and another for the organization of an independent military body to be called the "Nauvoo Legion."

An ordinance was passed on the third of February, in relation to the university, appointing a chancellor and board of regents. A site for a building was selected, and plans for the structure were drawn, but that was as far as the matter went, as the city had no funds with which to proceed with the work of construction.

24. The above several ordinances, together with the mayor's speech in full will be found in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, ch. xv, pp. 288-296.

An ordinance was also passed on the above date authorizing the organization of the Nauvoo Legion. The original provision in the Nauvoo charter establishing this military body provided that the city council might organize the inhabitants of the city, subject to military duty under the laws of the state, into "an independent body of militia;" and a subsequent amendment to the charter extended the privilege of joining the legion to any citizen of Hancock county, who might by voluntary enrollment desire to do so; and in that event he was to have all the privileges and immunities to be enjoyed by members of that organization. The charter provided that the officers of the legion should be commissioned by the governor; and that the members thereof be required to perform the same amount of military duty as the regular militia of the state; they were to be at the disposal of the mayor in executing the laws and ordinances of the city, and the laws of the state; and also at the disposal of the governor for the public defense, and the execution of the laws of the state and of the United States; and were entitled to their proportion of the public arms; but were exempt from all military duty not specified in these provisions.

The city ordinance provided that the legion should be divided into two cohorts, the horse troops to constitute the first cohort, and the infantry the second. The commander-in-chief of the legion was to be known as the lieutenant-general, who was also made the reviewing officer and president of the court-martial and of the legion. His staff was to consist of two principal *aides-de-camp* with the rank of captain of infantry; and a drill officer, with the rank of colonel of dragoons, to be the chief officer of the guard.

The second officer was a major-general, to act as the secretary of the court-martial and of the legion. His staff consisted of an adjutant, surgeon-in-chief, a cornet, quartermaster, paymaster, commissary, and chaplain; all to hold the rank of colonel of cavalry; besides these, there were to be in his staff a surgeon for each cohort, quartermaster-sergeant,

sergeant-major, and a chief musician—with the rank of captain of light infantry; and two musicians with the rank of captain of infantry. Besides these officers there were created by the ordinance an adjutant and inspector-general, and a brigadier-general to command each cohort. The staff of each brigadier-general consisted of an *aide-de-camp* with the rank of lieutenant-colonel of infantry, and when not otherwise in service, these brigadiers had access to the staff of the major-general.

The first selection of officers of the legion took place on the fourth of February, and resulted in Joseph Smith being unanimously chosen lieutenant-general; John C. Bennett, major-general; Wilson Law, brigadier-general of the first cohort, and Don Carlos Smith, brigadier-general of the second cohort. The staffs of the respective generals were chosen from the leading citizens of Nauvoo, some of whom were not members of the "Mormon" church. There were but six companies at the time the legion was organized, in February, 1841, but in September following, the number of men had increased to one thousand four hundred and ninety; and at the time of the Prophet's death, some three years later, the legion numbered about five thousand.

A natural enthusiasm for military display, characteristic of the times, and drilled by competent military officers, the legion became the best body of militia in the state of Illinois. It excited the jealousy and envy of the rest of the militia in the surrounding counties, and all the laudable efforts of the legion to become an efficient military body with a view of assisting in the execution of the state and national laws, if occasion should require, were construed by their enemies to mean a preparation for rebellion, and the establishment and spread of "Mormonism" by conquest of the sword, as Mohammed established his religion. Thus the forming of an independent body of militia, enabling the citizens of Nauvoo to perform their military duties by themselves, which the Prophet fondly hoped would remove "one of the most

fuitful sources of strife and collision with the world;" and which he further hoped would give the church members, as a people, an opportunity of showing their attachment to the state and nation, whenever the public service required their aid, by the misrepresentation of their enemies was made a rock of offense, and was used to excite the apprehensions and prejudices of the people of Illinois.

The people of the United States have always been jealous of military power, and hence have been careful in forming their political institutions to subordinate the military to the civil authorities, except in times of actual war; and, therefore, notwithstanding the very good intentions of the saints at Nauvoo, it was a very easy matter for their enemies to excite the prejudice and awaken the fears of the people of Illinois by pointing to the existence of this over-elaborate and efficient military organization with its frequent musters and parades, and captained by a great religious leader, whom, notwithstanding his virtues and the uprightness of his intentions, they had come to regard as a religious enthusiast, prepared to go to what lengths they could not conjecture, in the promulgation of his religion. Hence that which was to be a bulwark to the city, and a protection to the saints, was transformed by their enemies into an occasion of offense, and an excuse for distrusting them.

By the several acts detailed in this chapter, Nauvoo was launched upon her adventurous career; the most prosperous, but the briefest, and the saddest career of all American cities in modern times.

Notes

1. Hyde's Mission to Palestine

"The question will be asked, has anything resulted from this mission of Elder Orson Hyde's to dedicate the land of Palestine to the return of the Jews and other tribes of Israel? The only answer is an appeal to facts, to events that have taken place since that prayer of consecration was offered up by this apostle of the New Dispensation of the gospel, on the 24th of October, 1841.

At the time of Elder Hyde's visit and the ceremonies of dedication

he performed on the Mount of Olives, there were comparatively but few Jews at Jerusalem. As late as 1876 the *British Consul Reports* show that there were but from fifteen to twenty thousand Jews in Palestine. But twenty years later the same authority declared the number of Jews to be from sixty to seventy thousand, and what was of more importance than the numbers announced, these reports represented that the new Jewish population was turning its attention to the cultivation of the soil, which but requires the blessing of God upon it to restore it to its ancient fruitfulness, and which will make it possible for it to sustain once more a numerous population. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* commenting on these *Consular Reports* of 1896 said:

"Only two decades ago there were not more than fifteen or twenty thousand Jews in Jerusalem. At that time no houses were to be found outside the city. Since then many changes have taken place and the Hebrew population—mainly on account of the increase of the Jewish immigration from Russia—now stands at between sixty and seventy thousand. Whole streets of houses have been built outside the walls on the site of the ancient suburban districts, which for hundreds of years have remained deserted. It is not, however, only in Jerusalem itself that the Jews abound, but throughout Palestine they are buying farms in a like manner. In Jerusalem they form at present a larger community than either the Christian or the Mohammedan."

Also in 1896 that racial movement among the Jews known as "Zionism" took definite form. This movement was really the federation of all the Jewish societies that have cherished the hope of seeing Israel restored to his promised possessions in Palestine. That year the first international conference of Zionists was held in Basel, Switzerland, and since then under the leadership of the late Dr. Herzel, of Austria, and since his death under the leadership of Israel Zangwill and others, and by reason of its annual conferences continued through many years, "Zionism," for a time, took on all the aspects of one of the world's great movements. It is not so much a religious movement as a racial one; for prominent Jews of all shades of both political and religious opinions have participated in it.

After saying through so many centuries at the feast of the Passover, "May we celebrate the next Passover in Jerusalem," the thought seems to have occurred to some Jewish minds that if that hope is ever to be realized some practical steps must be taken looking to the actual achievement of the possibility—hence the "Zionite Movement." The keynotes to that movement are heard in the following utterances of some of the Jewish leaders in explanation of it: "We want to resume the broken thread of our national existence; we want to show to the world the moral strength, the intellectual power of the Jewish people. We want a place where the race can be centralized."—(Leon Zoltokoff). "It is for these Jews [of Russia, Roumania and Galicia] that the name of their country [Palestine] spells 'hope.' I should not be a man if I did not realize that for these persecuted Jews, Jerusalem spells reason, justice, manhood and liberty."—(Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch).

"Jewish nationalism on a modern basis in Palestine, the old home of the people."—(Max Nordau). "Palestine needs a people, Israel needs a country. Give the country without a people to the people without a country."—(Israel Zangwill). In a word it is the purpose of "Zionism" to redeem Palestine, and give it back to Jewish control, create, in fact, a Jewish state in the land promised to their fathers. The time had come when the promises of the Lord to Israel must be fulfilled! and hence an apostle of the New Dispensation of the gospel is sent by divine authority to dedicate the land of Palestine preparatory to the return of Israel to his promised inheritance. After which follows the strange and world-wide movement among the Jews looking to re-establishment of "Jewish nationalism on a modern basis in Palestine." What other relationship can exist between the mission of the apostle Orson Hyde and this world-wide movement among the Jews for the reestablishment of Israel in Palestine, but the relationship of cause to effect—under, of course, the larger fact that the set time for the restoration of Israel has come? The apostle's mission to Jerusalem for the purpose of dedicating that land, preparatory to the return of Israel, was without doubt part of the general program for the restoration of Israel to their lands, and to the favor and blessing of God.

2. England's Mandate Over Palestine

Orson Hyde returning from his mission to Palestine, on arriving at Alexandria, Egypt, wrote to the Latter-day Saint *Millennial Star*, published at Liverpool, of which the following is an excerpt:

"It was by political power and influence that the Jewish nation was broken down, and her subjects dispersed abroad; and I will here hazard the opinion that by political power and influence they will be gathered and built up; and further that *England* is destined in the wisdom and economy of heaven to stretch forth the arm of political power and advance in the front ranks of this glorious enterprise."[26]

The defeat of the Turks by the British forces under the English General, Sir Edmund Allenby, in the World War, and the official entrance of General Allenby into Jerusalem on Dec. 11th, 1917, and the subsequent course of England in respect of Palestine—the fact that Great Britain now holds the Mandatory administration of the affairs of that land under the appointment of the League of Nations, fills out the story of Elder Orson Hyde's mission and prophecy.

The policy of England in respect of its administration of the affairs of Palestine was forshadowed in the declaration by Lord Balfour, when on the 2nd of November, 1917, he said officially and with the approval of France, Italy and President Wilson of the United States:

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25. The statements are culled from American magazines during the first decade of the 20th century, when the agitation of "Zionism" was at its height. See the writer's work, *New Witnesses for God*, vol. iii, pp. 291-306. It is true that after these expressions were uttered, interest in "Zionism" lapsed somewhat, but it is still one of the modern world's great thoughts, and only waits on time for its realization.

26. *Millennial Star* for March, 1842.

"His majesty's government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object."

England has ever since consistently pursued that policy; and is now (1929) pursuing it.

By the settlement of the Versailles Treaty of the World War affairs, England was given the "mandate" of Palestine, and under her sympathetic administration the land of Israel is developing towards the fulfillment of God's promises to the land and to the people.

CHAPTER XLIII

Reconstruction of Quorums in the Church—Laying the Corner Stones of the Nauvoo Temple—Doctrinal Development

IN the meantime important changes in the church organization were pending. An important revelation was received on the nineteenth of January, 1841, which provided for filling the vacancies in the several quorums of the priesthood, and a re-confirmation of all the authorities of the church. Hyrum Smith, who had stood in the position of counselor in the first presidency, since the rejection of Frederick G. Williams by the church, on the seventh of November, 1837—was appointed to succeed his father as patriarch to the church; to hold the sealing blessings of the church, even the Holy Spirit of Promise, whereby the saints are sealed up unto the day of redemption, that they may not fall, notwithstanding the day of temptation that might come upon them. He was also appointed a prophet, seer and revelator, as well as President Joseph Smith with whom he was to act in concert, and from whom he was to receive counsel. The Prophet was to show unto him the keys whereby he might "ask and receive," and be crowned with the same blessing and glory and honor and priesthood, and gifts of the priesthood "that once," said the Lord, "were put upon him that was my servant Oliver Cowdery."[1]

Joseph Smith was given to be the presiding elder of the church, to be a translator, a revelator, a seer and prophet. Sidney Rigdon was admonished of his neglect of duty, and his lack of faith; he was told, however, that if he would repent of his sins and stand in his place and calling, he might continue to act as counselor to President Joseph Smith, and the Lord promised to heal him, and make him powerful in testimony.

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1. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxiv.

The Coming of William Law

William Law, whom, it will be remembered, the Prophet first met at Springfield, Illinois, when the latter was *en route* for Washington—Law then leading a small company of saints to Nauvoo from Canada[2]—was appointed to fill the vacancy in the first presidency made by the appointment of Hyrum Smith to the office of patriarch. And such blessings and spiritual powers were pronounced upon him by the Lord, on condition of his faithfulness, as seldom falls to the lot of man.

Brigham Young—President of the Twelve

Brigham Young was appointed the president of the twelve apostles, and direction was given to appoint another man to fill the vacancy made in the quorum through the death of David W. Patten, who was killed at the Battle of Crooked River, in Missouri. The seven presidents of the seventy were appointed; the high council for Nauvoo was named, and a presidency given to the high priests; and all the quorums of the priesthood both in the Melchizedek and the Aaronic divisions were set in order, so far as the appointments of the presidencies were concerned.

The Nauvoo House

Besides setting the priesthood in order, the Lord in this revelation required that a house should be built in his name; "a house worthy of all acceptation; that the weary traveler may find health and safety while he contemplates the word of the Lord." President Smith and his family were to have right of permanent residence in it; and it was to be known as the "Nauvoo House," and built in the name of the Lord. The holding of individual stock was to range from fifty dollars to fifteen thousand dollars; that is to say, none could hold less than fifty dollars, and no one was to hold more than fifteen thousand dollars of the stock; it was to be a house of

2. *Ante*, this *History*, ch. xli.

the people. And it was specially provided that only those who believed in the *Book of Mormon* and the revelations of God were permitted to hold stock in the house.

A Temple to be Built—Its Uses

In addition to this commandment to build the Nauvoo House, the Lord told the saints that there was not a place found on the earth to which he might come and restore that which was lost, or which had been taken away, "even the fulness of the priesthood;" nor was there a baptismal font upon the earth where the saints might be "baptized for the dead."

The doctrine of baptism for the dead had been made known to the saints sometime previous to this, and the ordinance had been performed in the Mississippi and other convenient places; but this is an ordinance of God's house, and cannot be acceptable to him when performed elsewhere, only in the days of the poverty of his people. And as more prosperous times had now dawned upon the church, the saints were required to build a temple to the name of the Most High; and they were informed that they were granted sufficient time to build a temple, and if they failed to build it by the expiration of that appointed time, they should "be rejected as a church together with their dead."

To show to the church the importance of erecting this temple, the Lord reminded them how he had commanded Moses to build a tabernacle, that the children of Israel could bear with them into the wilderness, that those ordinances might be revealed which had been hidden from before the foundation of the world. Therefore said the Lord—

"Let this house be built unto my name that I may reveal mine ordinances therein, unto my people. For I design to reveal unto my church things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world, things which pertain to the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times; and I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this house, and the priesthood thereof; * * * and

ye shall build it on the place where you have contemplated building it, for that is the spot which I have chosen for you to build it."[3]

The location which the saints had contemplated as the site for the temple was on a bold eminence overlooking the river, the landscape on the Iowa side, and all the surrounding country for miles around. It was not only by far the noblest site in Nauvoo for a temple, but ideal in its fitness.

The sixth of April, 1841, was a memorable day in the history of Nauvoo. That day the corner stones of the great temple which God had commanded his people to build were laid. To the Prophet Joseph the day must have been a veritable gleam of sunshine amid the constantly renewing storms of his eventful career. It was a beautiful day, clear and balmy—auspicious for the exercises to take place.

Early in the morning there was a hurrying to and fro in the streets of militiamen, for the presence of sixteen uniformed companies of the Nauvoo legion was to add brightness and interest to the imposing ceremonies. A great procession was formed and marched to the temple site. Here the legion was formed in a hollow square surrounding the excavations made for the foundation of the temple, and enclosing the officers of the legion, choir, citizens and prominent elders of the church who were to lay the corner stones of that structure. Sidney Rigdon was the orator of the occasion; and, doubtless owing to the recent admonition he had received —to which reference has already been made—he was aroused from his lethargy for the time. At any rate, on this occasion he is said to have spoken with his old fervor and eloquence. He reviewed the trials of the past, the blessings they then enjoyed, the brightening prospects of the future, and dwelt at some length upon the importance of building temples, and the labor to be performed in them.

At the conclusion of the oration, at the direction of the first presidency, the architects lowered the southeast corner stone to its place, and President Smith said:

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3. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxiv.

"This principal corner stone in representation of the first presidency, is now duly laid in honor of the great God; and may it there remain until the whole fabric is completed; and may the same be accomplished speedily; that the saints may have a place in which to worship God, and the Son of Man may have where to lay his head."

To which Sidney Rigdon added:

"May the persons employed in the erection of this house be preserved from all harm while engaged in its construction, till the whole is completed, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, even so, amen."

Thus was laid the chief corner stone of the Nauvoo temple. The ceremonies attending upon the event occupied the entire forenoon. In the afternoon the remaining corner stones were laid amid the continued rejoicing of the saints; and even strangers forgot their prejudices and joined with hearty good will, as interested spectators of the proceedings. "Such an almost countless multitude of people," says one enthusiastic account of the scenes of the day, written at the time, "moving in harmony, in friendship, in dignity, told with a voice not easily misunderstood, that they were a people of intelligence, and virtue, and order; in short, that they were saints; and that the God of love, purity and light, was their God, their exemplar and director; and that they were blessed and happy."[4]

While on this subject, I quote the instructions on temple building from the Prophet:

"If the strict order of the priesthood were carried out in the building of temples, the first stone will be laid at the southeast corner, by the first presidency of the church. The southwest corner should be laid next. The third, or northwest corner next; and the fourth or northeast corner the last.

The first presidency should lay the southeast corner stone and dictate who are the proper persons to lay the other corner stones.

If a temple is built at a distance, and the first presidency are not present, then the quorum of the twelve apostles are the proper persons to dictate the order for that temple; and in the absence of the twelve apostles, then the presidency of the stake will lay the southeast corner stone. The Melchizedek priesthood laying the corner stones

4. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, p. 331.

on the east side of the temple, and the lesser priesthood [i. e. Aaronic] priesthood those on the west side."

During the remaining days of the conference, opened with such splendid ceremonies, the saints were instructed in principle and doctrine, the quorums of the priesthood were arranged in their proper order and the important questions of business sumitted to each quorum separately and voted upon; especially the names of those whom God had appointed and reappointed to fill the respective positions alluded to in the revelation above quoted.

Besides this, the several charters of Nauvoo, the Legion, University, Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, Nauvoo House Association, etc., were read and accepted by the people. Lyman Wight was sustained to fill the vacancy in the quorum of the twelve, occasioned by the death of David W. Patten. John C. Bennett was presented in connection with the first presidency as "assistant president" until Sidney Rigdon's health should be restored. Everything necessary for the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the saints was considered, and preparations made to push the work of God forward in all its departments. The conference lasted from Wednesday morning until Sunday night; and certainly was one of the most important ever held by the church.

The circumstances surrounding the saints at the time of this conference were of a character to bid them hope that Nauvoo would be to them "a safe retreat." The friendship of nearly all of the leading men of the state; the universal sympathy felt by the people of Illinois for the victims of Missouri's fury; the action of the state legislature in granting the several charters noted in chapter xlii of this *History*, all supported the hopes entertained.

Salvation for the Dead

Reference has been made several times in this chapter to the ordinance of baptism for the dead, in connection with the corner stones of the Nauvoo temple; this is therefore a

proper place to give an account of the development of that doctrine.

The foundation for the doctrine of salvation for the dead was laid in the very inception of the New Dispensation. On the occasion of the first visit of the angel Moroni to the Prophet, on the night of the 21st of September, 1823, among other ancient prophecies quoted by him, and which he declared was soon to be fulfilled, was the prophecy in the fourth chapter of *Malachi* in relation to the future coming of Elijah the prophet, "before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord." As quoted by the angel there was a slight variation in the language from King James' version, as follows:

> "Behold, I will reveal unto you the priesthood by the hand of Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers, and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers; if it were not so, the whole world would be wasted at his coming."[5]

Here the promise is made, that in consequence of the restoration of a certain priesthood, or special keys held by Elijah, the promises made to the fathers shall be planted in the hearts of the children, "and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers." Why? For a complete answer to that question the church waited some years. Again, and still early in the history of the work, namely, March, 1830, the Lord in a revelation to Martin Harris through the Prophet Joseph, added another line or two of knowledge to this doctrine; knowledge which pushed out of the horizon of men's conceptions the terrible and unjust doctrine respecting the "eternal punishment" which God is supposed by orthodox, sectarian christendom to inflict eternally upon those who fail to obey the gospel in this life, and also those who died ignorant of it. In explanation of the terms, "eternal punishment," and "everlasting punishment," sometimes found in Holy Writ,

5. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. i, p. 12; cf. *Malachi* iv, 5, 6.

the Lord said to the Prophet: "Behold, I am endless, and the punishment which is given from my hand is endless, for Endless is my name. Wherefore—

> "Eternal punishment is God's punishment.
> Endless punishment is God's punishment."[6]

That is to say, the punishment takes the name of him in whose name it is inflicted; as if it were written, "Eternal's punishment," "Endless' punishment." And also, it must be understood, that the punishment itself is endless. That is, penalties always attend upon law, and follow its violation. That is an eternal principle. Law is inconceivable without accompanying penalties. But it does not follow that those who fall into transgression of law, and therefore under sentence of the Eternal's justice, will have to endure affliction of the penalty eternally. Justice can be satisfied. Mercy must be accorded her claims, and the culprit having been brought to repentance and taught obedience to law through the things which he has suffered, must go free. But only to suffer again the penalties of the law, if he again violates it; for laws and their penalties are eternal. Hence eternal punishment; hence endless punishment, administered again and again to the violator of the law, until he learns to live in harmony with law. For, on the one hand, as "that which is governed by law is also preserved by law, and perfected and sanctified by the same;"[7] so "that which breaketh a law and abideth not by the law, but seeketh to become a law unto itself, and willeth to abide in sin and altogether abideth in sin, cannot be sanctified by law, neither by mercy, justice, nor judgment. Therefore they [i. e. who persist in violation of law] must remain filthy still."[8] Thus obedience to law becomes a savor of life unto life; while disobedience to law equally becomes a savor of death unto death.

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6. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xix.
7. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxxviii, 34.
8. *Ibid*, verse 35.

Progress in the Doctrine—The Vision

In February, 1832, still further light was shed upon the subject of the different states or degrees of glory in which men will live in the future, by the revelation known as "The Vision." This revelation is one of the sublimest ever given to man.[9] It utterly discredits and displaces the dogmas about the future of man held by modern christendom, or at least by Protestant christendom. The orthodox, Protestant view of man's future is that there are two states in one or the other of which man will spend eternity—in heaven or in hell. If one shall gain heaven, even by ever so small a margin, he will enter immediately upon a complete possession of all its unspeakable joys, equally with the angels and the holiest of saints. Not only in the "Shorter Catechisms," but in nearly all orthodox creeds the accepted doctrine is: "The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness."

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9. In evidence of the lofty spirit in which the revelation is pitched, and the sublimity of its style as literature, the opening paragraphs are here reproduced, which may be regarded as the preface to the noble theme in the body of the revelation:

"Hear O ye heavens, and give ear O earth and rejoice ye inhabitants thereof, for the Lord is God, and beside him there is no Savior;

Great is his wisdom, marvelous are his ways, and the extent of his doings none can find out;

His purposes fail not, neither are there any who can stay his hand;

From eternity to eternity he is the same, and his years never fail.

For thus saith the Lord, I, the Lord, am merciful and gracious unto those who fear me, and delight to honor those who serve me in righteousness and in truth unto the end;

Great shall be the reward and eternal shall be their glory;

And to them will I reveal all mysteries, yea, all the hidden mysteries of my kingdom from days of old, and for ages to come will I make known unto them the good pleasure of my will concerning all things pertaining to my kingdom;

Yea, even the wonders of eternity shall they know, and things to come will I show them, even the things of many generations:

And their wisdom shall be great, and their understanding reach to heaven: and before them the wisdom of the wise shall perish, and the understanding of the prudent shall come to naught;

For by my Spirit will I enlighten them, and by my power will I make known unto them the secrets of my will; yea, even those things which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor yet entered into the heart of man." (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxvi:1-10).

Then follows the great revelation on the future state of man in the variously graded kingdoms of glory that shall exist. Neither the Psalmist, nor Isaiah has anything more noble or sublime in their contemplation of God than this; and Paul has nothing superior in all his writings. Neither Joseph Smith nor any of his associates, uninspired of God, were equal to it. There is but one way of accounting for it—it came of the inspiration of God.

On the other hand, if one shall miss heaven, even by ever so small a margin, he is doomed by sectarian creeds to everlasting torment equally with the wickedest of men and the vilest of devils, and there is no deliverance for him through all the countless ages of eternity!

It will be noted that I have excepted out of participating in the above view of man's future the Roman catholic church, by ascribing these views only to orthodox Protestant christendom. This is because the Roman catholic church doctrine slightly differs from the doctrine of the Protestants on this subject. That is catholics do not believe that all Christians at death go immediately into heaven, but on the contrary "believe that a Christian who dies after the guilt and everlasting punishment of mortal sins have been forgiven him, but who, either from want of opportunity, or through his negligence has not discharged the debt of temporal punishment due to his sin, will have to discharge that debt to the justice of God in purgatory." "Purgatory is a state of suffering after this life, in which those souls are for a time detained, which depart this life after their deadly sins have been remitted as to the stain and guilt, and as to the everlasting pain that was due to them, but which souls have, on account of those sins, still some temporal punishment to pay; as also those souls which leave this world guilty only of venial [that is pardonable] sins. In purgatory these souls are purified and rendered fit to enter into heaven, where nothing defiled enters."[10]

The Blended Justice and Mercy of God

The doctrine in relation to the future state of man as revealed to Joseph Smith in the revelation called "The

10. The quotations in the above are from *Catholic Belief*, Bruno, D. D., of the Roman catholic church, ch. xxxvii, pp. 185-192. As all works of the Roman catholic church accessible to me have nothing on the different degrees of glory in which men will spend eternity, I conclude that Roman catholic teaching is that they who finally attain unto heaven are all equal in glory. So that in the last analysis of the matter, Roman catholic doctrine falls as far below the great truth that God has revealed upon the subject of the future estate of man, as the doctrine of orthodox Protestant christendom.

Vision,"[11] has for its central principles the justice and the mercy of God, which require that every man shall be judged according to his works, considered in the light of his intelligence, his consciousness of right and wrong, and the moral law under which he lived. If he lived in the earth when the gospel of Jesus Christ was not in the world, or if he lived at places or in circumstances where he did not learn of its existence, much less come to a knowledge of its truths, then the plain dictates of justice demand that some means must exist by which its sanctifying powers may be applied to him in the future; so also as to those who have even once rejected the truth (as in the case of the antediluvians who rejected the teaching of righteous Noah, and were disobedient,[12] when once the long-suffering of God waited in vain in those days for their repentance), having paid the just penalty of their disobedience, then justice would demand that some means must exist by which the saving principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ may be applied to them; for only by the acceptance of the principles of the gospel, and obedience to its laws and ordinances as the means by which the grace of God is applied to man, can the sons of men hope for salvation. Then as men differ in degree of intelligence; in the intensity of their faith; in the heartiness of their obedience; in the steadiness of their fidelity; and inasmuch as there is the stern fact of human freedom and responsibility, and the possibility of a brief or long resistance to the will of God, even up to eternal resistance to that will, there is an infinitude of states of glory, of so-called rewards and punishments, in which man will live in the future. There is one glory of which the sun in heaven is spoken of as being typical; another of which the inferior light of the moon is typical; and another of which the varying light of the stars is typical. And even as one star differs from another star in glory, in light, so differ those states of existence

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11. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxvi, and *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. i, p. 245 *et seq.* and chapter xxi this *History*.

12. *I Peter* iii:18-22.

in which men will live in the future, but each assigned to a place, to an environment, that corresponds to the status of this development, which is only the modern way of saying he shall be judged according to his works. These, in brief, are the underlying principles of this remarkable revelation.

The Prophet's Vision of Alvin Smith

In June, 1836, while attending to washings and anointings in the Kirtland temple, previous to its dedication, the Prophet received still further knowledge as to the future state of man. This was by means of a vision. He says:

"The heavens were opened upon us, and I beheld the celestial kingdom of God, and the glory thereof, whether in the body or out, I cannot tell. I saw the transcendent beauty of the gate through which the heirs of that kingdom will enter, which was like unto circling flames of fire; and also the blazing throne of God, whereon was seated the Father and Son. I saw the beautiful streets of that kingdom, which had the appearance of being paved with gold. I saw fathers Adam and Abraham, and my father and mother, my brother, Alvin, that has long since slept, and marveled how it was that he had obtained an inheritance in that kingdom, seeing that he had departed this life before the Lord had set his hand to gather Israel the second time, and had not been baptized for the remission of sins. Thus came the voice of the Lord unto me saying—

All who have died without a knowledge of this gospel, who would have received it if they had been permitted to tarry, shall be heirs of the celestial kingdom of God; also all that shall die henceforth without receiving a knowledge of it, who would have received it with all their hearts, shall be heirs of that kingdom, for I, the Lord, will judge all men according to their works, according to the desire of their hearts.

And I also beheld that all children who die before they arrive at the years of accountability, are saved in the celestial kingdom of heaven."

Elijah: The Man of Two Worlds

The next step in the development of this doctrine of salvation for the dead was the coming of Elijah to "turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers," according to Malachi; to restore the priesthood and "plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers," by which "the hearts of the children

shall be turned to the fathers," according to Moroni. Elijah committed the keys of this dispensation of turning the hearts of the fathers and children towards each other to Joseph Smith and to Oliver Cowdery. This took place in the Kirtland temple on the 3rd of April, 1836,[13] as related in a previous chapter.

It will be remembered that Elijah was the ancient prophet who was "translated," or death—i. e. his mortal life—was continued; and was he by this "translation" into heaven made a man of two worlds? Wholly perhaps of neither, but capable, because of this change of "translation," of administering in either or both worlds—earth or heaven—from time to time as the exigencies of his mission might require? And is this the significance of "translation," the right and the power to administer in both physical and spiritual worlds?

It was in the Nauvoo period that the doctrine of salvation for the dead was fully developed and active steps taken looking to the actual performance of ordinances in behalf of the dead.

After the revelation commanding the saints to build a temple, and prepare to proceed with baptisms for their dead, the subject was frequently expounded in Nauvoo, both by the Prophet and other leading elders. It was a theme upon which the twelve apostles dwelt in their epistles to the church both in America and in Great Britain. Baptisms for the dead were performed for some time in the Mississippi river, and later, November, 1841, in the baptismal font erected in the basement of the temple, and dedicated for that sacred purpose. For a time some irregularities obtained in relation to this ordinance owing to the overzeal and impatience of the church members, and the fact that the perfect knowledge of the order of it had not then been obtained, but it was developed later in this Nauvoo period of the history of the church.

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13. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. ii, pp. 435-436. Also *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cx.

It was a mighty stride forward in the doctrinal development of the church, this idea of the possibility of salvation for the dead through the administration of the ordinances of the gospel for and in their behalf by their kindred on earth. It greatly enlarged the views of the saints in relation to the importance and wide-spread effects of their work. The ends of the earth indeed converged in the labors of the saints henceforth, for their activities in the administrations of the holy ordinances of the gospel would affect all past generations as well as all generations to come. It was the bringing into view of a full half of the work which up to this time had lain hidden behind the horizon of men's conceptions of that "great and marvelous work" which God from the beginning declared was about to be brought forth among the children of men.[14]

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14. See *Doctrine and Covenants*, the opening paragraph of sections iv, vi, xi, xii, xiv, all given in the year 1829.

CHAPTER XLIV

The Prophet's Trial at Monmouth—Nauvoo in the Summer of 1841—Baptism for the Dead

THE attempt which was made by Missouri to extradite Joseph Smith in September, 1840, was renewed in the early part of June the following year. The Prophet had accompanied his brother Hyrum and William Law as far as Quincy *en route* to the eastern states on a mission to which Hyrum and Law had been appointed in the preceding January. While at Quincy the Prophet called upon Governor Carlin by whom he was cordially received, and with whom he had a pleasant interview. Nothing was said with reference to the impending arrest, nor was the fact mentioned that the old requisition from Missouri was to be again acted upon. The Prophet had reached Bear Creek on his return journey, a point some twenty-eight miles south of Nauvoo, when a sheriff's *posse* under the direction of Thomas King, sheriff of Adam's county, accompanied by an officer from Missouri, arrested him on the old Missouri charges of "murder, arson, burglary," etc.; and under the old requisition of 1840, claiming him as a fugitive from justice.[1]

The Prophet returned to Quincy in company with the sheriff's *posse* and secured a writ of *habeas corpus* from Charles A. Warren, master in chancery. The same evening, Saturday, June 5th, Judge Stephen A Douglas arrived in Quincy, and appointed the hearing on the writ to take place the following Tuesday, at Monmouth, Warren county, sev-

1. Commenting on this requisition of the governor of Missouri when first issued and under which an attempt was made to arrest Joseph Smith and others in 1840, the *Times and Seasons* editorially said: "These men do not feel disposed to try again the solemn realities of mob law in that state: * * * what a beautiful picture Governor Boggs has presented to the world, after driving twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants from their homes, forcing them to leave the state under the pain of extermination, and confiscating their property, and murdering innocent men, women, and children; then, because that a few made their escape from his murdering hand, and have found protection in a land of equal rights * * * he now has the presumption to demand them back." (*Times and Seasons* for September, 1840).

enty-five miles northeast from Nauvoo. *En route* for the place of trial, Sheriff King was taken ill, and received the kindest attention at the hands of his prisoner, who personally waited upon him with all the tenderness of a brother.

The Prophet at Monmouth

The advent of the Prophet and his party in Monmouth —he had been joined by a large number of his friends when passing through Nauvoo—created considerable excitement.[2] He was invited to preach, but being a prisoner he thought it best not to accept the invitation. Amasa M. Lyman, however, preached in the courthouse on the evening following the arrival of the party.

The prejudice of the people of Monmouth was as excessive as it was blind. They employed at their own expense several attorneys to assist the prosecution, and declared that if there were any lawyers in the district who would even undertake the defense of the Prophet, they never need look to people of that county again for political favors. But there were strong men in attendance at the court, men not frightened by such threats, and whose souls despised the petty minds that could frame them; Joseph, therefore, was ably defended by Messrs. Charles A. Warren, Sidney H. Little, O. H. Browning, James H. Ralston, Cyrus Walker, and Archibald Williams. The pleadings of the lawyers for the defense were peculiarly affecting, since all of them were more or less acquainted with the condition of the saints when they fled from the violence of the Missourians to Illinois. O. H. Browning, living at Quincy, had seen several of these companies of exiles in their flight from Missouri, and could

2. As illustrating the love of the brethren for their Prophet leader, it should be stated that the arrest created great excitement in Nauvoo, and a party of seven men, under the leadership of Hosea Stout, left Nauvoo for Quincy, fifty miles distant, in a skiff, to render the Prophet any assistance in their power, and prevent, if possible, his enemies from taking him to Missouri. They struggled against a head-wind all day, but reached Quincy at dusk, only to learn that Joseph had gone to Nauvoo in charge of Sheriff King and another officer. (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, p. 365).

trace them by blood left in their footprints on the snow; his recital of their sufferings moved Judge Douglas, most of the officers of the court, and the spectators to tears. One of the brethren present who wrote an account of the trial for the *Times and Seasons,* says:

"Mr. Browning concluded his remarks by saying that to tell the prisoner to go to Missouri for a trial was adding insult to injury, and then said: 'Great God! Have I not seen it! Yes, my eyes have beheld the blood-stained traces of innocent women and children, in the dreary winter, who had traveled hundreds of miles barefoot, through frost and snow, to seek a refuge from their savage pursuers. 'Twas a scene of horror, sufficient to have enlisted the sympathy of an adamantine heart. And shall this unfortunate man, whom their fury has seen proper to select for sacrifice, be driven into such a savage land, where none dare to enlist in the cause of justice? If there was no other voice under heaven ever to be heard in this cause, gladly would I stand alone, and proudly spend my last breath in defense of an American citizen'."[3]

Judge Stephen A. Douglas—Fairness

The lawyers for the prosecution, according to the Prophet's own account, acted honorably and confined themselves to the merits of the case, excepting two—Messrs. Knowlton and Jennings. They made an appeal both to the passions and the prejudices of the people. Judge Douglas, however, was impartial in his rulings, and gave the prisoner the full protection he was entitled to both under the law, and the procedure of his court.[4]

It was claimed for the prisoner in this case that he was unlawfully held, and could prove that the indictment upon which he was arrested had been obtained by fraud, bribery

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3. The account of the trial from which the Browning excerpt is taken, was doubtless written by Robert B. Thompson, one of the editors of the *Times and Seasons.* (See *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iv, p. 369. Also *Times and Seasons* for June 15, 1841).

4. Doubtless one of the officers of the court—the sheriff of Warren county—thought Judge Douglas severe in his efforts to protect the prisoner. The courtroom was densely packed and the judge ordered the sheriff to keep the spectators back; but this he neglected and the judge fined him ten dollars. In a few minutes the order to keep the spectators from crowding the prisoner and witnesses was repeated, and the sheriff told the court that he had ordered a constable to do it. "Clerk," said Judge Douglas, "add ten dollars more to that fine." This was effectual, the sheriff after that did his duty. (See *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iv, p. 368).

and duress. This line of defense, however, raised the question as to whether or not the court had the right to inquire into the merits of the case. A long debate between the opposing counsel followed. It will be remembered that an attempt to arrest President Joseph Smith on the requisition from the governor of Missouri had been made in September previous; and it appears that upon the fruitless effort to make the arrest, the sheriff of Hancock county made returns upon the writ; and the defense claimed that after the return of the writ to the executive, the defendant could not be again legally arrested upon it. It was upon this point that the court set the Prophet at liberty. Following is Judge Douglas' decision on this point:

"The writ being once returned to the executive by the sheriff of Hancock county was dead, and stood in the same relationship as any other writ which might issue from the circuit court, and consequently the defendant cannot be held in custody on that writ."

On the other point in the case—as to whether evidence on the merits of it was admissible—the judge withheld his opinion for further consideration, as the question was a grave one, involving the future conduct of the states in their relationship with each other; but on the ground that the writ was void by reason of a former return being made upon it by the sheriff of Hancock county, he ordered the discharge of the prisoner. Missouri was again foiled in her designs upon the liberty if not the life of the Prophet.

Judge Douglas incurred some local displeasure by reason of his fairness to the prisoner in the course of this trial, and because of it there arose some misrepresentation of him which was met by a Monmouth correspondent to the *Juliet Courier* as follows:

"As some misrepresentations have already gone abroad, in relation to Judge Douglas' decision, and the merits of the question decided by the judge; permit me to say, the only question decided, though many were debated, was the validity of the executive writ which had once been sent out, I think in September, 1840, and a return on it that

Mr. Smith could not be found. The same writ was issued in June, 1841. There can really be no great difficulty about this matter, under this state of facts. The judge acquitted himself handsomely, and silenced clamors that had been raised against the defendant."[5]

Prosperity at Nauvoo

By this time—the summer of 1841—Nauvoo was the most promising and thrifty city in Illinois, and the fame thereof extended throughout the nation, due, of course, to the peculiar religion of its inhabitants. Strangers from far and near made it a point to visit Nauvoo, and the peace, sobriety, industry and public spirit of the citizens challenged their admiration, whatever views they might entertain respecting the religion of her people. A large bowery was constructed just west of the temple site, where the people assembled for worship. Here the Prophet preached some of his most powerful discourses, and taught his people in the doctrine of the heavenly kingdom; and not unfrequently it happened that

"Fools who came to mock, remained to pray."

The saints never intended to make their city exclusively "Mormon." On the contrary, the people at Nauvoo expressed a willingness to unite with their fellow citizens in every good

5. The same writer—unknown—in the communication above quoted, describes his visit to Nauvoo, which is valuable for the side light it throws upon conditions obtaining among her citizens at that time: "Since the trial I have been at Nauvoo, on the Mississippi, in Hancock county, Illinois, and have seen the manner in which things are conducted among the Mormons. In the first place, I cannot help noticing the plain hospitality of the Prophet Smith, to all strangers visiting the town, aided as he is, in making the stranger comfortable by his excellent wife, a woman of superior ability. The people of the town appear to be honest and industrious, engaged in their usual vocations of building up a town, and making all things around them comfortable. On Sunday I attended one of their meetings, in front of the temple now building, and one of the largest buildings in the state. There could not have been less than 2,500 people present, and as well appearing as any number that could be found in this or any state. Mr. Smith preached in the morning, and one could have readily learned, then, the magic by which he had built up this society, because, as we say in Illinois, 'they believe in him,' and in his honesty. It has been a matter of astonishment to me, after seeing the Prophet, as he is called, Elder Rigdon, and many other gentlemanly men any one may see at Nauvoo, who will visit there—why it is, that so many professing christianity, and so many professing to reverence the sacred principles of our Constitution (which gives free religious toleration to all), have slandered and persecuted this sect of Christians."

work and enterprise, and tolerate religious differences. Indeed, repeated invitations were sent out to the honorable men, not only of the state of Illinois, but of the United States, to men of capital and of influence and of integrity, asking them to come to Nauvoo, and assist in building up a large and splendid city.[6]

In July, Sidney H. Little, of the state senate, was killed by leaping from his carriage, while his horse was unmanageable; and that the citizens of Nauvoo "might mourn with those who are called to mourn," the eighteenth day of July was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer among the people of Nauvoo. By thus manifesting a feeling of sympathy and interest, they sought to cultivate peace and good will among their fellow citizens, and a number of honorable men, while not accepting the faith of the saints, became friendly disposed towards them, and associated with them in various business enterprises.

But the good will of the saints was not very generally reciprocated by the people of Illinois; and there were, even at that early date, envyings and bitterness manifested by those who were jealous of the prosperity and increasing power of the "Mormons" in Nauvoo and vicinity.[7]

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6. One such address was issued on the 15th of January, 1841; which, after appealing to the people of means within the church throughout the world to remove to Nauvoo, in order to "establish and build up manufactures in the city, purchase and cultivate farms in the country," and thus "prepare the way for the gathering of the poor"—was concluded in these words: "We wish it likewise to be distinctly understood, that we claim no privilege but what we feel cheerfully disposed to share with our fellow citizens of every denomination, and every sentiment of religion; and therefore say, that so far from being restricted to our own faith, let all who desire to locate themselves in this place, or the vicinity, come, and we will hail them as citizens and friends, and shall feel it not only a duty, but a privilege, to reciprocate the kindness we have received from the benevolent and kind-hearted citizens of the state of Illinois." (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, p. 457).

7. The same spirit existed to some extent in Iowa as will be seen by the following occurrence, which happened in September, 1841: General Swazey, in command of the militia of Iowa, territory, invited Joseph and Hyrum Smith and General Bennett to attend the parade of the militia of the territory at Montrose. The invitation was accepted, and General Swazey received his visitors courteously, and so did the militia. But during the recess in the exercises taken at noon, a Mr. D. W. Kilburn tried to create a disturbance by circulating the following note among the militia troops:

"*Citizens of Iowa*: The laws do not require you to muster or to be reviewed by Joe Smith or General Bennett; and should they have the impudence to attempt it,

Concentration at Nauvoo

Early in the summer of 1841, the saints everywhere were called upon to come into Hancock county, that there might be a concentration of effort to build up Nauvoo. The proclamation closed with the following words:

"Let it therefore be understood that all the stakes excepting those in this county (Hancock) and in Lee county, Iowa, are discontinued: and the saints are instructed to settle in this county as soon as circumstances will permit."

Nauvoo by this time numbered more than 3,000 in population. Heber C. Kimball writing from there in July, 1841, shortly after his return with other of the twelve apostles from England, gives a vivid description of changes that had taken place in the city during the two years of his absence, and a pen picture of activities which must have been a daily program to achieve such results. "You know," he writes, "there were not more than thirty buildings in the city when we left about two years ago; but at this time there are 1,200; and hundreds of others in progress, which will soon be finished. On Friday last seventy saints came to Nauvoo, led by Lorenzo Barnes, from Chester county, Pennsylvania, in

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it is to be hoped that every person having a proper respect for himself, will at once leave the ranks."

The facts are that these militia companies were not mustered by Joseph Smith's order, nor did he expect to review them. He had simply accepted General Swazey's invitation to witness the movements of the troops as other spectators were doing, and neither Joseph nor his brother Hyrum was in uniform. General Swazey had been several times invited to attend drills and reviews of the legion at Nauvoo, and he had simply returned the courtesy to the officers of the legion. Kilburn's effort to create a disturbance, however, was not successful, though the papers of the state commented upon it, and some of them began to intimate that it was Joseph Smith's ambition to build up a military church and extend his faith, "Mohammed-like" by the sword. From the first settlement of the saints at Montrose there had been some manifestation of opposition. Brigham Young in his *History*, under date of May 21st, 1839, relates the following: "In the evening, while Brother Noble [Joseph B.] was plowing a piece of ground which he had obtained from Mr. Kilburn for a garden, a man named Campbell accompanied by a mob came up to Brother Noble, armed with clubs, and taking his horse by the bit, ordered him off the grounds; Brother Noble left the ground for the sake of peace." Under the 26th of the same month he writes: "There was much of the spirit of mobocracy made manifest at Montrose by some outlaws who remained there; some cut down the barns there belonging to the military station [Montrose had been a military station and the old barracks were still somewhat intact] lest the saints might have the use of them." (History of Brigham Young, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 585).

wagons, living in tents by the way. On the next day a company came in wagons from Canada, all in good spirits, and in two or three days after, they all obtained places to live in. They are coming from all parts of this continent daily and hourly, and the work is spreading in all of this land and calls for preaching in all parts. You will all recollect when we built our houses in the woods there was not a house within a mile of us. Now the place, wild as it was at that time, is converted into a thickly populated village."[8]

About the same time the *St. Louis Atlas* referred to Nauvoo as the largest town in Illinois:

"The population of Nauvoo is between 8,000 and 9,000, and of course, the largest town in the state of Illinois. How long the Latter-day Saints will hold together and exhibit their present aspect, it is not for us to say. At this moment they present the appearance of an enterprising, industrious, sober and thrifty population, such a population, indeed, as in the respects just mentioned, have no rivals east, and we rather guess, not even west of the Mississippi."[9]

Return of the Twelve—The Work in England

The twelve apostles, whose departure from Nauvoo on their mission to England was noted in a former chapter, returned in July, 1841. They had accomplished a most remarkable mission in that distant land. It is doubtful if any religious movement in modern times was quite the equal of it. On the sixth of April, 1841, the general conference of the British Mission had convened at Carpenter's Hall, Manchester. Nine of the quorum of the twelve were present.[10] "The total membership in the British Mission at that time," writes Elder Wilford Woodruff, "was represented as 5,814; and 800 besides had emigrated to America under the transportation of

8. *Liverpool Route*, p. 62. (The historical footnotes in the *Route* here quoted were supplied by Elder Franklin D. Richards, so long connected with the Church Historian's Office).

9. *Liverpool Route*, p. 62.

10. Elder Orson Hyde was with them, *en route* for Jerusalem, and Willard Richards had been ordained to the apostleship after the arrival of the seven apostles who departed from Nauvoo as related in chapter xli.

the church.[11] There were also 136 elders, 303 priests, 169 teachers, and 68 Deacons.[12]

On the eve of the departure of the twelve from England, Brigham Young in his *Journal* makes the following review of their labors, under the entry for—

April 20th. It truly seemed a miracle to look upon the contrast between our landing and departing from Liverpool. We landed in the spring of 1840, as strangers in a strange land and penniless. But through the mercy of God we have gained many friends, established churches in almost every noted town and city in the kingdom of Great Britain, baptized between seven and eight thousand, printed 5,000 *Books of Mormon*, 3,000 *Hymn Books*, 2,500 volumes of the *Millennial Star*,[13] and 50,000 tracts, and emigrated to Zion 1,000 souls, established a permanent shipping agency, which will be a great blessing to the saints, and have left sown in the hearts of many thousands the seeds of eternal truth, which shall bring forth fruit to the honor and glory of God, and yet we have lacked nothing to eat, drink or wear: in all these things I acknowledge the hand of God."

The work had also extended into Scotland, Ireland and the Isle of Man under the ministry of the twelve while on this mission.

It has already been noted that the work in England was begun in 1837, under the direction of Heber C. Kimball and others; but the mission of the twelve to England, as a quorum, established the work in the British Isles on a broader and

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11. *History of the Life and Labors of Wilford Woodruff*, Cowley, 1909, p. 144. Woodruff's statement also adds: "This was the first and only time in this dispensation that the twelve apostles sat in conference as a quorum in a foreign land." The apostles also set apart Orson Hyde for his mission to Jerusalem.

12. *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, p. 349.

13. *The Millennial Star* was the first foreign publication of the church. It was issued at first as a monthly, but afterwards more frequently, semi-monthly, and finally, and now for many years, a weekly. Its publication has been continuous from the time it was started until the present—1929. Also the *Star* has retained the general character imparted to it by its first publishers. *"The Millennial Star,"* said its *Prospectus*, "will stand aloof from the common political and commercial news of the day. Its columns will be devoted to the spread of the fulness of the gospel—the restoration of the ancient principles of christianity—the gathering of Israel—the rolling forth of the kingdom of God among the nations—the signs of the times—the fulfillment of prophecy—recording the judgments of God as they befall the nations, whether signs in the heavens or in the earth, blood, fire, or vapor of smoke—in short, whatever is shown forth indicative of the coming of the 'Son of Man' and ushering in of his universal reign upon the earth."

The first number of the *Star* was issued in May, 1840, at Manchester, and upon its cover appeared the following stanzas by the editor, Parley P. Pratt, voicing the

more permanent basis, and thence forward the body religious in America—Zion, was strengthened from this mission; and as much from the character as from the numbers of the British saints.[14]

On the return of the twelve to Nauvoo—excepting Elder Parley P. Pratt, who remained in charge of the British Mission—they were immediately employed by President Joseph Smith in assisting him to build up Nauvoo. The minutes of a special conference held in August, represent the Prophet as saying that—

"The time had come when the twelve should be called upon to stand in their place next to the first presidency: and attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of the church at the stakes, and assist to bear off the kingdom victoriously to the nations."

The Prophet accordingly turned over to the twelve the

Star's message, and the message of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to the world.

"The morning breaks the shadows flee;
Lo! Zion's standard is unfurled!
The dawning of a brighter day
Majestic rises on the world.

The clouds of error disappear
Before the rays of truth divine;
The glory, bursting from afar,
Wide o'er the nations soon will shine.

The Gentile fulness now comes in,
And Israel's blessings are at hand;
Lo! Judah's remnant, cleans'd from sin,
Shall in their promised Canaan stand.

Jehovah speaks! Let earth give ear,
And Gentile nations turn and live!
His mighty arm is making bare,
His covenant people to receive.

Angels from heaven, and truth from earth
Have met and both have record borne;
Thus Zion's light is bursting forth,
To cheer her children's glad return."

14. Commenting in his journal under date of the 1st of August the Prophet says: "All the quorum of the twelve who were expected here this season, with the exception of Wilford Woodruff, have arrived. We have listened to the accounts which they give of their success, and the prosperity of the work of the Lord in Great Britain with pleasure. They certainly have been the instruments in the hands of God of accomplishing much, and must have the satisfaction of knowing that they have done their duty." (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv. p. 390).

direction of many of the temporal affairs in the building up of Nauvoo with which he had been perplexed, and devoted himself more exclusively to spiritual labors.

Indian Chief Keokuk Visits the Prophet

One of the most pleasing events that happened during the summer of 1841, was the visit of the Indian chief Keokuk to Nauvoo. He was accompanied by Kiskukosh, Appenoose, and about one hundred chiefs and braves of the Sac and Fox tribes, together with their families. They were brought over from the Iowa side on the ferry and two large flat boats. The legion band and a detachment of the legion met them at the landing, but as soon as Keokuk failed to recognize President Smith among those who had come to bid him welcome, he refused to land or allow any of his party to go ashore until the president made his appearance. The arrangement had been made for the band and the detachment of the legion to lead the Indian visitors to the grove where the saints held their meetings; and there President Smith would have joined them. But Keokuk seemed to have his own ideas in relation to the etiquette to be observed at his reception, and waited until the Prophet met him at the landing and bade him welcome to Nauvoo.

At the grove President Smith addressed the Indians at some length, upon what the Lord had revealed to him concerning their forefathers, and recited to them the promises contained in the *Book of Mormon* respecting themselves, the despised remnants of a once great race of people. How their hearts must have glowed as they listened to the Prophet relate the story of their forefathers—their rise and their fall; and the promises held out to them of redemption from their fallen state! In conclusion the Prophet counseled them to cease killing each other, and warring with other tribes, or with the whites.

To this speech Keokuk replied:

"I have a *Book of Mormon* at my wigwam that you gave me a

JOSEPH SMITH ADDRESSING HIS INDIAN VISITORS
AT NAUVOO

number of moons ago. I believe you are a great and good man. Keokuk looks rough, but I am a son of the Great Spirit. I have heard your advice. We intend to quit fighting, and follow the good talk you have given us."

After the "talk," the Indians were feasted by the citizens of Nauvoo, and at the conclusion of the feast the visitors gave a specimen of their war dance to entertain the spectators, and then returned to the Iowa side of the river to their encampment.

The visit of Indians to Nauvoo continued occasionally through the remaining years of the Prophet's life; and as often as they came they were hospitably received and instructed as above described. The steel engraving accompanying this chapter is intended to typically represent these occasions.

Edward Hunter

In September, Edward Hunter, who in later years, in Utah, became the presiding bishop of the church, came to Nauvoo. Mr. Hunter was a wealthy farmer living in Chester county, Pennsylvania, where his house for some time had been a home for the traveling elders of the church passing through Chester county. The Prophet himself had been entertained at the Hunter residence when he was returning from Washington, where he had been to plead the cause of his people before the national congress. Mr. Hunter, though of a deeply religious nature, had, under the advice of his father, refrained from identifying himself with any religious organization until the advent of "Mormonism" in his neighborhood, when he was so thoroughly impressed with its doctrines that he finally joined the church, Elder Orson Hyde baptizing him when the latter was *en route* for Jerusalem.

Being a man of considerable means, large business capacity, and liberal instincts, the coming of Edward Hunter to Nauvoo was an event of some moment. He made quite extensive purchases of town lots and farming lands on the occasion of his first visit, and shortly afterwards sold his

farms and all his interests in Pennsylvania and removed to Nauvoo where he became identified with all the business activities of that thriving town.[15]

The semi-annual conference which convened on the 2nd of October in Nauvoo, was a memorable one in the annals of the church. At the opening of it President Smith was was not present, being engaged that morning with others in laying the corner stone of the Nauvoo House, which the church had been commanded by revelation to build.[16]

Saviors on Mount Zion—Baptism for the Dead

During the conference the twelve requested the Prophet to give instructions upon the doctrine of baptism for the dead, that being the subject then uppermost in the minds of the people. The Prophet responded most readily with the result that many choice doctrinal truths were at that time delivered to the church. Some of these items are here set down. Explaining how men could become "saviors on Mount Zion," the Prophet said:

"The proclamation of the first principles of the gospel, was a means of salvation to men individually, and it was the truth and not

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15. "Edward Hunter was the second son and seventh child of Edward and Hannah Hunter. He was born in Newtown township, Delaware county, Pennsylvania, June 22, 1793. His paternal ancestors were from the north of England, and on his mother's side he was of Welsh extraction. John Hunter, his great-grandfather, passed over to Ireland some time in the seventeenth century and served as a lieutenant of cavalry under William of Orange at the battle of the Boyne, where he was wounded. He afterwards came to America and settled in Delaware county, Pennsylvania, about twelve miles from Philadelphia. Edward Hunter, Esq., the bishop's father, was justice of the peace in Delaware county for forty years. On his mother's side three generations back was Robert Owen of North Wales, a man of wealth and character, a firm sympathizer with Cromwell and the Protectorate. On the restoration of Charles the second, he refused to take the oath of allegiance, and was imprisoned for five years. After his release he immigrated to America and purchased property near the 'City of Brotherly Love.' Like the founder of that city, Robert Owen was a Quaker. His son George sat in the state legislature and held various positions of public trust." (Whitney's *History of Utah*, vol. iv, p. 91).

Edward Hunter finally settled in Chester county, Pennsylvania, where he purchased an extensive farm, and married Ann Standley, daughter of Jacob and Martha Standley. Here "Mormonism" found him in 1839, with the result stated in the text.

16. It was on this occasion that President Smith deposited the original manuscript of the translation of the *Book of Mormon* in the corner stone of the Nauvoo House, as related in chapter xiii of this *History*. (See the author's *New Witnesses for God*, vol. ii, ch. viii).

men that saved them: but men by actively engaging in rites of salvation substantially became instruments in bringing multitudes of their kindred into the kingdom of God. [And hence] he presented baptism for the dead as the only way by which men can appear as 'saviors on Mount Zion.'

The difference between an angel and a ministering spirit: the one [the first] is a resurrected or translated body with its spirit, ministering to embodied spirits; the other a disembodied spirit, visiting and ministering to disembodied spirits.

Jesus Christ became a ministering spirit (while his body was laying in the sepulchre) to the spirits in prison,[17] to fulfill an important part of his mission, without which he could not have perfected his work or entered into his rest. After his resurrection he appeared as an angel to his disciples. (*St. Matt.* xxvii:16-20).

Translated bodies cannot enter into rest until they have undergone a change equivalent to death. * * * Translated bodies are designed for future missions. * * * The angel which appeared to John on the Isle of Patmos was a translated or resurrected personage. (*Rev.* xix:10).

Jesus Christ went in body after his resurrection to minister to translated or resurrected bodies.

It is no more incredible that God should *save* the dead than that he should *raise* the dead.

There is never a time when the spirit is too old to approach God.

All are within the reach of pardoning mercy, who have not committed the unpardonable sin, 'which hath no forgiveness, neither in this world nor in the world to come.' There is a way to release the spirit of the dead; that is by the power and authority of the priesthood—by binding and loosing on earth. This doctrine appears glorious, inasmuch as it exhibits the greatness of divine compassion and benevolence in the extent of the plan of human salvation. * * *

This glorious truth is well calculated to enlarge the understanding, and to sustain the soul under troubles, difficulties, and distresses. For illustration: suppose the case of two men, brothers, equally intelligent, learned, virtuous and lovely, walking in uprightness and in all good conscience, so far as they have been able to discern duty from the muddy stream of tradition, or from the blotted page of the book of nature. One dies and is buried, having never heard the gospel of reconciliation; to the other the message of salvation is sent, he hears and embraces it, and is made the heir of eternal life. Shall the one become a partaker of glory, and the other consigned to hopeless perdition? Is there no chance for his escape? Sectarianism answers, none!

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17. "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit: By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison: Which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing, wherein few, that is eight souls, were saved by water." (*I Peter* iii:18, 19, 20.)

* * * Such an idea is worse than atheism. The truth shall break down and dash in pieces all such bigoted Pharisaism.

This doctrine [salvation for the dead through baptism and other ordinances] presents in a clear light the wisdom and mercy of God in preparing an ordinance for the salvation of the dead, being baptized by proxy, their names recorded in heaven, and they judged according to the deeds done in the body. This doctrine was the burden of the scriptures.[18] Those saints who neglect it, in behalf of their deceased relatives, do it at the peril of their own salvation. The Dispensation of the Fulness of Times will bring to light the things that have been revealed in all former dispensations; also other things that have not been before revealed."

During the conference the announcement was made that there would be no more baptisms for the dead until the ordinance could be administered in the baptismal font of the Lord's house, *"for thus hath the Lord commanded,"* said the Prophet. The saints however were not long denied the privilege of being baptized for their dead, as on the eighth of November, following the October conference, 1841, a temporary baptismal font was completed in the basement of the temple, and dedicated to this sacred purpose.

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18. "For this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit." (*I. Peter*, iv:6.) "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for the dead?" (*I Corinthians*, xv, 29.)

CHAPTER XLV

Introduction of the New Marriage System for the Church

ANOTHER matter of very great importance, and one which has exercised a great influence upon the course of events in the church belongs to the year 1841; and many things of our history in this Nauvoo period will be all the plainer if the matter referred to be considered now. Reference is made to the introduction, in practice, of the marriage system which afterwards obtained in the church.

Eternity of the Marriage Covenant

The chief and greatest feature of this marriage system—usually called "Celestial Marriage," by members of the church —[1] because conceived to be the marriage system that obtains in celestial worlds—is the eternity of the marriage covenant. "Until death us do part," is usually the mutual covenant of man and woman in the orthodox "Christian" marriage ceremony.[2] That is, the marriage covenant is understood among Christian churches generally as being a matter that pertains to time only, the contract obligations ending with death. But the new marriage law of the Church of the Latter-day Saints regards the incident of death not at all, but makes the covenant of marriage to hold for time and for all eternity; a covenant which is sealed and ratified by that power of the priesthood in the administrator which binds on earth and it

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1. The term "Celestial Marriage" is not used in the revelation that makes known the eternity of the marriage covenant; nor in any of the books recognized as the authoritative scriptures of the church. In books of a secondary character, however, written by prominent elders of the church, and in some affidavits given upon the subject of the introduction of the system into the church, the term is frequently used (see affidavits of Joseph B. Noble, B. F. Johnson, John Benbow *et al.*, *Historical Record*, Jensen, pp. 221, *et seq.*) The Prophet Joseph also uses the term in his journal under date of August 25, 1843, as follows: "My brother Hyrum in the office conversing with me about the new revelation upon *Celestial Marriage*" (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, p. 541).

2. See the *Book of Common Prayer*, Church of England, article, "Solemnization of Matrimony."

is bound in heaven.[3] That is, the covenant of marriage holds good through time and will be in effect and of binding force in and after the resurrection. In other words this marriage system regards man as enduring eternally, and formulates his marriage covenants in harmony with that view of him. Of course this contemplates the continuation of the marriage state in eternity. Not only the spiritual and intellectual companionship, but all the relations of the wedded state, with the joys of parentage—"the power of endless lives," being among the means of man's exaltation and glory.

That this is a view of marriage quite distinct from the orthodox Christian view, goes without saying. It throws a new light upon man's future existence. It destroys the vagueness which through nearly all ages has hidden the glory and exaltation destined for man in the future eternities of God. It should be said, in this connection, that the revelation of God to Joseph Smith, even before this marriage system was made known, held out to man the hope of a tangible, future existence in a resurrected, immortal body of flesh and bones quickened by the spirit, and clothed with the glory of an immortal youth. The future life was to be a reality, not merely a land of phantoms; man's heavenly home was to be upon the earth, after the earth had become sanctified and made a celestial sphere. His relations with his kindred and friends were to be of a nature to satisfy the longings of the human heart for society, for fellowship; and needed only the revelation of this marriage system to complete the circle of his promised future felicity. For grant to man in his resurrected state a real, tangible existence; an immortal youth that knows no pain or sickness or disease; the power to hive knowledge and wisdom as the centuries, the millenniums and eternity roll by; grant him power to build and inhabit; to love and be loved; and add to that the associations of superior intelligences

3. Jesus said unto Peter: "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." (*St. Matt.* xvi:19.)

and the power of endless lives—the power and privilege to perpetuate his race under an eternal marriage covenant—grant this, and the future happiness, exultation and glory of man stands revealed as being absolutely without limitations, and far greater and beyond in majesty anything within his power to conceive in his present state of development.

The primary principle of the marriage system of the church, I repeat, *is the eternity of the marriage covenant;* but owing to the fact that the system also included the doctrine of the rightfulness—under given specific conditions—of a plurality of wives, the importance and grandeur of the doctrine of the eternity of the marriage covenant, to a very great extent, has been obscured by the discussion of and the popular clamor concerning the plurality feature of the new marriage system.

Time of the Marriage Revelation

The revelation making known this marriage doctrine came about in this way; first it should be stated, and it is evident from the written revelation itself, which bears the date of July 12th, 1843,—that the doctrine was revealed and the practice of it begun[4] before the partial[5] revelation now in the *Doctrine and Covenants* was written. As early as 1831 the rightfulness of a plurality of wives under certain limitations and special conditions was made known to Joseph Smith.

In the latter part of that year, especially from November, 1831, and through the early months of 1832, the Prophet with Sidney Rigdon as his amanuensis was earnestly engaged at Hiram, a village in Portage county, Ohio, twenty-eight miles south of Kirtland, in translating the Jewish scriptures. It

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4. See *Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. cxxxii. Emma Smith, wife of the Prophet is commanded in verse 52 of the revelation "to *receive all those that have been given unto my servant Joseph,* and who are virtuous and pure before me," which proves that the doctrine and its practice was in existence before the revelation was committed to writing.

5. *Ibid,* verse 66. "And now, as pertaining to this law, verily I saw unto you, I will reveal more unto you, hereafter; therefore let this suffice for the present." Hence I say "partial revelation" in the text.

must have been while engaged in that work that the evident approval of God to the plural marriages of the ancient patriarchs attracted the Prophet's attention, and led him to make those inquiries of the Lord to which the opening paragraphs of the written revelation of July 12, 1843, refer, *viz*:—

"Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand, to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; as also Moses, David and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines; behold! and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter."

The New and Everlasting Covenant of Marriage

God's answer to the Prophet, however, went far beyond the scope of the latter's inquiry. The Prophet had asked why the Lord justified the Hebrew patriarchs and some of the later Hebrew prophets in having a plurality of wives, and God in his answer said:

"Prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same. For behold! I reveal unto you *a new and an everlasting covenant;* and if ye abide not that covenant then ye are damned; for no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into my glory. For all who will have a blessing at my hands shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing, and the conditions thereof, as instituted from before the foundation of the world: *And as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant,* it was instituted for the fulness of my glory; and he that receiveth a fulness thereof, must and shall abide the law, or he shall be damned, saith the Lord God. And verily I say unto you, that the conditions of this law are these:—All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made, and entered into, and sealed, by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that, too, most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power—* * * are of no efficacy, virtue or force, in and after the resurrection from the dead: for all contracts that are not made unto this end, have an end when men are dead."

Plurality of Wives

Around this central principle of the new marriage sys-

tem the instructions and admonitions of the rest of the revelation, in the main, articulate. In the matter of the Prophet's direct inquiry as to the ancient patriarchs having a plurality of wives, the revelation said:

"God commanded Abraham and Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham to wife. And why did she do it? *Because it was the law,* and from Hagar sprang many people. This, therefore, was fulfilling among other things the promises. Was Abraham, therefore, under condemnation? Verily I say unto you, Nay; for I, the Lord, commanded it. * * * David also received many wives and concubines, as also Solomon and Moses, my servants; as also many others of my servants, from the beginning of creation until this time; *and in nothing did they sin, save in those things which they received not of me.*"

The revelation renewed this privilege of a plurality of wives under the law of God, Joseph Smith holding the keys of power by which said relationships were to be authorized.

"And again, verily I say unto you, my servant Joseph, that whatsoever you give on earth, and to whomsoever you give any one on earth, by my word, and according to my law, it shall be visited with blessings, and not cursings, and with my power, saith the Lord, and shall be without condemnation on earth, and in heaven: For I am the Lord thy God, and will be with thee even unto the end of the world, and through all eternity; for verily, I seal upon you exaltation, and prepare a throne for you in the kingdom of my Father, with Abraham your father."

Still later in the revelation it is said that if a man take more than one woman to wife under the authority here conferred upon the Prophet, he would not be under condemnation, for under those circumstances the man would be receiving his wives upon the same principle and under the same conditions that the *Bible* patriarchs and prophets received theirs, namely, under the sanction and approval of divine law and authority.[6]

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6. The statement of the text is made with care on this point, because the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has never stood as the advocate of indiscriminate or the general practice of a plural marriage system, under mere human, legal sanctions. Such a general practice would doubtless be mischievous and lead to the disasters which opponents have from time to time charged to the more limited and specifically guarded practice of the principle under what the Latter-day Saints held to be divine sanctions, restraints and regulations. It was indeed a principle of religion to the Latter-day Saints, a holy sacrament, and not at all designed to become a general

When the new marriage law was first revealed in 1831, it was also made known to the Prophet that the time had not yet come to teach or practice this doctrine in the church, but that time would come later.[7] The Prophet, however, did make known what had been revealed to him to a few trusted friends, among whom were Oliver Cowdery and Lyman E. Johnson, the latter confiding what the prophet had told him to Orson Pratt, his missionary companion. With these and a few other exceptions, perhaps, the knowledge of the truth and righteousness of this principle in the future marriage system of the church was for some time locked up in the bosom of the Prophet.

Corroborative evidences of the fact of the revelation having been given previous to the date on which it was committed to writing—July 12th, 1843,—are to be found in the early charges against the church about its belief in "polygamy." For example: when the book of *Doctrine and Covenants* was presented to the several quorums of the priesthood of the church for acceptance in the general assembly of that body, the 17th of August, 1835, an article on "marriage" was presented by W. W. Phelps, which for many years was published in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. It was not a revelation, nor was it presented as such to the general assembly of the priesthood. It was an article, however, that represented the views of the assembly on the subject of marriage at that

practice under merely human laws. It is unfortunate that the world outside of the church of the Latter-day Saints was not impressed with this phase of the subject; for then it would have been apparent that the thing the world argued against and fought against—a general plural marriage system free for all to adopt, considered to be destructive of the monogamous marriage system and a menace to the home itself—was not the thing upheld and contended for by the Latter-day Saints, who hold that the privilege of plural marriage was to be limited to persons of high character, approved lives, and living under the most sacred obligations to chastity, and granted this privilege of the church's marriage system only under the most carefully guarded permission of the church, amounting to divine sanction. Such were the limitations put upon the practice of the plural feature of the marriage system given to the church, and the proof that they never sought to make their plural marriage system of general practice, under merely human sanctions, is seen in the fact that neither under the "State of Deseret" nor while in full control of the territory of Utah, having both governorship and legislature under Brigham Young, 1850-58, they enacted no law legalizing polygamy.

7. See Orson Pratt's statement given later in this chapter.

time, unenlightened as they were by the revelation already given to the Prophet on the subject. What the Prophet Joseph's connection was with this article cannot be learned. Whether he approved it or not is uncertain, since he was absent from Kirtland on a visit to the saints in Michigan[8] at the time the general assembly of the priesthood accepted it.

In this article on marriage the following sentence occurs:

> "Inasmuch as this church of Christ has been reproached with the crime of fornication, *and polygamy,* we declare that we believe that one man should have one wife, and one woman but one husband, except in case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again."

From this it is evident that as early at least as 1835 a charge of "polygamy" was made against the church. Why was that the case unless the subject of "polygamy" had been mooted within the church? It is not unlikely that someone to whom the Prophet had confided the knowledge of receiving a revelation concerning the rightfulness of plural marriage—under certain circumstances—had unwisely made some statement concerning the matter.

In the *Messenger and Advocate* for May, 1837, the following occurs as a resolution adopted by the seventies at Kirtland:

> "First that we will have no fellowship whatsoever with any elder belonging to the quorums of the seventies who is guilty of *polygamy* or any offense of the kind, and who does not in all things conform to the law of the church contained in the *Bible* and in the book of *Doctrine and Covenants.*
>
> [Signed,] "DANIEL S. MILES, *Chairman.*"
> "ELIAS SMITH, *Clerk.*"[9]

Again in July, 1838, in Missouri, in a series of questions asked and answered through *The Elders' Journal,* the following occurs: "Do the Mormons believe in having more wives than one?" To which the answer is given: "No, not at the same time."

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8. See *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. i, pp. 243-253.
9. *Messenger and Advocate,* May, 1837, p. 517.

This again represents the belief of the saints at that time, unenlightened as they were by the revelation received by their Prophet. But again, why this question unless there had been some agitation on the subject? Had some one before the time had come for making known this doctrine to the church, again unwisely referred to the knowledge which had been revealed to the Prophet some seven years earlier?

All these things united make it plainly evident that the revelation on marriage was given long before the 12th of July, 1843—which marks only the date on which the revelation was committed to writing—and doubtless as early as 1831.

In addition to these indirect evidences is the direct testimony of the late Elder Orson Pratt, of the council of the twelve apostles. In 1878, in company with President Joseph F. Smith, Elder Pratt visited several states east of the Mississippi in the capacity of a missionary; and at Plano, Illinois, at a meeting of the so-called "Reorganized Church of the Latter-day Saints," he was invited by the presiding officer, a Mr. Dille, and the meeting, to occupy the time, which he did. In his remarks, according to his own and his companion's report of the meeting, occurs the following:

The Testimony of Orson Pratt

"Elder Pratt gave a plain, simple narration of his early experiences in the church, relating many interesting things connected with its rise; explained the circumstances under which several revelations were received by Joseph, the Prophet, and the manner in which he received them, he [Elder Pratt] being present on several occasions of the kind. Declared at such times Joseph used the "seer stone" when inquiring of the Lord, and receiving revelations, but that he was so thoroughly endowed with the inspiration of the Almighty and the spirit of revelation that he often received them without any instrument or other means than the operation of the spirit upon his mind. Referred to the testimony which he received of the truth while yet only a boy. Testified that these things were not matters of belief only with him, but of actual knowledge. He explained the circumstances connected with the coming forth of the revelation on plural marriage. Refuted the statement and belief of those present that Brigham Young was the author of that revelation; showed that Joseph Smith the Prophet had

not only commenced the practice himself, and taught it to others, before President Young and the twelve had returned from their mission in Europe, in 1841, but that Joseph actually received revelations upon that principle as early as 1831. Said Lyman Johnson, who was very familiar with Joseph at this early date, Joseph living at his father's house, 'and who was also very intimate with me, we having traveled on several missions together, told me himself that Joseph had made known to him as early as 1831, that plural marriage was a correct principle. Joseph declared to Lyman that God had revealed it to him, but that the time had not come to teach or practice it in the church, but that the time would come.' To this statement Elder Pratt bore his testimony. He cited several instances of Joseph having had wives sealed to him, one at least as early as April 5th, 1841, which was some time prior to the return of the twelve from England. Referred to his own trial in regard to this matter in Nauvoo,[10] and said it was because he got his information from a wicked source, from those disaffected, but as soon as he learned the truth, he was satisfied.

(Signed) "ORSON PRATT,"
(Signed) "JOSEPH F. SMITH."[11]

It was in the fall of 1840 that the Prophet began to take the steps which resulted in the introduction of plural marriages as a practice in the church. According to the affidavit of Joseph B. Noble, given before James Jack, a notary public, in and for the county of Salt Lake, Utah, in June, 1869, Joseph Smith declared to Noble that he had received a revelation from God on the subject, and that an angel of the Lord had commanded him [Joseph Smith] to move forward in the said order of marriage; and further, that the said Joseph Smith requested him [Joseph B. Noble] to step forward and assist him in carrying out the said principle.[12]

Joseph B. Noble also gave a second affidavit concerning the beginning of the practice of plural marriage by Joseph Smith, as follows:

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10. "Orson Pratt," says the late President John Taylor, "also had some difficulties while we were in Nauvoo, arising out of the introduction of the celestial order of marriage." President Taylor then proceeds to relate the labors of various members of the quorum of the twelve with Elder Pratt, his excommunication from the church, his final reconciliation with the Prophet, his restoration to the church and subsequent service therein, (*Succession in the Priesthood*, 1881, pp. 18-20). This is the circumstance referred to in the above "report."

11. Signed report of Elders Pratt and Smith, *Millennial Star*, vol. xl, nos. 49, 50, 1878.

12. Noble's affidavit is on file in the Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

"Territory of Utah,
County of Salt Lake,

Be it remembered that on this 26th day of June, A. D. 1869, personally appeared before me, James Jack, a notary public in and for said county, Joseph Bates Noble, who was by me sworn in due form of law, and upon his oath saith, that on the fifth day of April, A. D. 1841, at the city of Nauvoo, county of Hancock, state of Illinois, he married or sealed Louisa Beamen, to Joseph Smith, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, according to the order of celestial marriage revealed to the said Joseph Smith.

(Signed) "JOSEPH B. NOBLE."

"Subscribed and sworn to by the said Joseph Bates Noble the day and year first above written.

JAMES JACK, *Notary Public.*"[13]

From this it will appear that the plural marriage feature of the new marriage system, under the restrictions already noted, was introduced as early as the 5th of April, 1841. On the return of the twelve, later in the summer of 1841, the Prophet began to teach the doctrine to them and urged the importance of putting it into practice. It was not received very readily by the twelve. After reciting the Prophet's urgency in the matter, Elder John Taylor, who became the third president of the church, says:

"We [the twelve] seemed to put off, as far as we could, what might be termed the evil day."[14] Brigham Young said in a discourse delivered at Provo on July 14, 1855, that "If any man had asked me what was my choice when Joseph Smith revealed that doctrine [plurality of wives], provided that it would not diminish my glory, I would have said, 'Let me have but one wife.' * * * Some of these my brethren [referring to prominent elders on the platform at the time] know what my feelings were at the time Joseph revealed the

13. *Ibid.*

14. *The Life of John Taylor*, 1892; p. 100. Elder Taylor also adds in the same passage: "I had always entertained strict ideas of virtue, and I felt as a married man that this was to me, outside of this principle, an appalling thing to do. The idea of going and asking a young lady to be married to me when I already had a wife! It was a thing calculated to stir up feelings from the innermost depths of the human soul. I had always entertained the strictest regard of chastity. I had never in my life seen the time when I have known of a man deceiving a woman—and it is often done in the world, where, notwithstanding the crime, the man is received into society and the poor woman is looked upon as a pariah and an outcast—I have always looked upon such a thing as infamous, and upon such a man as a villain. * * * Hence, with the feeling I had entertained, nothing but a knowledge of God, and the revelations of God, and the truth of them, could have induced me to embrace such a principle as this."

doctrine; I was not desirous of shrinking from any duty, nor of failing in the least to do as I was commanded, but it was the first time in my life that I had desired the grave, and I could hardly get over it for a long time."[15]

The world never made a greater mistake than when it supposed that plural marriage was hailed with delight by the elders who were commanded of the Lord to introduce its practice in this generation. They saw clearly that it would bring additional reproach upon them from the world; that it would run counter to the traditions and prejudices of society, as, indeed, it was contrary to their own traditions; that their motives would be misunderstood or misconstrued. All this they saw, and naturally shrunk from the undertaking required of them by this doctrine.

Justification for Presenting this Subject

It has already been remarked that the consideration of this subject at this period of our history would aid the reader to understand more clearly many things in the subsequent events we have to relate. It is to be observed first of all that this principle of plural marriage had to be introduced secretly; firstly, because of the traditions and prejudices of the saints themselves; and, secondly, because of the advantage that their enemies surrounding them would have over the church if once the doctrine was publicly proclaimed. This enforced secrecy, which a reasonable prudence demanded, gave rise to apparent contradictions between the public utterances of leading breth-

15. *Journal of Discourses*, vol. iii, p. 266. It has been claimed, chiefly by the sons of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and the founders of what is known as the "Reorganized Church of Latter-day Saints" that Joseph Smith never introduced either the doctrine or the practice of the plurality of wives in the church; but the evidence is overwhelmingly against this contention. In addition to the evidence incidentally existing in the text above, there is a large collection of affidavits upon the subject in the files of the Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, a number of which—ten in all—are published in the *Historical Record*, together with many less formal statements and evidences. Some of the affidavits and statements are from women who were married to Joseph Smith, and some by those who performed the ceremonies (*Historical Record*, Jenson, pp. 219-234), and other persons whose relationship to Nauvoo events gave them exceptional opportunities to know the truth of the matters whereof they testified. (See also Linn, who discusses the subject at length, *Story of the Mormons*, ch. x. Also Bancroft's *History of Utah*, pp. 158-166; and the *Notes* at the close of this chapter).

ren in the church and their having a plurality of wives under the new marriage law.[16]

Wicked men took advantage of the situation and brought sorrow to the hearts of the innocent and reproach upon the church by practicing and justifying promiscuous sexual relations. Some, possessed of a zeal without wisdom, and knowing in part of the existence of the new marriage system, hastened without authority to make public proclamation of it and had to be silenced, as, for instance, a number of elders who were reproved by Hyrum Smith for preaching polygamy in a branch of the church at China Creek, near Nauvoo,[17]

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16. The doctrine of plural marriage both by those who without authorization and, prematurely, undertook to teach it, and those who bitterly denounced it, was not properly apprehended either by such advocates or such denunciators. Plural marriage as taught by the Prophet was not the "polygamy" of the orient, with its attendant despotism and harems; nor the "bigamy" of western civilization, banned by the law of all the western nations, including our own, and in which the element of deception was always present by keeping the fact of the first and perhaps other marriages secret, thus betraying its victims to unsuspected disgrace and humiliation. And hence, because these overzealous advocates, and ill informed denunciators never truly represented the doctrine of the revelation on marriage, the denial of their misstatements of the doctrine and its practice was not regarded by the leading elders of the church as a denial of the doctrine of the revelation given to the Prophet; and while this may be considered a refinement in presentation that the world will not allow, it nevertheless represents a distinction that was real to those who were struggling with a difficult proposition, and accounts for the seeming denials referred to in the text above; as also later seeming denials made by John Taylor, in a public discussion with three ministers at Boulogne-sur-mer, France, 1850 (*Public Discussion in France*, included in *Orson Pratt's Works*, 1851 edition, England. Also *Life of John Taylor*, ch. xxiv); and by Parley P. Pratt in England, 1845 (*Millennial Star*, vol. vi, p. 22). Both Elders Pratt and Taylor in their denials were referring to the charges made by John C. Bennett and other apostates. Pratt says, in his denial: "Beware of seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, as first introduced by John C. Bennett under the name of 'the spiritual wife doctrine.' * * * It is but another name for whoredom, wicked and unlawful connection and every kind of confusion, corruption and abomination. * * * The *spiritual wife doctrine of J. C. Bennett and numerous other apostates*, is as foreign from the real principles of the church as the devil is from God, or as sectarianism is from Christianity." (*Ibid.*)

17. See *Times and Seasons* for March, 1844. The main point in Hyrum's letter is contained in the following paragraph:

"Whereas Brother Richard Hewitt has called on me today, to know my views concerning some doctrines that are preached in your place, and states to me that some of your elders say, *that a man having a certain priesthood may have as many wives as he pleases*, and that the doctrine is taught here: I say unto you that that man teaches false doctrine, for there is no such doctrine taught here; neither is there any such thing practiced here. And any man that is found teaching privately or publicly any such doctrine, is culpable, and will stand a chance to be brought before the high council, and lose his license and membership also." This denial is of the character of the denials referred to in note 16; compare the words in *italics* with the statement of the text as to the limitations, and special conditions under which plural marriage is to be allowed.

and later one Hiram Brown who did the same thing in Lapeer county, Michigan, for which he was disfellowshiped from the church and notified by Joseph and Hyrum to attend the conference in April of that year to give further account of his proceedings.[18]

Then again there were others who falsely taught that the Prophet approved of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, and that there was no sin in such relations so long as they were kept secret and brought no scandal upon the community. This afforded villains their opportunity, and such men as John C. Bennett, the Laws, Wilson and William; Dr. Foster; the young Higbees, Chancy L. and Francis M., and others, to reap their harvest of lecherous wickedness. There was necessarily enough of mystery in the movements of the Prophet and his faithful brethren connected with the matter of plural marriage to give something of color to the false statements of these men, and hence many otherwise good people were deceived. The duty of the Prophet and his associates, however, to denounce this wickedness that had crept into the church, was not shirked by the leading elders of the church. The Prophet was bold in his denunciation of the evil; he ruthlessly unmasked corrupt men, and did all in his power to protect the innocent from the deceptions of the vicious, though it pulled down upon his own head the vengeful wrath of the ungodly.

Bearing this situation in mind, I am sure the reader will better appreciate the many complications which follow in this Nauvoo period of our history.

Notes

1. The Revelation on the Eternity of the Marriage Covenant, and Plural Marriage Committed to Writing

As stated in note 15 of this chapter it has been claimed that Joseph Smith did not receive the revelation on this subject, and was not responsible for the introduction of this practice in the church. In view

18. *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, no. 3, p. 423.

of these denials the circumstances under which the revelation was committed to writing, July 12th, 1843, will be of interest.

The account of it can best be told by the man who wrote the revelation as the Prophet Joseph dictated it to him, William Clayton; and the man who copied it the day following, Joseph Kingsbury; and from which Kingsbury "copy" the revelation was afterwards printed as it now stands in the current edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants.* In a sworn statement before John T. Caine, a notary public in Salt Lake City, on February 16th, 1874, William Clayton said:

Statement of William Clayton

"On the 7th of October, 1842, in the presence of Bishop Newel K. Whitney, and his wife, Elizabeth Ann, President Joseph Smith appointed me temple recorder, and also his private clerk, placing all records, books, papers, etc., in my care and requiring me to take charge of and preserve them, his closing words being, 'when I have any revelations to write, you are the one to write them.' * * * On the morning of the 12th of July, 1843, Joseph and Hyrum Smith came into the office in the upper story of the brick store, on the bank of the Mississippi river. They were talking on the subject of plural marriage. Hyrum said to Joseph, 'If you will write the revelation on celestial marriage, I will take it and read it to Emma, and I believe I can convince her of the truth, and you will hereafter have peace.' Joseph smiled and remarked, 'You do not know Emma as well as I do.' Hyrum repeated his opinion and further remarked, 'The doctrine is so plain I can convince any reasonable man or woman of its truth, purity and heavenly origin,' or words to that effect. Joseph then said, 'Well, I will write the revelation and we will see.' He [Hyrum] then requested Joseph to write the revelation by means of the Urim and Thummim, but Joseph in reply said he did not need to, for he knew the revelation perfectly from beginning to end.

Joseph and Hyrum then sat down and Joseph commenced to dictate the revelation on celestial marriage, and I wrote it sentence by sentence, as he dictated. After the whole was written Joseph asked me to read it through, slowly and carefully, which I did, and he pronounced it correct. He then remarked that there was much more that he could write on the same subject, but what was written was sufficient for the present.

Hyrum then took the revelation to read to Emma. Joseph remained with me in the office until Hyrum returned. When he came back, Joseph asked him how he had succeeded. Hyrum replied that he had never received a more severe talking to in his life, that Emma was very bitter and full of resentment and anger.

Joseph quietly remarked, 'I told you you did not know Emma as well as I did.' Joseph then put the revelation in his pocket, and they both left the office.

The revelation was read to several of the authorities during the day. Towards evening Bishop Newel K. Whitney asked Joseph if he had any objection to his taking a copy of the revelation; Joseph

replied that he had not, and handed it to him. It was carefully copied the following day by Joseph C. Kingsbury. Two or three days after the revelation was written Joseph related to me and several others that Emma had so teased, and urgently entreated him for the privilege of destroying it, that he became so weary of her teasing, and to get rid of her annoyance, he told her she might destroy it and she had done so, but he had consented to her wish in this matter to pacify her, realizing that he knew the revelation perfectly, and could rewrite it at any time if necessary.

The copy made by Joseph C. Kingsbury is a true and correct copy of the original in every respect. The copy was carefully preserved by Bishop Whitney, and but few knew of its existence until the temporary location of the 'Camps of Israel' at Winter Quarters, on the Missouri river, in 1846. * * *

(Signed) "WM. CLAYTON."

"Salt Lake City, Feb. 16th, 1874."

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH C. KINGSBURY

On May 22, 1886, Joseph C. Kingsbury made the following statement before Charles W. Stayner, a notary public, in Salt Lake City:

"In reference to the affidavit of Elder William Clayton on the subject of the celestial order of patriarchal marriage, published in the *Deseret Evening News* of May 20th, 1886, and particularly as to the statement made therein concerning myself, as having copied the original revelation written by Brother Clayton at the dictation of the Prophet Joseph, I will say that Bishop Newel K. Whitney handed me the revelation above referred to either on the day it was written or the day following, and stating what it was, asked me to take a copy of it. I did so, and then read my copy of it to Bishop Whitney. We compared it with the original which he held in his hand while I read to him. When I had finished reading, Bishop Whitney pronounced the copy correct, and Hyrum Smith coming into my room at the time to fetch the original, Bishop Whitney handed it to him. I will also state that this copy, as also the original are identically the same as that published in the present edition, 1886, of the book of *Doctrine and Covenants*.

I will add that I also knew that the Prophet Joseph Smith had married other women besides his first wife Emma; I was also aware of the fact of his having married Sarah Ann Whitney, the eldest daughter of Bishop Newel K. Whitney, and Elizabeth Ann Whitney, his wife. And the Prophet Joseph told me personally that he had married other women in accordance with the revealed will of God, and spoke concerning the principle being commanded of God for holy purposes.

(Signed) "JOSEPH C. KINGSBURY."

2. THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF AUTHORSHIP

The internal evidence for the authorship of the revelation by Joseph Smith is perfect. Minutely compared with other numerous

revelations given out by him there can be no doubt that under the inspiration by which he wrote all his revelations, he is the author of it. This phase of the subject is somewhat exhaustively treated by the writer of this *History* in his Introduction to the fourth volume of the *History of the Church,* Period I. The treatise is too long to be quoted at length in this note, but the subject is presented under the following seven heads which indicate somewhat the nature and the thoroughness of the analysis:

I. *The Revelation Was Given in Answer to the Prophet's Inquiry, a Characteristic of Nearly All His Revelations.*

II. *It Possesses the Characteristic of Frankness in Reproving the Prophet.*

III. *The Evidence of the Largeness of Range in the Revelation on Marriage, a Characteristic of all his Revelations.*

IV. *The Evidence of Identical Phraseology in This and Other Revelations.*

V. *The Evidence of a Recurrence of Principles in the Revelation on Marriage That are Found in Other Revelations Through Joseph Smith.*

VI. *The Evidence of the Particularization of Ideas.*

VII. *The Evidence of Identity in Grandeur of Style.*

3. Supposed Conflict Between the Book of Mormon and the Revelation on Marriage

In the second chapter of *Jacob, Book of Mormon,* is recorded a prohibition of a plurality of wives to the Nephites, which is very generally relied upon as proving an irreconcilable conflict between the Nephite scriptures and Joseph Smith's revelation at Nauvoo. If the passage in the *Book of Jacob* is true, it is urged, then the Nauvoo revelation must be false. The circumstances under which the passage in the *Book of Jacob* was given are these: When Lehi's colony departed from Jerusalem, 600 B. C., for the promised land of the western hemisphere, it was about evenly divided as to males and females; and hence, in justice to all, Lehi promulgated the commandment that among his people no man should have more than one wife. After the colony had been established in the land of promise, some began to depart from the commandment given through Lehi, and justified themselves in sexual immoralities because of the things written in the Hebrew scriptures they had brought with them, concerning David and Solomon; and under the reign of their second king, they "began to grow hard in their hearts," says Jacob, "and indulge themselves somewhat in wicked practices," such as David of old and Solomon his son practiced, "desiring many wives and concubines:" "This people begin to wax in iniquity; they understand not the scriptures; for they seek to excuse themselves in committing whoredoms, because of the things which were written concerning David and Solomon his son. Behold David and Solomon truly had many wives and concubines, which thing was abominable before me, saith the Lord; wherefore, thus saith the Lord,

I have led this people forth out of the land of Jerusalem, by the power of mine arm, that I might raise up unto me a righteous branch from the fruit of the loins of Joseph. Wherefore, I the Lord God, will not suffer that this people shall do like unto them of old. Wherefore my brethren, hear me, and hearken to the word of the Lord; for there shall not any man among you have save it be one wife; and concubines he shall have none; for I, the Lord God, delight in the chastity of women. And whoredoms are an abomination before me; thus saith the Lord of Hosts. Wherefore, this people shall keep my commandments, saith the Lord of Hosts, or cursed be the land for their sakes."[19]

Here those desiring to show the conflict between this passage and the Nauvoo revelation on marriage close the quotation; and of course claim the victory for their contention. If they would but quote the very next verse, however, it would bring their house of cards tumbling about their ears, and disclose not only their uncandor, but the inadequacy of the passage to the purpose for which they quote it, and also what I can only regard as the dishonesty of their contention. The verse omitted from their *data*, reads:

"For if I will, saith the Lord of Hosts, raise up seed unto me, I will command my people; otherwise they shall hearken unto these things."

That is to say, the Nephites had received a commandment from God that monogamy should be their marriage system. This commandment they disregarded and practiced whoredoms because of the things written of David and Solomon; whereupon comes their prophet Jacob and reproves them for their sins in this kind, reminds them of the commandment of the Lord to Lehi, and enjoins its observance as binding upon them; for if the Lord will do otherwise than that—or, to put into the words of Jacob—*"For if I will, saith the Lord of Hosts, raise up seed unto me, I will command my people; otherwise they shall hearken unto these things."* That is, God has given a law to the Nephites that a man should have but one wife; if for any special reason the Lord would vary from that system, he would command his people, otherwise they should observe the commandment then given—for one man to have but one wife.

The answer then to this whole contention about a conflict between the Nephite injunction to monogamy and the Nauvoo revelation, justifying plural marriage, under certain conditions, is, that the time came when God would for special reasons give other instructions than those given to the Nephites; God "commanded" his people, and they obeyed. In other words the pasasge in *Jacob* may properly be regarded as a prophecy that such a change as indicated would be made, of which the Nauvoo revelation is the fulfillment.

It should be remarked in connection with the foregoing that it is significant that while David and Solomon are severely censured by Jacob, in the above passages, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, and Gideon, with other patriarchs and prophets known to have sustained plural marriage

19. *Book of Jacob*, ii:23-30.

relations, and with evident approval of God, are not mentioned as among those of evil example. And doubtless for the obvious reason—for there can be no other—that they did no other thing, to slightly paraphrase the Nauvoo revelation, than that which they were commanded of God to do, hence their vindication. While both David and Solomon in their irregular and sinful lives went beyond that, and sinned in those things which they received not of God and were under condemnation; and the Nephites, not understanding the scriptures, and justifying themselves in their whoredoms and in violating the commandment given to them through Lehi, were also under condemnation. They were under obligations, as are all people, to keep the law which God gives to them; if another law for any reason is necessary to the accomplishment of his special purpose, God will command his people, otherwise they are under obligation to keep the law he has already given them. And that is the whole lesson of this somewhat celebrated passage in the Nephite record—the *Book of Mormon.*

CHAPTER XLVI

Effect of General Conditions on Nauvoo Affairs—Thieves—Bankruptcy—Politics

IN order to a right understanding of the events which make up the history of the Latter-day Saints, it is necessary to keep constantly in mind the general conditions in which they lived, the atmosphere of place and period. In the northern part of the state of Illinois the people had settled upon the public lands of the United States before they were in the market or even had been surveyed; and on these lands the settlers had made valuable improvements, opening individual farms of several hundred acres, building costly mills, and in some cases whole villages of six or eight hundred inhabitants were built upon these unsurveyed public lands.[1]

Primitive Conditions in Illinois—Lawlessness

"By a conventional law of each neighborhood," says Governor Ford in his *History of Illinois,* the settlers were pledged to protect each other in the amount of their respective claims. But there were mean men, who disregarded these conventional arrangements, "such as these," he remarks in a tone of sarcasm, "belonged to that very honest fraternity, who profess to regulate all their dealings by the law of the land. Such men had but little regard for public opinion or abstract right; and their consciences did not restrain them from 'jumping' their neighbors claim, if they could be sustained by law and protected against force. It soon became apparent to everyone that actual force was the only protection for this description of property."[2] This meant, of course, reversion to the exercise of natural rights; and their protection by physical force. In protecting themselves from the encroach-

1. *History of Illinois,* Ford, 1854, p. 245.
2. *Ibid,* p. 245

ments of the unscrupulous and dishonorable, the settlers on unsurveyed public lands were frequently embroiled in riots and mob violence. "Many were the riots and mobs in every county, arising from this state of things," says Ford—and he has reference to all northern Illinois. "Every neighborhood was signalized by some brawl of the kind."[3]

These conditions gave rise to a spirit of violence and lawlessness, especially throughout northern Illinois. Ford refers to them as fostering that mob spirit which led, in 1837, to the destruction of an abolition press at Alton, in Madison county, and the killing of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, the proprietor of the press; also, subsequently, to the murder of Joseph Smith and the expulsion of the Latter-day Saints from the state.

In connection with these matters Mr. Ford refers to the fact that notwithstanding most of the settlers of Illinois were from the eastern states, "from the land of steady habits where mobs were regularly hated and denounced, and all unlawful fighting held in abhorrence," yet in this new environment the staid New Englander quickly responded to the spirit of mobocracy more or less prevalent.[4]

Moreover Illinois in her early days had passed through the experience of lawlessness more or less common to all border states, to which horse thieves, counterfeiters and other lawless characters gravitate. A score of years before the founding of Nauvoo these had become so numerous, "and so well combined in many counties," adds Mr. Ford, "as to set the laws at defiance. Many of the sheriffs, justices of the peace, and constables, were of their number; and even some of the judges of the county courts; and they had numerous

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3. *History of Illinois*, p. 246.

4. "The old, peaceful, staid, Puritan Yankee," our author remarks, "walked into a fight in defense of his claim, or that of his neighbor, just as if he had received a regular backwoods education in the olden times * * * The readiness with which our puritan population from the east adopted the mobocratic spirit is evidence that men are the same everywhere under the same circumstances." (*History of Illinois*, Ford, p. 246.)

friends to aid them and sympathize with them, even amongst those who were the least suspected. When any of them were arrested, they either escaped from the slight jails of those times, or procured some of their gang to be on the jury; and they never lacked witnesses to prove themselves innocent. The people formed themselves into revolutionary tribunals in many counties, under the name of 'regulators;' and the governor and judges of the territory, seeing the impossibility of executing the laws in the ordinary way, against an organized banditti, who set all law at defiance, winked at and encouraged the proceedings of the 'regulators'."[5]

In consequence of the activity of the "regulators" this regime of crime was largely suppressed, but the methods by which the suppression was effected begot such a disregard for the regular administration of the law as to demoralize civil government in some sections of the state for many years. Nor were the gangs of thieves and counterfeiters that had infested northern Illinois wholly broken up by the methods described. Speaking of conditions existing in northern Illinois in 1841, Mr. Ford says:

"Then again the northern part of the state was not destitute of its organized bands of rogues, engaged in murders, robberies, horse-stealing, and in making and passing counterfeit money. These rogues were scattered all over the north; but the most of them were located in the counties of Ogle, Winnibago, Lee, and DeKalb. In the county of Ogle, they were so numerous, strong, and well organized, that they could not be convicted for their crimes. By getting some of their numbers on the juries, by producing hosts of witnesses to sustain their defense by perjured evidence, and by changing the venue from one county to another, and by continuances from term to term, and by the inability of witnesses to attend from time to time at a distant and foreign county, they most generally managed to be acquitted."[6]

Our author then proceeds to detail a number of instances of the lawlessness and the effort of the people to suppress them by recourse to mob violence.

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5. *History of Illinois*, Ford, pp. 232-3.
6. *Ibid*, p. 246.

Lawlessness Brought Over into the "Mormon" Period

These conditions were prevailing in northern Illinois in 1841. In November of that year a nest of thieves were uncovered at Ramus, in Hancock county, a settlement about twenty miles east of Nauvoo. What made the not unusual circumstance of finding a gang of thieves in Illinois so exciting in this instance was the fact that this particular gang of thieves were "Mormons;" or at least claimed membership in the church, and what was worst of all when discovered in their nefarious practice they gave it out that they were sustained in their conduct by the leaders of the church, so long as the stealing was practiced upon the "Gentiles"—i. e. non-members of the church.

The Church Attitude on Lawlessness

The guilty persons were promptly excommunicated by the church, however, and President Joseph Smith, his brother, Hyrum, and the twelve took occasion to denounce as untrue the charge that the church gave sanction to thieving in any form or upon any class of people. President Joseph Smith in an affidavit said:

"It has been proclaimed upon the housetops and in the secret chambers, in the public walks and private circles throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, that stealing by the Latter-day Saints has received my approval; nay, that I have taught them the doctrine, encouraged them in plunder, and led on the van—than which nothing is more foreign from my heart. I disfellowship the perpetrators of all such abomination; they are devils and not saints, totally unfit for the society of Christians or men. It is true that some professing to be Latter-day Saints have taught such vile heresies, but all are not Israel that are of Israel; and I want it distinctly understood in all coming time, that the church over which I have the honor of presiding, will ever set its brows like brass, and its face like steel, against all such abominable acts of villainy and crime."

Hyrum Smith said:

"I hereby disavow any sanction, or approbation by me of the crime of theft, or any other evil practice in any person or persons

whatever, whereby either the lives or property of our fellow men may be lawfully taken or molested; neither are such doings sanctioned or approbated by the first presidency or any other person in authority or good standing in the church, but such acts are altogether in violation of the rules, order and regulations of the church, contrary to the teachings given in said church, and the laws of both God and man."

Nor were the twelve less forcible in denouncing this iniquity. In an epistle published at the same time as the above, they said:

"We know not how to express our abhorrence of such an idea and can only say it is engendered in hell, founded in falsehood, and is the offspring of the devil; that it is at variance with every principle of righteousness and truth, and will damn all that are connected with it. * * * We further call upon the church to bring all such characters before the authorities, that they may be tried and dealt with according to the law of God and delivered up to the laws of the land."[7]

In addition to the emphatic utterances of the Prophet Joseph, his brother Hyrum, and the twelve, the *Times and Seasons* editorially said:

"THIEVES"

"We are highly pleased to see the very energetic measures taken by our citizens to suppress thieving. It has been a source of grief unto us that there were any in our midst who would wilfully take property from any person which did not belong to them, knowing that if any person, who does, or ever did belong to the church, should steal, the whole church would have to bear the stigma, and the sound goes abroad that the 'Mormons' are a set of thieves and robbers, a charge which we unequivocally deny, and pronounce a falsehood of the basest kind. That there are some amongst us base enough to commit such acts we do not pretend to deny, whether they are all members of this church or not, we do not know; but some who are, have been caught in their iniquity, and one was among the missing after a warrant was out for him; circumstantial proof is so strong against him, that his guilt is established without doubt. We have heard that some of those characters have said that such things are sanctioned by the authorities of the church, this is the most base of all lies: and we would here warn all well disposed persons, to be aware of such characters, and if any such thing is ever intimated to them, to heed it not, unless it be to report such persons to the proper authorities so that they can be brought to condign punishment; for know assuredly that if you listen to them,

7. This communication and the affidavits above quoted from will be found *in extenso* in *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iv, ch. xxvii.

they will prove an adder in your path, and eventually lead you down to destruction."[8]

In adition to excommunicating those who were guilty of this wickedness of theft and misrepresentation, Ramus was discontinued as a stake of Zion.[9]

The saints themselves about this time and later were the victims of gangs of robbers operating up and down the Mississippi. Many of their horses and cattle were stolen, but more serious injury arose from the fact that the acts of the robbers were attributed to the saints, and did much to prejudice the minds of the public against them. Governor Ford in referring to these charges against the "Mormons," and speaking of events taking place about this time in Nauvoo, said: "It was a fact also, that some larcenies and robberies had been committed, and that Mormons had been convicted of the crimes,[10] and that other larcenies had been committed by persons unknown, but suspected to be Mormons. Justice, however, requires me here to say, that upon such investigation as I then could make, the charge of promiscuous stealing appeared to be exaggerated."[11]

Bankruptcy at Nauvoo and Throughout Illinois

Another event which was influenced somewhat by general conditions prevailing in the state as well as certain local

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8. *Ibid*, pp. 463-6; also *Times and Seasons*, vol. iii, p. 615.

9. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, pp. 467-8.

10. This referred to the Ramus thieves.

11. The practice of charging these robberies upon members of the church continued through the next three or four years. Speaking of the time somewhat later than the period we are dealing with in the text above the governor said: "On my late visit to Hancock county, I was informed by some of their violent enemies that the larcenies of the Mormons had become unusually numerous and insufferable. They indeed admitted that but little had been done in this way in their immediate vicinity. But they insisted that sixteen horses had been stolen by the Mormons in one night, near Lima, in the county of Adams. At the close of the expedition, I called at this same town of Lima, and upon inquiry was told that no horses had been stolen in that neighborhood, but that sixteen horses had been stolen in one night in Hancock county. This last information being told of the Hancock story, again changed the venue to another distant settlement in the northern edge of Adams." (*History of Illinois*, Ford, p. 331.)

And thus sensational reports of "Mormon stealing" were made the shuttlecock between the battledoors of various neighborhoods.

conditions at Nauvoo, was the fact of some of the leading authorities in the church going into bankruptcy.

The general conditions referred to are stated by Mr. Ford in his *History of Illinois.* The canal and the railroads mentioned were those projected in 1836-7 by the state, when Illinois entered upon that system of public improvements by state aid, mentioned in a previous chapter[12] and now Mr. Ford:

"The great plenty of money brought here by the work on the canal and railroads, set up a great many merchants all over the country in business; it increased the stocks of goods brought to be sold; created unnatural competition amongst the merchants to sell; who were forced to sell on a credit or not at all. The people were encouraged to buy on credit, and when their debts became due, for want of money tc pay them, they gave their notes to the merchants *with twelve per cent interest,* which the reader will observe hereafter was the cause of some strange legislation on the collection of debts, and caused the reduction of the rate of interest to six per cent. Until the year 1833, there had been no legal limit to the rate of interest to be fixed by contract."[13]

Again Mr. Ford says:

"To sum up, then, this was the condition of the state when I came into office as governor [1842]. The domestic treasury of the state was indebted for the ordinary expenses of government to the amount of about $313,000. Auditor's warrants on the treasury were selling at fifty per cent discount, and there was no money in the treasury whatever; not even to pay postage on letters. The annual revenues applicable to the payment of ordinary expenses, amounted to about $130,000. The treasury was bankrupt; the revenues were insufficient; the people were unable and unwilling to pay high taxes; and the state had borrowed itself out of all credit. A debt of near fourteen millions of dollars had been contracted for the canal, railroads, and other purposes. The currency of the state had been annihilated; there was not over two or three hundred thousand dollars in good money in the pockets of the whole people, which occasioned a general inability to pay taxes. The whole people were indebted to merchants; nearly all of whom were indebted to the banks, or to foreign merchants; and the banks owed everybody, and none were able to pay."[14]

To these general conditions so depressing throughout

12. Chapter xl, *Note* 1.

13. *History of Illinois,* Ford, p. 232.

14. *Ibid,* p. 278.

the state must be added still other difficulties that harassed the saints at Nauvoo. The church had passed through a long period of disaster. Time and again the early members of the church had been driven away from their homes; and these frequent drivings and mobbings stripped them of their property and of course ruined their financial undertakings; and though their prospects at Nauvoo began to brighten, the people were constantly plagued by the presentation of old claims upon them, their creditors making small or no allowance for the disasters which had overtaken them. This was a constant draft upon their resources, and a great hindrance to the growth of Nauvoo.

Financial Embarrassment of the Saints

In the Iowa stake of Zion, with headquarters at Montrose, the high council, taking into account the disasters which had overwhelmed the church in Missouri, decided to disfellowship those who pressed their claims for indebtedness contracted in Missouri.[15] A like understanding, though not so definitely stated, obtained also among the saints at Nauvoo. But finally, as an effective means of protection against unreasonable, importunate creditors a number of leading authorities in the church, among them President Joseph Smith, took advantage of the federal bankrupt law. Under this law anyone owing a certain amount more than he was able to pay, made out a schedule of his property and likewise of his debts, and placed both in the hands of an assignee, who paid his creditors whatever percentage of his debts his property amounted to; and the assignee could start again without being compelled to pay any of the old claims held against him previous to his declared insolvency.

In whatever light this action on the part of the brethren may appear at first sight, an examination into all the circumstances will reveal the fact that as a means of self-protec-

15. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, p. 42.

tion it became absolutely imperative. They were financially broken down, and before they could rise to their feet, inexorable creditors were upon them to take away their substance. If it is possible for an individual or a company to be justified in taking advantage of the bankrupt law, then the "Mormon" leaders were justified. There was no effort on the part of those who took advantage of the bankrupt law to defraud their creditors. To parties with whom President Joseph Smith had contracted for lands, he wrote that he still considered his contracts with them as good; and in the case of the Hotchkiss purchase he proposed to renew the contract. This step in bankruptcy had the effect of placing the brethren beyond the power of their unjust creditors, and necessity compelled the action.[16]

Contraction of Borders

About this time there seemed to be a contraction of the borders of the church in Hancock county. Ramus, as already stated, was abandoned as a "stake of Zion," owing immediately to the fact that that section of the county was becoming a rendezvous for thieves, and their crimes were charged against the saints. The action of dissolving the stake organization was under the direction of Brigham Young and others of the apostles at a conference held on the 4th and 5th of December, 1841. Shortly afterwards, in the same month, Warren, a settlement founded early in the spring of that year was also abandoned. Warren was situated about

16. The comment of President Smith upon this action is as follows: "The justice or injustice of such a principle in law, I leave for them who made it, the United States. Suffice it to say, the law was as good for the saints as for the Gentiles, and whether I would or not, I was forced into the measure by having been robbed, mobbed, plundered, and wasted of all my property, time after time, in various places, by the very ones who made the law, namely, the people of the United States, thereby having been obliged to contract heavy debts to prevent the utter destruction of myself, family and friends, and by those who were justly and legally owing me, taking the advantage of the same act of bankruptcy, so that I could not collect my just dues, thus leaving me no alternative but to become subject again to stripping, wasting, and destitution, by vexatious writs, and law suits, and imprisonments, or take that course to extricate myself which the law had pointed out." (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, pp. 594-5.)

a mile south of Warsaw on the Mississippi river. As early as the fall of 1839 Daniel S. Witter, a man owning a flour mill at Warsaw, held out inducements to the first presidency of the church to settle at or in the vicinity of Warsaw, but the location where the saints built up Nauvoo was considered preferable. Still Witter, Aldrich, Warren, and others continued to solicit the authorities of the church to make an attempt to build a city near Warsaw; and finally, in the spring of 1841, an agreement was entered into between the church authorities and Witter, Warren, and Aldrich—owners of the school section located just south of Warsaw—by which any of the saints settling on this school section, already surveyed into town lots and called Warren, were to have certain privileges granted them.

In September, Willard Richards was located at Warsaw and made what preparations he could to receive the settlers. Some few families of saints gathered there, and in November two hundred and four emigrants from England, under the leadership of Joseph Fielding, were counseled to locate in that vicinity. But no sooner had preparations to build up the place been made than the citizens of Warsaw attempted to form an anti-"Mormon" association, and manifested other symptoms of an unfriendly character. They raised the rents —Mr. Witter himself raised one dollar per barrel on flour, while Aldrich forbade the people using the old wood on the school section. These unfriendly demonstrations led to the abandonment of the enterprise of building up Warren, and the church authorities promptly advised the saints who had located there to remove to Nauvoo.

This action with reference to both Ramus and Warren was also somewhat in harmony with the general policy of the church at that time, which recognized the necessity of concentration of efforts at Nauvoo. In the preceding month of May the first presidency had issued instructions for all the saints residing outside of Hancock county to come within her

boundaries "without delay." "This is important," said the communication, "and should be attended to by all who feel an interest in the prosperity of this corner stone of Zion. Here the temple must be raised, the university built, and other edifices erected which are necessary for the great work of the last days, and which can be done by a concentration of energy and enterprise. Let it therefore be understood, that all stakes excepting those in this (Hancock) county and in Lee county, Iowa, are discontinued, and the saints instructed to settle in this county, as soon as circumstances will permit."[17] A later recommendation of gathering from the outlying districts of the county into Nauvoo was but another step in the policy of concentration.

Church Attitude on Politics—Non-partisan

It was in the closing month of this eventful year, 1841, that a public announcement was made concerning the attitude of the citizens of Nauvoo respecting politics. Under date of 20th of December, President Joseph Smith addressed a communication to his "friends in Illinois," in which he announced that the "gubernatorial convention of Illinois" had placed in nomination for governor, Colonel Adam W. Snyder; and for lieutenant governor, Colonel John Moore;" that as they were "sterling men, and friends of equal rights;" and also because they had befriended the citizens of Nauvoo and had assisted their representatives in the state legislature in securing the passage of the several charters for the city,[18] President Smith announced what must be regarded as the intention of the citizens of Nauvoo to vote for these candidates. "They have served us," said President Smith's communication, "and we will serve them." Notwithstanding these men were the nominees of the Democratic party and

17. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, p. 362.

18. In fact Mr. Snyder was chairman of the judiciary committee of the state legislature to which the charters were referred and he reported them to the senate with the recommendation that they pass. (See Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 263).

placed in nomination by the Democratic Conventions held at Springfield, President Smith claimed to be acting independent of party considerations. "In the next canvass,'" said he, "we shall be influenced by no party consideration. * * * We care not a fig for Whig or Democrat: they are both alike to us; *but we shall go for our friends,* our tried friends, and the cause of human liberty, which is the cause of God." In the previous national election, two years before, the people of Nauvoo, quite generally, had voted for General William H. Harrison, a Whig, for president of the United States; and as late as the previous August had voted for the Whig candidate for congress, Mr. John J. Stuart.[19] Referring to the fact of the people of Nauvoo having voted for these Whig candidates President Smith said:

> "We voted for General Harrison because we loved him—he was a gallant officer and a tried statesman; but this is no reason why we should always be governed by his friends—he is now dead, and all his friends are not ours. We claim the privileges of free men, and shall act accordingly. Douglas is a master spirit, and his friends are our friends—we are willing to cast our banners on the air, and fight by his side in the cause of humanity and equal rights—the cause of liberty and the law. Snyder and Moore, are his friends—they are ours. These men are free from the prejudices and superstitions of the age, and such men we love, and such men will ever receive our support, be their political predilections what they may."[20]

Before the election took place, however, Mr. Snyder died, and Thomas Ford, one of the judges of the state supreme court, was nominated to fill the vacancy. He was nominated not because he was in any sense a leader of his party in Illinois, as he himself explains; "but because," he adds, "I was believed to have no more than a very ordinary share of ambition; because it was doubtful whether any of the leaders could be elected, and because it was thought I would stand more in need of support from leaders, than an actual leader would. To this cause, and perhaps there were others, I trace the fact

19. *History of Illinois,* Ford, p. 264.
20. *Times and Seasons,* vol. iii, p. 651.

which will appear, that I was never able to command the support of the entire party which elected me."[21]

Joseph Duncan, who had previously been governor of Illinois, 1836-38, was the Whig candidate for governor, and really expected to be elected because of his pronounced and even bitter opposition to the "Mormons."

The fact is that for some time there had been an agitation going on in respect of the saints and their relationship to the politics of the state; and political capital was sought to be made by manifestations of friendliness or of hostility towards them. Although, in the main, the people of Nauvoo had sustained the Whig candidates, both locally and nationally, in the preceding elections, yet there were outbreaks against them both among the Whig politicians and in the Whig press of Illinois. "The Whig newspapers," writes Governor Ford, "teemed with accounts of the wonders and enormities of Nauvoo, and of the awful wickedness of a party which could consent to receive the support of such miscreants. Governor Duncan, (nominated in opposition to Snyder) who was really a brave, honest man, and who had nothing to do with getting the "Mormon" characters passed through the legislature, took the stump on this subject in good earnest, and expected to be elected governor almost on this question alone."[22]

The position of the saints in their relations to the political parties in the state of Illinois is tersely set forth by the late President John Taylor in his review of affairs at Nauvoo, leading up to the martyrdom of the Prophet; which document was prepared at the request of the historians of the church, and filed in the archives of the church as the testimony of an eye witness and participant in those events.[23] Of the

21. *History of Illinois*, Ford, p. 271.
22. *History of Illinois*, Ford, p. 269.
23. The document under the title of The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, was published by the permission of its author, in Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*. Introductory, pp. 10 to 64. Also it is published in Burton's *City of the Saints*, Appendix, iii, pp. 517-574. Remarking on this document in his text Burton says: "A tone of candor, simplicity, and honesty renders it highly attractive." (*Ibid*, p. 272).

political situation at Nauvoo—which was forming at the period to which the political announcement by President Smith of the text above, belongs—President Taylor says:

"There were always two parties, the Whigs and Democrats, and we could not vote for one without offending the other; and it not infrequently happened that candidates for office would place the issue of their election upon opposition to the 'Mormons,' in order to gain political influence from religious prejudice, in which case the 'Mormons' were compelled, in self-defense, to vote against them, which resulted almost invariably against our opponents. This made them angry; and although it was of their own making, and the 'Mormons' could not be expected to do otherwise, yet they raged on account of their discomfiture, and sought to wreak their fury on the 'Mormons.' As an instance of the above, when Joseph Duncan was candidate for the office of governor of Illinois, 1842, he pledged himself to his party that, if he could be elected, he would exterminate or drive the 'Mormons' from the state. The consequence was that Governor Ford was elected."

It cannot in truth be claimed that any favor shown by the Democratic party, as such, to the "Mormon" people was the cause of the announcement of the above independent attitude in politics. For while it is true that Judge Douglas, a leading Democrat of the state, if not then the leader of his party in Illinois, had recently rendered a decision favorable to the Prophet, liberating him from the clutches of Missouri, it should be remembered that the judge had but pronounced upon the course of the officers of the states of Missouri and Illinois and found that course at variance with the law, and there was no alternative but to set the Prophet free. But it was the law that vindicated Joseph Smith, not the favor of Judge Douglas. And then, if a judge who was a Democrat had decided a case in favor of the Prophet, it should be remembered that it was the act, and I might say the unwarranted, illegal act, of a Democrat, Governor Carlin, which had put the life and liberty of the Prophet in jeopardy by issuing an illegal requisition for his arrest and deliverance to Missouri. This to show that it was not any favor that had been exhibited by the Democratic party, as such, that prompted the assumption of an independent attitude in

politics by President Joseph Smith, but that for weal or woe, the attitude was taken as a measure of self-defense, and for the protection of the people in whose interest it was announced.

CHAPTER XLVII

The Book of Abraham—Wentworth Letter—Endowment Ceremonies Introduced

DURING the winter of 1841-2 President Joseph Smith completed the translation of, and prepared for publication, certain ancient Egyptian papyrus which came into his possession in July, 1835, in the following manner: One Michael H. Chandler appeared in Kirtland to exhibit some Egyptian mummies. There were four well preserved human figures, together with some two or more rolls of papyrus covered with hieroglyphics. Very naturally the fact that Joseph Smith was reputed to have translated the *Book of Mormon* from an ancient language, led up to the question of his ability to translate the Egyptian papyrus. Some conversation took place between Mr. Chandler and President Smith, also a comparison of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and a transcript of *Book of Mormon* characters, resulting in the discovery of some points of resemblance. The Prophet translated some of the hieroglyphics Mr. Chandler submitted to him, whereupon that gentleman certified as to the agreement of the Prophet's translation with that which had been made by scholars in other places where the mummies and papyrus rolls had been exhibited.

Chandler's Story of Getting Possession of Egyptian Records

The people of Kirtland became interested in these ancient documents and purchased both them and the mummies of Mr. Chandler. The manner in which the Egyptian relics came into Mr. Chandler's possession,—the account somewhat abridged,—is as follows: In 1831, the French traveler, Antonio Sebolo, penetrated Egypt as far as the ancient city of Thebes, under a license procured from Mohemet Ali—then Viceroy of Egypt—through the influence of Chevalier Dro-

JOSEPH SMITH STORE, NAUVOO

Where Temple Endowments Were First Given.

vetti, the French consul. Sebolo employed four hundred and thirty-three men for four months and two days, either Turkish or Egyptian soldiers, paying each from four to six cents a day. They entered the catacombs near ancient Thebes on the seventh of June, 1831, and procured eleven mummies. These were shipped to Alexandria, and from there the traveler started with his treasures for Paris. But *en route* for the French capitol, Sebolo put in at Trieste, where he was taken sick, and after an illness of ten days, died. This was in 1832. Previous to his death he willed his Egyptian treasures to his nephew, Michael H. Chandler, who was then living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; but whom Sebolo believed to be in Dublin, to which city he ordered the mummies shipped. The mummies were shipped to Philadelphia; and from there Mr. Chandler traveled through the country, exhibited them and the rolls of papyrus, reaching Kirtland in July, 1835, where they were purchased by the saints as already stated.

A further examination of the rolls of papyrus convinced the Prophet that these Egyptian fragments were writings of the patriarchs Abraham and Joseph, the son of Jacob. With the assistance of Oliver Cowdery and W. W. Phelps, President Smith began the work of translating this record which had come into his possession in such singular manner. The work of translation was taken up from time to time, but was not completed and ready for publication until March, 1842, when the publication began in the *Times and Seasons*,[1] with facsimiles of certain portions of the papyrus. Only the writings of Abraham were published, and these under the title of the *Book of Abraham*.[2]

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1. vol. iii, nos. 9 and 10.
2. The title in full is as follows:

THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM.

Translated From The Papyrus, By Joseph Smith.

A translation of some ancient records, that have fallen into our hands from the catacombs of Egypt. The writings of Abraham while he was in Egypt, called the Book of Abraham, written by his own hand, upon papyrus.

Subject Matter of the Book of Abraham

This work is rich both in doctrine and in historical incidents. Of the latter the fact of the large influence (if not identity) of Egyptian religious ideas in Chaldea in the days of Abraham is established; the descent of the black race (Negro) from Cain, the first murderer; the preservation of that race through the flood by the wife of Ham—"Egyptus," which in the Chaldean signifies "Egypt," "which signifies that which is forbidden"—the descendants of "Egyptus" were cursed as pertaining to the priesthood—that is, they were barred from holding that divine power; the origin also of the Egyptians —these things, together with the account of Abraham migrating from Chaldea to Egypt,[3] constitute the chief historical items that are contained in the book. As to its doctrines, perhaps the most important are the pre-existence of the spirits of men and the eternal existence, yet varying grades of, intelligences; the choice of the more noble spirits as God's rulers in the earth; the purpose of the earth-life of these eternal intelligences, *viz.*, to be "added upon," which means growth, increase of knowledge through experience, enlarged wisdom, increased power and glory for intelligences; and the existence of a plurality of Divine Intelligences implied in the fact that in his creation story Abraham uses the plural form throughout in reference to the Divine Beings engaged in the work of creation—"And the Gods said let there be light,"—and "the Gods called the light day," etc.

Abrahamic System of Astronomy

There is also, in outline, a most noble system of astronomy in this Egyptian fragment, which system, according to the record itself, was revealed to Abraham by means of Urim and Thummim, and which more modern research and discovery does but confirm. Briefly stated the system stands as

3. See *Note* 1, end of chapter.

follows[4]—omitting, however, most of the Egyptian names used:—There are many great stars, called "governing ones," one of which rises preeminent above the others "nearest the throne of God," and is called "Kolob." This great star constitutes the grand center of our universe, around which all other great stars revolve, or by which they are governed in their movements, or receive controlling force; and thence from this great central governing star, in ever widening circles revolve countless worlds and world-groups with their respective central suns in bewildering yet orderly magnificence and splendor. This view represents the universe not as static, but as dynamic; movement everywhere, leading not to *"being,"* merely, but to that *"becoming"* which as it is the noblest, so also is it the most scientific conception of the universe; so also the most in harmony with religious feeling, since it gives evidence of the Intelligence back of the phenomena, and some idea of the magnificence and glory of that Intelligence—some idea—"of God moving in his majesty and power," since he must be thought upon as immanent in the universe by his spirit.

It should be remembered, too, in passing, that the *Book of Abraham* containing this conception of our universe having a center around which the world-systems, including our own, revolve in orderly procession, was published before our modern astronomers had advanced the idea of the movement among what hitherto had been regarded as "the fixed stars"

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4. "The more carefully one studies the great work of Copernicus (the father of modern astronomy) the more surprised he will be to find how completely Ptolemy (the Egyptian) furnished him both ideas and material. If we seek the teachers and predecessors of Hipparchus, the Greek, (160-125 B. C.) we find only the shadowy forms of Egyptian and Babylonian priests, whose names and writings are all entirely lost. In the earliest historic ages, men knew that the earth was round; that the sun appeared to make an annual revolution among the stars; and that eclipses were caused by the moon entering the shadow of the earth, or the earth that of the moon." (*Popular Astronomy*, Simon Newcomb, Introduction, p. 2.) It is not at all improbable that among the Egyptian and Babylonian priests above spoken of, "whose names and writings are all entirely lost," that Abraham may have had a place.

but which now is very generally conceded and explained by them.[5]

The Wentworth Historic Letter

One other document of great historical and even doctrinal importance was published about the same time as this *Book of Abraham,* namely, in the spring of 1842. This document is what is called *The Wentworth Letter.* Mr. John Wentworth, editor and proprietor of the *Chicago Democrat,* solicited of Joseph Smith a statement concerning the history and doctrine of the Church of the Latter-day Saints, for his friend Mr. Barstow, of New Hampshire, who was writing a history of that state. Responding to this request the *Wentworth Letter* was prepared by the Prophet. Beginning with the birth of Joseph Smith, in 1805, it traces in admirable manner the development of the great latter-day work, the story of its persecutions, up to the settlement of the saints in

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5. See Gillet and Rolfe's *Astronomy for Schools and Acadamies,* pp. 365-371. *Popular Astronomy,* Newcomb, pp. 464-476. Proctor's *Other Worlds than Ours,* ch. x. See *Note* 2, end of chapter.

It is due to the reader to say that fragments of the *Book of Abraham,* the fac similes published with this chapter, were submitted to a young French *savant* in 1860, M. Jules Remey. This celebrated French traveler and writer visited Utah in the fall and winter of 1855-6, where he made a study of the "Mormon" history and religion. In 1861 he published the results of his investigations in two large volumes, in Paris, under the title, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City, with a Sketch of the History, Religion and Customs of the Mormons; and an Introduction on the Religious Movement in the United States.* The young French *savant* of the Museum of the Louvre, to whom the facsimiles of the fragments of the *Book of Abraham* were submitted, was M. Theodule Deveria. His explanations differ from the translations made by Joseph Smith, but of the merits of M. Deveria's translation the writer can form no judgment. But one thing is very striking in the interpretation he gives, and that is, he insists that the hieroglyphics and figures in the copies submitted to him are in some cases dim and may not be deciphered, in others he insists that the figures should be different, and claims that others still have been purposely altered in the copying. If it is the facsimiles thus changed that M. Deveria has interpreted, then of course his interpretation would differ from that translation made by Joseph Smith, who doubtless followed strictly the papyrus text. In any event we do not think the pronunciamiento of M. Deveria is to be regarded as the last word upon the subject. Meantime there are the internal evidences of the truth of the *Book of Abraham* translated from the papyrus to be accounted for; all which will also stand for the correctness of the Prophet's translation of the ancient record. These evidences are considered at length in the very excellent work of the late Elder George Reynolds under the title *The Book of Abraham: Its Authenticity Established as a Divine and Ancient Record,* 1879: Deseret News, publishers; to which the reader is referred. For an account of a more recent controversy respecting the *Book of Abraham* and Joseph Smith as a translator, see *Note* 3, end of chapter.

Nauvoo; and also details their prosperous condition and happy prospects at the time the letter was written.

It is the earliest published document by Joseph Smith,[6] making any pretension to consecutive narration of those events in which the latter-day work had its origin; and for combining conciseness of statement with comprehensiveness of treatment, it has few equals among historical documents, and certainly none that excel it in our church literature. In a few pages (less than six of this *History*) it gives a remarkably clear statement of the leading events in the Prophet's life and in the history of the church, together with an epitome of its doctrines, which has since been called "The Articles of Faith." Millions of these "Articles of Faith" have been published; they have been translated into many languages and carried to all the nations of the earth and tribes of men where the New Dispensation of the gospel has been preached. They were not produced by the labored efforts and the harmonized contentions of scholastics, but were struck off by one mind at a single effort to make a declaration of that which is most assuredly believed by the church, for one making earnest inquiry about her history and her fundamental doctrines. The combined directness, perspicuity, simplicity and comprehensiveness of this statement of the doctrine of the church is regarded as strong evidence of a divine inspiration operating upon the mind of Joseph Smith. Said articles are herewith given:

"THE ARTICLES OF FAITH"

I

"We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost."

II

"We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression."

6. It was published in *Times and Seasons*, vol. iii, March 15th, 1842.

III

"We believe that, through the Atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel."

IV

"We believe that the first principles and ordinances of the gospel are: First, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of the Hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost."

V

"We believe that a man must be called of God, by 'prophecy, and by the laying on of hands,' by those who are in authority, to preach the gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof."

VI

"We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church, namely, apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc."

VII

"We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc."

VIII

"We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God."

IX

"We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God."

X

"We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes. That Zion will be built upon this (i. e. the American) continent. That Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory."

XI

"We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our own conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may."

XII

"We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates, in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law."

XIII

"We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, 'We believe all things, we hope all things' we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things."[7]

The Temple Ritual Endowment Ceremonies

It was during this month of May, 1842, into which so many historical events were crowded, that the Prophet introduced and established the temple ritual contemplated in the revelation of January 19th, 1841.[8] It is in that revelation, it will be remembered, that the saints were commanded to build the Nauvoo temple, a "House for the Most High;" "for there is not a place found on earth that he may come and restore again that which was lost unto you, or which he hath taken away, even the fulness of the priesthood. * * * For therein are the keys of the holy priesthood ordained, that you may receive honor and glory. * * * For it is ordained that in Zion, and in her stakes, and in Jerusalem, those places which I have appointed for refuge, shall be the places for your baptism for your dead."

"And again, verily I say unto you, how shall your washings be acceptable unto me, except ye perform them in a house which you have built to my name? For, for this cause I commanded Moses that he should build a tabernacle, that they should bear it with them in the wilderness, and to build a house in the land of promise, that those ordinances might be revealed which had been hid from before the world was; therefore, verily I say unto you, that your anointings, and your washings, and your baptisms for the dead, and your solemn assemblies, and your memorials for your sacrifices, by the sons of Levi, and for your oracles in your statutes and judgments, for the beginning of the

7. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iv, ch. xxxi, where the *Wentworth Letter* is given *in extenso.*

8. See this *History,* ch. xliii, cf. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, ch. i.

revelations and foundation of Zion, and for the glory, honor, and endowment of all her municipals, are ordained by the ordinance of my holy house which my people are always commanded to build unto my holy name. And verily I say unto you, let this house be built unto my name, that I may reveal mine ordinances therein, unto my people; for I deign to reveal unto my church, things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world, things that pertain to the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times. And I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this house, and the priesthood thereof."[9]

The First "Endowment House"

This contemplated order of things so pressed upon President Joseph Smith's mind that apparently he could not wait for the completion of the temple in Nauvoo, but improvised the means of introducing this foreshadowed ritual by arranging rooms in the upper story of his brick store standing near the banks of the Mississippi river on Water street, and there, on the fourth of May, 1842, began the introduction of the said ritual, General James Adams, of Springfield, Patriarch Hyrum Smith, Bishops Newel K. Whitney and George Miller; also Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards of the quorum of the twelve apostles, being present. The Prophet's *Journal* for the 4th of May says that he spent the day instructing these men "in the principles and order of the priesthood, attending to washings, anointings, endowments and the communication of keys pertaining to the Aaronic priesthood, setting forth the order of the 'Ancient of Days,' and so on to the highest order of the Melchizedek priesthood, setting forth the order pertaining to the 'Ancient of Days,' and all those plans and principles by which any one is enabled to secure the fulness of those blessings which have been prepared for the 'Church of the First Born,' and come up and abide in the presence of the Elohim in the eternal worlds." He continues his record of the 4th of May as follows:

"In this council was instituted the ancient order of things for the

9. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxiv.

FACSIMILE OF EGYPTIAN PLATE

No. 1.

Explanation of Cut

Fig. 1. The angel of the Lord. 2. Abraham fastened upon an altar. 3. The idolatrous priest of Elkenah attempting to offer up Abraham as a sacrifice. 4. The altar for sacrifice by the idolatrous priests, standing before the gods of Elkenah, Libnah, Mahmackrah, Korash, and Pharaoh. 5. The idolatrous god of Elkenah. 6. The idolatrous god of Libnah. 7. The idolatrous god of Mahmackrah. 8. The idolatrous god of Korash. 9. The idolatrous god of Pharaoh. 10. Abraham in Egypt. 11. Designed to represent the pillars of heaven, as understood by the Egyptians. 12. Raukeeyang, signifying expanse, or the firmament over our heads; but in this case, in relation to this subject, the Egyptians meant it to signify Shaumau, to be high, or the heavens, answering to the Hebrew word, Shaumahyeem.

FACSIMILE OF EGYPTIAN PLATE

No. 2.

Explanation of Cut

Fig. 1. Kolob, signifying the first creation, nearest to the celestial, or the residence of God. First in government, the last pertaining to the measurement of time. The measurement according to celestial time, which celestial time signifies one day to a cubit. One day in Kolob, is equal to a thousand years, according to the measurement of this earth, which is called by the Egyptians Jah-oh-eh.

Fig. 2. Stands next to Kolob, called by the Egyptians Oliblish, which is the next grand governing creation, near to the celestial or the place where God resides; holding the key of power also, pertaining to other planets; as revealed from God to Abraham, as he offered sacrifice upon an altar, which he had built unto the Lord.

Fig. 3. Is made to represent God, sitting upon his throne, clothed with power and authority; with a crown of eternal light upon his head; representing, also, the grand Key-Words of the Holy Priesthood, as revealed to Adam in the Garden of Eden, as also to Seth, Noah, Melchizedek, Abraham, and all to whom the priesthood was revealed.

Fig. 4. Answers to the Hebrew word raukeeyang, signifying expanse, or the firmament of the heavens; also a numerical figure, in Egyptian, signifying one thousand; answering to the measuring of the time of Oliblish, which is equal with Kolob in its revolution and in its measuring of time.

Fig. 5. Is called in Egyptian Enish-go-on-dosh; this is one of the governing planets also, and is said by the Egyptian to be the Sun, and to borrow its light from Kolob through the medium of Kae-evanrash, which is the grand Key, or, in other words the governing power, which governs fifteen other fixed planets or stars, as also Floeese or the Moon, the Earth and the sun in their annual revolutions. This planet receives its power through the medium of Kli-flos-is-es, or Hah-ko-kau-beam, the stars represented by numbers 22 and 23, receiving light from the revolutions of Kolob.

Fig. 6. Represents the earth in its four quarters.

Fig. 7. Represents God sitting upon his throne revealing through the heavens, the grand Key-Words of the priesthood; as, also, the sign of the Holy Ghost unto Abraham, in the form of a dove.

Fig. 8. Contains writing that cannot be revealed unto the world; but is to be had in the Holy Temple of God.

Fig. 9. Ought not to be revealed at the present time.

Fig. 10. Also.

Fig. 11. Also. If the world can find out these numbers, so let it be. Amen.

Figs. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, will be given in the own due time of the Lord.

The above translation is given as far as we have any right to give, at the present time.

first time in these last days. And the communications I made to this council were things spiritual, and to be received only by the spiritually minded: and there was nothing made known to these men but what will be made known to all the saints of the last days, so soon as they are prepared to receive, and a proper place is prepared to communicate them, even to the weakest of the saints; therefore let the saints be diligent in building the temple, and all houses which they have been, or shall hereafter be, commanded of God to build; and wait their time with patience in all meekness, faith, perseverance unto the end, knowing assuredly that all these things referred to in this council are always governed by the principle of revelation.

Thursday, May 5.—General Adams started for Springfield, and the remainder of the council of yesterday continued their meeting at the same place, and myself and Brother Hyrum received in turn from the others, the same that I had communicated to them the day previous."[10]

Such is the Prophet's account of the introduction of what is known in the church as the "Endowment Ceremonies," the sacred ritual of the temples, accessible to all the faithful Latter-day Saints, as promised by the Prophet when instituting the said ordinances among the faithful brethren above named, and subsequently among other faithful brethren at Nauvoo.[11]

A photogravure of the "brick store" in the upper story

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10. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, pp. 1-3.

11. There has been some controversy as to the time when these sacred ceremonies were introduced into the church. An organization styling itself the "Re-organized Church," even goes so far as to claim that these ceremonies were not introduced into the church by the Prophet Joseph Smith at all, but on the contrary claim that they had their origin with Brigham Young and the apostles who followed him in the migration from Nauvoo to Great Salt Lake Valley. The evidence against such claims, however, is overwhelming. First, the statement of the Prophet in the text above. Second, a previous allusion to the same things in his remarks at Nauvoo, on the 6th of January, 1842. (See *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iv, p. 492.) Third, the same ceremonies are referred to in the revelation of Jan. 19, 1841, in which washings, anointings, conversations, statutes, judgments, etc., are explicitly referred to. (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iv, p. 277.) In addition to this evidence also, Ebenezer Robinson, for a time associate editor of the *Times and Seasons,* and who at the death of Don Carlos Smith, 1841, became editor-in-chief of that periodical, and so continued until the 15th of March, 1842—declares that such ceremonies as are alluded to in the text were inaugurated by special action of the Prophet as early as 1843. Mr. Robinson subsequently left the church, but when in 1890, the aforesaid "Re-organized Church" persisted in claiming that Joseph Smith the Prophet did not inaugurate these temple ceremonies, he published an article in the magazine he was then conducting, called *The Return,* in which he bears emphatic testimony to the effect above stated, namely, that these ceremonies were introduced into the church by the Prophet Joseph Smith, at least as early as 1843. (See *The Return,* vol. ii, no. 4, p. 252.)

of which were instituted these sacred ceremonies accompanies this chapter. In addition to its use as a "temple" it was also the place of meeting for the Nauvoo Lodge of Free Masons. Here also the Prophet had his private office where he translated very much of the *Book of Abraham,* where he received revelations and where the revelation on "Celestial Marriage" was committed to writing; so that all in all this "old brick store" is one of the most noted buildings in Nauvoo, sacred to the faithful Latter-day Saints, and worthy to be held in memory as a sacred shrine, the "first ordinance temple" proper in the church.

Notes

1. Abraham in Egypt

That Abraham was in Egypt is clear both from the *Bible* and the writings of Josephus. The latter after relating all that the *Bible* does, only in greater detail, adds to the account that the Egyptian king made Abraham a large present in money; "and gave him leave to enter into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians; from which conversation, his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before. For whereas the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abraham conferred with each of them, and confuted the reasonings they made use of, every one for his own practices; he demonstrated that such reasonings were vain, and void of truth; whereupon he was admired by them, in those conferences, as a very wise man, and one of great sagacity, when he discoursed on any subject he undertook; and this was not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for before Abraham came into Egypt, they were unacquainted with those parts of learning; for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also."[12]

2. Abraham's Astronomy

When Joseph Smith enunciated the sublime truths noticed in the text of this *History* no such thoughts were prevalent among the students of astronomy. "The Herschels had some inkling of the facts, but their ideas were crude and undeveloped. It was not until the

12. *Antiquities of the Jews,* bk. i, ch. xiii.

Book of Abraham had been published in America, and if we mistake not in England also, that Sir Wm. G. Hamilton, of the Dublin University, advanced the idea that our solar system had a center around which the sun and all its attendant planets moved. Today[13] the scholars in the most radical school of astronomy will only admit that our world-system has a center, and that the probabilities are that that center has a center also, around which it and all its satellites move. Further than this they cannot go. However, the little they do admit, confirms the mighty truth revealed to Abraham of old and to Joseph Smith of today. On the other hand the followers of the more conservative school will simply acknowledge that our solar system has a proper motion of its own, independent of its relative or apparent motions with regard to other stars. They admit that 'relative to the general mass of stars, our sun is moving in the direction of the constellation Hercules.' They have come to this conclusion, because they find that the stars in that part of the heavens are continually growing brighter, (thus showing they are coming nearer), whilst those in exactly the opposite direction are as continually growing more dim. They have also discovered that 'there are in the heavens several cases of widely extended groups of stars, having a common proper motion entirely different from that of the stars around and among them.' Such groups they say 'must form connected systems,' or in other words, are all controlled by one and the same governing planet. It is also admitted that 'the stars in all parts of the heavens move in all directions with all sorts of velocities; but they claim that the distances of the stars from the earth are so immense, and so short a period of time has elapsed since astronomers first began to notice these movements, that they cannot with certainty say whether they are moving in circles or straight lines, it is only by analogy that they reason that they are moving around a center.' So little are some of these observers willing to admit, that Professor Newcomb simply allows that 'as our sun is merely one of the stars, and rather a small one, too, it may have a proper motion as well as other stars.' The Smithsonian report for 1871, speaking of Herschel, says: 'The world can afford to wait. Astronomy advances. It may be, in the distant future that mysterious center around which our sun and his worlds revolve, may be detected and afford a solution for other mysteries as well as these. The greatest astronomer is equipped for no more than a Sabbath-day's journey.' Another writer remarks, 'Madler attempted to show, from an examination of the proper motions of the stars, that the whole stellar universe was revolving around Alcyone, of the Pleiades (or seven stars) as a center—a theory, the grandeur of which led to its wide diffusion in popular writing.' Mr. Wm. Petrie, of London, writing with regard to this same star says: 'Alcyone, a primeval name of the star, means the center, and has quite recently

13. This was written in 1889. Of course, now, 1930, the movement among the so-called "fixed stars" is very generally and so far as I know universally admitted, being confirmed by actual observations.

been discovered to be really the center around which even our whole solar system, amongst others, revolves.' "[14]

3. Recent Controversy on the Book of Abraham and Joseph Smith as a Translator

In 1912 a widespread interest was awakened in the *Book of Abraham* by the publication of a *brochure*, by Rt. Rev. F. S. Spalding, D. D. Episcopal Bishop of Utah, under the title *Joseph Smith, Jun., as a Translator*. The bishop submitted the facsimiles of some of the parchment pages from which the *Book of Abraham* had been translated, (copies of which accompany this chapter) to a number of the foremost of present day Egyptian scholars. These were Dr. A. H. Sayce, Oxford, England; Dr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, London University; James H. Breasted, Ph. D., Haskel Oriental Museum, University of Chicago; Dr. Arthur C. Mace, Assistant Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Egyptian Art; Dr. John Peters, University of Penn., in charge of Expedition to Babylonia, 1888-1895; Rev. Prof, C. A. B. Mercer, Ph. D., Western Theological Seminary, Custodian Hibbard Collections, Egyptian Reproductions; two German scholars—Dr. Edward Meyer, University of Berlin; and Dr. Friedrich Freiheer Von Bissin, Professor of Egyptology in the University of Munich—eight in all. Speaking of the result obtained from the submission of these facsimiles to these foremost Egyptologists, Bishop Spalding says: "It will be seen that there is practically complete agreement as to the real meaning of the hieroglyphics, and that this meaning is altogether different from that of Joseph Smith's translation." (*Joseph Smith, Jun., as a Translator*, p. 19). He also says that "The opinions were obtained from the scholars themselves, and in no case did one man know the opinion of another" (*Ibid*).

The seeming triumph of the bishop's test of the "Mormon" Prophet's ability to translate ancient languages correctly by inspiration from God, was much commented upon throughout the United States, and especially by the religious press; and the "collapse of Mormonism" was confidently looked for in some quarters; for if Joseph Smith's translation of the Egyptian parchment could be discredited, and proven false, then doubt would be thrown also upon the genuineness of his translation of the *Book of Mormon*, and thus all his pretensions as a translator would be exposed and come to naught. "It is the belief," wrote Bishop Spalding, "that the honest searchers for truth among the Latter-day Saints will welcome the opinions of authoritative scholars, and, if necessary, courageously readjust their system of belief, however radical a revolution of thought may be required, that the following judgments of the world's greatest Egyptologists have been ascertained." (*Joseph Smith, Jun., as a Translator*, p. 19). Nothing of this kind happened however. "Mormonism" was not moved a peg by the *critique*. So far as known there were not a score of Latter-day Saints

14. *The Book of Abraham, A Divine and Ancient Record*, George Reynolds, 1879, pp. 30, 31.

FACSIMILE OF EGYPTIAN PLATE

No. 3.

Explanation of Cut

1. Abraham sitting upon Pharaoh's throne, by the politeness of the king, with a crown upon his head, representing the priesthood, as emblematical of the grand Presidency in heaven; with the sceptre of justice and judgment in his hand.

2. King Pharaoh, whose name is given in the characters above his head.

3. Signifies Abraham in Egypt—referring to Abraham, as given in the ninth number of the *Times and Seasons*. (Also as given in the first facsimile of this book.)

4. Prince of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, as written above the hand.

5. Shulem, one of the king's principal waiters, as represented by the characters above his hand.

6. Olimlah, a slave belonging to the prince.

Abraham is reasoning upon the principles of astronomy, in the king's court.

whose faith was affected by the Spalding *brochure*. There were no Egyptian scholars in the church of the Latter-day Saints who could make an effective answer to the conclusions of the eight scholars who in various ways pronounced against the correctness of Joseph Smith's translation of the Egyptian parchments that so strangely fell into his hands; but a number of articles were written by elders of the church pointing out the bias of the scholars and some evident defects in the treatment of the subject; and also reviews of Bishop Spalding's arguments. (See *Improvement Era* for February, 1913, articles by the author of this *History;* by J. M. Sjodahl, editor of the *Deseret News;* Dr. Frederick J. Pack, Prof. of Geology, University of Utah; J. F. Wells; John H. Evans; and Levi Edgar Young, M. A. Other articles will be found in the March number of the *Era* for the same year; by John A. Widtsoe, A. M., Ph. D. and president, at the time, of the Utah Agricultural College; and Judge R. W. Young). Finally a volunteer champion appeared outside the church in the person of "Robert C. Webb, Ph. D.," who wrote a review of the whole controversy in three articles which appear in the *Improvement Era* for March and September, 1913, and for February, 1914. "Dr. Webb" was an assumed name because, doubtless, the author did not wish to appear in his own personal character as champion of the "Mormon" side of the controversy and expose himself to undesirable notoriety. And while the desire to escape such notoriety may not to some justify the assumption of a name other than his own in such a controversy, still if the argument of "Dr. Webb" be considered apart from who wrote it, but judged upon its merits, its effectiveness will not be doubted. "The author," said the *Deseret News,* when publishing "Dr. Webb's" first article in its impressions of Jan. 18, 1913, "is a non-resident of Utah, and is not a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The article as received by *The News* was accompanied by the statement that the author had written it upon his own initiative, without request or suggestion from any member of the church, and solely because of his interest in the subject, to which his attention had been drawn by the publication of the pamphlet by Bishop F. S. Spalding, and comments thereon."

The controversy continued through two years, Bishop Spalding and Dr. Samuel A. B. Mercer sustaining the position of the "scholars," against their "Mormon" critics—named above—and "Dr. Webb." Bishop Spalding's *brochure* of 31 pages was published in November, 1912, and is still extant; Dr. Mercer's defense of the "scholars" occupies most of the space in the *Utah Survey* of September, 1913, pp. 4-36. *The Survey* was published monthly, except in July and August, by the "Social Service Commission" of the Episcopal church in Utah. Nearly all the controversial papers will be found in the *Improvement Era* for 1913 and 1914, *passim.*

CHAPTER XLVIII

The Fall of Dr. John C. Bennett

THE first intimation given in our annals which foreshadows the coming fall of John C. Bennett is in May, 1842. On the 7th of that month there was a special military display in sham battle by the Nauvoo Legion for which there had been intermittent preparation from the 25th of the preceding January, when the order for general inspection, parade, and sham battle had been made. The review and sham battle was preceded by an officer's banquet at the house of President Smith; and such was the interest in the military event, that Judge Stephen A. Douglas adjourned the circuit court, then in session at Carthage, and with other officers of the court and leading lawyers rode out to Nauvoo to be present on the occasion which had long been a matter of curiosity and of some excitement throughout Hancock county. Hearing of the presence of Judge Douglas in Nauvoo, President Smith at once sent an invitation to him and his company to be present at the officers' banquet, which was accepted. Twenty-six companies, amounting to about two thousand men, were on inspection and parade. In the afternoon the legion was separated into cohorts and fought an animated sham battle; the first cohort under the command of General Wilson Law, the second under General Chas. C. Rich. At the close of the "battle" President Smith delivered an animated speech expressing satisfaction with the legion. Under this date President Smith makes the following entry in his *Journal*.

The Prophet's Position in the Legion's Sham Battle

"I was solicited by General Bennett to take comand of the first cohort during the sham battle; this I declined. General Bennett next requested me to take my station in the rear of the cavalry, without my staff, during the engagement; but this was counteracted by Captain

A. P. Rockwood, commander of my life guards who kept close by my side, and I chose my own position. *And if General Bennett's true feelings toward me are not made manifest to the world in a very short time, then it may be possible that the gentle breathings of that spirit, which whispered me on parade, that there was mischief concealed in that sham battle, were false; a short time will determine the point.* Let John C. Bennett answer at the time of judgment, 'Why did you request me to to command one of the cohorts, and also to take my position without my staff, during the sham battle, on the 7th of May, 1842, where my life might have been the forfeit, and no man have known who did the deed?' "[1]

Matters developed rapidly after this in the affairs of John C. Bennett. Ten days after the sham battle he resigned as mayor of Nauvoo. President Joseph Smith was elected mayor in his place by the city council, and Hyrum Smith vice-mayor. This action of Bennett's was forced by the rising tide of popular indignation against the evil and corrupt manner of life into which he had fallen. For some time he had been guilty of gross licentiousness. He had betrayed the innocent by most insidious and seductive arts; and had used the name of President Smith to accomplish his base ends by declaring that the president and other leading elders of the church countenanced and practiced such conduct, and taught that no sin attached to it if it was but kept secret. Yet when confronted with these charges he vigorously denied them.

On the day of his resignation Bennett went before Daniel H. Wells, one of the aldermen of Nauvoo—but not then a member of the Church of the Latter-day Saints—and made affidavit in which he said:

Bennett's Exoneration of the Prophet

"He was never taught anything in the least contrary to the strictest principles of the gospel, or of virtue or of the laws of God or man, under any circumstances, or upon any occasion; either directly or indirectly in word or deed, by Joseph Smith, and that he never knew the said Smith to countenance any improper conduct whatever either in public or private; and that he never did teach to me in private that an illegal, illicit intercourse with females, was under any circumstances justifiable, and that I never knew him to so teach others."[2]

1. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, p. 4.
2. *Ibid*, p. 11.

Two days later in the presence of the full city council and a house crowded with spectators, President Joseph Smith asked Bennett to state if he knew aught against him; to which Bennett replied:

"I know what I am about, and the heads of the church know what they are about, I expect. I have no difficulty with the heads of the church. I publicly avow that any one who has said that I have stated that General Joseph Smith had given me authority to hold illicit intercourse with women, is a liar in the face of God, those who have said it are d—— liars; and they are infernal liars. He never either in public or private gave me any such authority or license, and any person who states it is a scoundrel and a liar. I have heard it said that I should become a second Avard by withdrawing from the church, and that I was at variance with the heads [i. e. of the church] and should use an influence against them because I resigned the office of mayor; this is false. I have no difficulty with the heads of the church, and I intend to continue with you, and hope the time may come when I may be restored to full confidence and fellowship, and my former standing in the church, and that my conduct may be such as to warrant my restoration—and should the time ever come that I may have an opportunity to test my faith, it will then be known whether I am a traitor or a true man."

Joseph Smith then asked: "Will you please state definitely whether you know anything against my character either in public or private?"

General Bennett answered: "I do not; in all my intercourse with General Smith, in public and in private, he has been strictly virtuous."[3]

Bennett's Confession Before the Masons

The above statement is signed by the five aldermen and the eight councilors comprising the city council, and attested by James Sloan, the city recorder, under date of May 19, 1842.

On the twenty-sixth of May, the case of Bennett came up in the Masonic lodge, of which the Doctor was a member, as were also nearly all the principal men of Nauvoo. In the presence of more than one hundred of the fraternity, he confessed his licentious practices, and acknowledged that he was worthy of the severest chastisement, yet he pleaded for mercy, and especially that he might not be published in the papers. So deep, apparently, was his sorrow, that President Joseph

3. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, pp. 38, 39.

Smith pleaded for mercy in his behalf, and he was forgiven at that time as a Mason; but previous to this *viz.*, on the 11th of May, the first presidency of the church, the twelve and the presiding bishop had sent a formal notice to Bennett that they could not fellowship him as a member of the church, but they withheld the matter from publication, at his earnest solicitation, because of his mother.

John C. Bennett, however, had fallen too far to recover from the effects of his deep transgression. He suddenly left Nauvoo, and soon afterward was found plotting with the enemies of the saints for the destruction of the church. By this time the Masonic lodge learned that he was an expelled Mason, and had palmed himself off on the Nauvoo lodge as a Mason in regular standing, consequently he was disfellowshipped from the Nauvoo lodge, and was also cashiered by the court-martial of the Nauvoo Legion.

Double Dealing and Claims of Duress

After Bennett left Nauvoo, he again said that President Joseph Smith had authorized and encouraged promiscuous sexual wickedness; and when confronted with his own affidavit, which declared President Smith to be a virtuous man, and a teacher of righteousness, and upright both in his public and private character, he claimed that he was under duress when he made that affidavit. But Squire Wells, before whom Bennett had qualified to make his sworn statement went before a justice of the peace, and made affidavit that during the time that Bennett's wickedness was going on, and he the while making statements favorable to the character of President Smith and the church—

> "During all this time, if he (Doctor Bennett) was under duress or fear, he must have had a good faculty of concealing it; for he was at liberty to go and come when and where he pleased, so far as I am capable of judging."

Squire Wells further testifies in the same statement:

> "I was always personally friendly with him [Bennett], after I

became acquainted with him. I never heard him say anything derogatory to the character of Joseph Smith until after he had been exposed by said Smith on the public stand in Nauvoo."[4]

All the members of the city council made a conjoint affidavit to the same effect.[5] As soon as it was learned that the doctor had left Nauvoo, and was operating for the destruction of the church, the whole case was published in the Nauvoo papers, and his wickedness made known to the world.[6] Those whom he had involved in his vile snares, both men and women, were brought before the proper tribunals of the church; some of them were disfellowshipped; and others, who sincerely repented, were forgiven.

Bennett's "Expose of Mormonism"

Bennett in his role of anti-"Mormon" agitator and lecturer revived his charges of unchastity against President Smith and the church leaders; alleged the practice of polygamy; the existence of the "Danites;" secret murders and designs for the overthrow of the government of the United States! Everything in fact which gave promise of creating a sensation. He finally published a book under the title *The History of the Saints; or an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism.*[7]

The low ribaldry of this book alone would condemn its author in the minds of all sincere people, as being utterly untrustworthy. If it be true that "from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and what is said reveals the state of the mind, then nothing but putrid corruption occupied the mind of Dr. Bennett.

According to Bennett's own account of himself and his connection with the people of Nauvoo, he joined the church not because he believed its doctrines or in the sincerity of its

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4. Affidavit of Daniel H. Wells, will be found in full in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, pp. 80-82.

5. See *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, p. 68.

6. All the publications, affidavits and documents pertaining to this case will be found in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, chs. ii and iv, and the June number of the Nauvoo *Wasp*, pp. 37, 39.

7. Leland and Whiting, publishers, Boston, 1842.

members, but for the purpose of exposing what he suspected to be the treasonable designs of the "Mormons" against several of the "northwestern states," and the purpose of the "Mormon" leaders to erect upon their ruin "a despotic military and religious empire, at the head of which, as emperor and pope was to be Joseph Smith, the Prophet of the Lord, and his ministers and viceroys, the apostles, high priests, elders, and bishops of the Mormon church!"[8] To defeat these designs Bennett took upon himself the heroic mission of joining the "Mormons" in order to "detect and expose the movers and machinery of the plot."[9] Bennett's course in this illustrates the truth of Dr. Johnson's declaration, that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."[10]

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8. Bennett's *Expose*, pp. 5, 6.
9. *Ibid.*
10. H. H. Bancroft in his *History of Utah* makes the following pertinent remarks upon Bennett and his book: "The role of traitor is not one which in any wise brings credit to the performer, either from one side or the other. However great the service he may render us, we cannot but feel that he is false-hearted and vile. Many of the apostates, though they may not have written books, declare that they joined their sect only to learn their secrets and then expose them. These are the most contemptible of all. There may be cases where a young or inexperienced person, through ignorance or susceptibility, has been carried away for a time contrary to the dictates of cooler judgment; but the statements of such persons are justly regarded with more or less suspicion. Far better is it, far more honest and praiseworthy, for him who, having unwittingly made a mistake, seeks to rectify it, to go his way and say nothing about it; for if he talks of writing a book for the good of others, as a warning, and that they may avoid his errors, few will believe him. 'If he has proved traitor once,' they say, 'he will deceive again; and if he is sincere, we cannot more than half believe him, for such an individual is never sure of himself.' John C. Bennett, general, doctor, Methodist preacher, and quack, is from his own showing a bad man. He devotes some fifty pages to the vindication of his character, which would not be necessary were he honest; other fifty are given to the defaming his late worshipful patron, Joseph Smith, which would never have been written were he true. When a man thrusts in your face three-score certificates of his good character, each signed by from one to a dozen persons, you may know that he is a very great rascal. Nor are we disappointed here. This author is a charlatan, pure and simple; such was he when he joined the Mormons, and before and after. We may credit him fully when he says, 'I never believed in them or their doctrines,' although in a letter to Dr. Dyer, dated Nauvoo, Jan. 20, 1842, he declares: 'My heart is filled with indignation and my blood boils within me, when I contemplate the vast injustice and cruelty which Missouri has meted out to the great philanthropist and devout Christian, General Joseph Smith, and his honest and faithful adherents.' When, however, he affects patriotism and lofty devotion to the welfare of his fellow men, pretending to have joined the society in order to frustrate a daring and colossal scheme of rebellion and usurpation throughout the northwestern states, * * * a despotic military and religious empire, the head of which, as emperor and pope, was to be Joseph Smith, we know that the writer is well aware that it is all nonsense." (*History of Utah*, pp. 150-1).

The Error of Long-Sufferance in Bennett's Case

It must be confessed that both President Joseph Smith and the people of Nauvoo erred greatly in their treatment of John C. Bennett, by being too indulgent and long-suffering with him. Prompter action and less trust in his professions of repentance would have been justified, much trouble prevented, and less color given to a seeming sanction of his well known immoralities. Soon after Dr. Bennett joined the church, President Smith received a communication from the vicinity of the Doctor's former home in Ohio, giving information that Bennett had a wife and two or three children in McConnellsville, Morgan county, Ohio; and that he was a wicked man. "But knowing that it is no uncommon thing," writes the Prophet in his explanation of the matter, "for good men to be evil spoken against, the above letter was kept quiet, but held in reserve."[11]

A Virtue Run to Seed

The Doctor kept the fact of his marriage a secret, and began paying his addresses to a young lady, evidently intending to marry her, which President Joseph Smith observing sought to dissuade him from such a course but could not succeed until he threatened to make known the communication charging the Doctor with being a married man. Shortly after this confirmation of the fact of Bennett's being a married man was received by letter from Hyrum Smith and Wm. Law written from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania where they were given information respecting Bennett's family. Confronted with this new evidence the Doctor admitted its truth and attempted suicide by taking poison. From this he was rescued by antidotes, but only to continue his career of wickedness. Still he was borne with, in the hope of reformation, especially by President Smith, who sought with all his

11. Address to the Church, Joseph Smith, *Times and Seasons*, vol. iii, pp. 839-842.

might to save him but to no purpose; and meantime the Prophet brought upon himself much criticism, and by his persistent friendship for Bennett, discredited himself with many both in the church and outside of it. But loyalty to his friends, or those whom he thought to be so, was of the essence of the Prophet's nature; and truly forebearance is a great virtue; but like many other virtues, followed to excess, it becomes a virtue run to seed.[12]

In any event Dr. John Cook Bennett proved himself unworthy the personal sacrifices President Joseph Smith made for him.

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12. The principle of mercy by which President Smith was actuated is very well expressed by him in an address he delivered to the Female Relief Society of the church, on the ninth of June, 1842, and in the passage quoted he undoubtedly had in mind the case of Bennett and the criticism of himself in consequence of his excessive mercy: He said: "How oft have wise men and women sought to dictate to Brother Joseph by saying, 'O, if I were Brother Joseph I would do this and that.' But if they were in Brother Joseph's shoes they would find that men or women could not be compelled into the kingdom of God, but must be dealt with in long-suffering, and at last we shall save them. The way to keep all the saints together, and keep the work rolling, is to wait with all long-suffering, till God shall bring such characters to justice. There should be no license for sin, but mercy should go hand in hand with reproof." (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, p. 24.)

CHAPTER XLIX

President Joseph Smith Charged With Complicity in an Attempt to Assassinate ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri—The Soul of a Prophet

AN attempt was made upon the life of ex-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, of Missouri, on the 6th of May, 1842. The ex-governor was seated in a room by himself in the evening, when some person discharged a pistol loaded with buckshot through an adjoining window. Three of the shot took effect in his head—one of which, it was said, penetrated his brain. His son, hearing the shot, burst into the room and found his father in a helpless condition. The pistol from which the shot was fired was found under the window and there, too, were the footprints of the would-be assassin.

Guesses on the Attempted Assassination

No sooner was the news of the affair heard than speculation was rife as to the parties who had perpetrated the deed; and in consequence of the part taken by Boggs in driving the Latter-day Saints from the state of Missouri, during the period that he was governor, it was not long before "Joe Smith and the Mormons" were accused of the deed. The Quincy *Whig,* in its issue of May 21st, after detailing the particulars of the assault, said:

> "There are several rumors in circulation in regard to the horrid affair; one of which throws the crime upon the Mormons, from the fact, we suppose, that Mr. Boggs was governor at the time, and in no small degree instrumental in driving them from the state. Smith, too, the Mormon Prophet, as we understand, prophesied a year or so ago, his death by violent means. Hence, there is plenty of foundation for rumor."

The Prophet's Denial of Implication in the Crime

To this charge of complicity in the attempted assassination President Smith entered a most prompt and emphatic

denial. "My hands," said he, "are clean and my heart pure from the blood of all men." He also denied having predicted Boggs' death by "violent means," which denial he sent both to the Quincy *Whig* and the Nauvoo *Wasp*.[1] Orrin Porter Rockwell[2] was accused of making the assault upon Boggs; and as soon as the ex-governor recovered sufficiently from the effects of the assault to do so he went before a justice of the peace, and made affidavit charging Rockwell with the crime; and subsequently made a second affidavit charging President Joseph Smith with being accessory before the fact, saying in the body of the affidavit that he believed, "and has good reason to believe, from evidence and information now in his possession, that Joseph Smith, commonly called 'the Mormon Prophet,' was accessory before the fact of the intended murder, and that the said Joseph Smith is 'a citizen or resident of the state of Illinois.' "[3] Boggs applied to Thomas Reynolds, then governor of Missouri, to make a demand on the governor of Illinois, to deliver up Joseph Smith to some person authorized to receive him on behalf of the state of Missouri, to be dealt with according to law.

Governor Reynolds promptly granted the request and made the demand on the governor of Illinois for the surrender of President Smith to one E. R. Ford, who was appointed the agent of Missouri to receive him. In making the demand, Governor Reynolds said:

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1. These denials appeared in the impression of May 22nd of *The Wasp*, and notwithstanding this emphatic denial H. H. Bancroft in his *History of Utah* says that the attempt upon the life of Boggs "was of course charged to the Mormons," and that, "if we may believe their enemies, they did not deny it." (*History of Utah*, p. 156). Bancroft for his conclusion relies chiefly upon the statements of John C. Bennett, whom he elsewhere discredits. See footnote 10, ch. xlviii, this *History*.

2. The Rockwells were a New York family living near the Whitmers in Seneca county. Four members of the family joined the church very soon after its organization on the 6th of April, 1830; of whom Orrin Porter was the first (see *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. i, p. 79). He was but a lad of seventeen at the time. The Prophet speaks of him most affectionately "as a noble boy," and he prays that God would deliver him from his pursuers. "He was an innocent and a noble child, and my soul loves him." (*Ibid*, vol. v, p. 125).

3. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, p. 226. The affidavit of Boggs occurs in the body of Judge Pope's decision. Also both Boggs' affidavit and Governor Reynolds' requisition are published in Gregg's *Prophet of Palmyra*, pp. 201-3.

"Whereas it appears * * * that one Joseph Smith *is a fugitive from justice,* charged with being accessory before the fact, to an assault with the intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell, on Lilburn W. Boggs, in this state (Missouri); and is represented to the executive department of this state as having fled to the state of Illinois; now, therefore, I, * * * do by these presents demand the surrender and delivering of the said Joseph Smith, etc., etc.

The Defective Requisition

This extract is given from the requisition *verbatim,* because, in the first place, the affidavit of Boggs, upon the strength of which Governor Reynolds made his demand for the surrender of Joseph Smith, does not claim that the latter was *a fugitive from justice, or that he had fled from the state of Missouri to Illinois;* but on the contrary, the Boggs affidavit says that "the Mormon Prophet" was a *"citizen or resident of the state of Illinois,"* hence the statement of fact in the affidavit was not sufficient to justify the demand for Joseph Smith to be surrendered to Missouri. A person resident in one state may not be delivered up to the authorities of another state for alleged offenses, unless it is represented that he has fled from the state making the demand for his surrender. This charge was not made by Boggs in his affidavit, which was Governor Reynolds' only authority for making the demand. But in what Boggs failed, Governor Reynolds made up; and upon his own responsibility, in his demand on Illinois, charged that Joseph Smith was "a fugitive from justice," and had "fled to Illinois;" a statement that was at once untrue, and wholly gratuitous on the part of the executive of Missouri. Governor Carlin, however, responded to the demand of Missouri, and issued a warrant for the arrest of O. P. Rockwell as principal, and Joseph Smith as accessory before the fact, in an assault with the intent to kill upon Governor Boggs. The papers were placed in the hands of the deputy sheriff of Adams county, who, with two assistants, at once repaired to Nauvoo, and on the 8th of August, 1842, arrested the above named parties. There was no evasion of the officers,

but the municipal court of Nauvoo at once, on the application of the parties arrested, issued a writ of *habeas corpus,* requiring the officers having the prisoners in charge, to bring them before that tribunal, in order that the legality of the warrant under which they were arrested might be tested. This the sheriff refused to do, and he claimed that the municipal court had no jurisdiction in the case; but he left the prisoners in care of the city marshal, without, however, leaving the original writ upon which alone they could be held. The deputy sheriff and his assistants returning to Quincy, the prisoners were left to go about their business.

During the absence of the deputy sheriff, President Smith secured a writ of *habeas corpus* from the master in chancery, for the district of Illinois in which Hancock county was located, as it was questionable[4] if the municipal court of Nauvoo had the authority to issue such writs in cases arising under the laws of the state of Illinois, or of the United States. Two days after the first arrest the officers returned from Quincy to again take their prisoners, but in the interim it had been decided by President Smith and his friends, that the best thing for himself and Rockwell to do, in the then excited state of public opinion, was to keep out of the way for a season; so that the officers upon their return to Nauvoo were unable to find them.

The Prophet in Seclusion

This decision sent the president of the church into seclusion practically for the remainder of the year 1842, although on several occasions he made his appearance in public during the time of seclusion, and throughout was able from his place of concealment to give general directions to the affairs of Nauvoo and the church.

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4. I say "questionable" as representing the views of some of the Prophet's friends of that time. As a matter of fact, there could be no such power vested in the municipal court. If the letter of the Nauvoo charter justified the conception that the municipal court possessed power to interrupt the legal process of the state of Illinois or United States courts, it was a manifest defect in the wording of the charter, a solecism that would render that part of the charter void.

It was during this enforced retirement that he wrote two remarkable letters since published in the *Doctrine and Covenants* on the subject of "baptism for the dead," and that are now made part of the New Dispensation's scripture. Incidentally these letters shed some light upon the Prophet's character;[5] his carefulness as to his business obligations, for instance:

"I would say to all those with whom I have business, that I have left my affairs with agents and clerks, who will transact my business in a prompt and proper manner, and will see that all my debts are canceled in due time, by turning out property or otherwise, as the case may require, or as the circumstances may admit of."

The spirit in which he met his trials:

"As for the trials which I am called to pass through, they seem but a small thing to me, as the envy and wrath of man have been my common lot all the days of my life. * * * Deep water is what I am wont to swim in—it has become as second nature to me, and I feel like Paul, to glory in tribulation; for to this day has the God of my fathers delivered me out of them all, and will deliver me from hence forth. * * * Let all the saints rejoice, * * * and be exceedingly glad, for Israel's God is their God."

In the second letter there is an ecstatic review of the early events—visions, angelic visitations, and revelations in which "Mormonism" had its origin, and upon which he builds an admonition to his people of great force and beauty.[6]

The Prophet on Resistance to Mob Violence

Several attempts were made on the part of the officers of Missouri and Illinois to rearrest President Smith during his period of seclusion, but without avail, although he had several narrow escapes from their hands. Following the second attempt to arrest President Smith it was rumored that the officers on leaving Nauvoo breathed out threats of returning with sufficient force to search every house in the vicinity; and Sheriff Ford, the agent of Missouri, threatened to bring a

5. See *Note* 1, end of chapter.
6. See *Note* 2, end of chapter.

mob against the "Mormons," if necessary, to arrest the Prophet. Hearing these rumors President Smith exchanged several letters with Wilson Law, who had been recently elected major-general of the legion, *vice* John C. Bennett, cashiered; in which he admonished him to have all things in readiness to protect the people in their rights, and not for one moment to submit to the outrages that were threatened. "You will see, therefore," said he, in a letter written on the 14th of August, to Law, "that the peace of the city of Nauvoo is kept, let who will endeavor to disturb it."

"You will also see that whenever any mob force or violence is used, on any citizen thereof, or that belongeth thereunto—you will see that that force or violence is immediately dispersed, and brought to punishment, or meet it, and contest it at the point of the sword, with firm, undaunted and unyielding valor; and let them know that the spirit of 'old seventy-six,' and of George Washington yet lives, and is contained in the bosoms and the blood of the children of the fathers. If there are any threats in the city, let legal steps be taken against them; and let no man, woman or child be intimidated, nor suffer it to be done. Nevertheless, as I said in the first place, we will take every measure that lies in our power, and make every sacrifice that God or man could require at our hands, to preserve the peace and safety of the people without collision."

To these sentiments there was a willing acquiescence on the part of the major-general, and he pledged himself to carry out faithfully President Smith's orders, provided the emergency for doing so should arise.[7]

Meantime the whole case charged against President Smith and Rockwell was presented to Governor Carlin in the hope that he could be induced to annul the requisition, but this was without avail; on the contrary, and in spite of all the protest made by the people of Nauvoo, Governor Carlin issued a proclamation to the effect that whereas Joseph Smith and Orrin P. Rockwell had resisted the law by refusing to go with the officers who had taken them into custody, and had

7. The correspondence conducted in the high-sounding phraseology characteristic of the times will be found at length in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, chs. v and vi.

made their escape, he offered a reward of two hundred dollars for the apprehension of each or either of "those fugitives from justice." The governor of Missouri offered a reward of three hundred dollars for the arrest of each or either of them.

The Tide of Popular Prejudice—Efforts to Assuage

A tide of popular prejudice arose about this time which seemingly threatened to overwhelm the church; and consequently a special conference was called for the 27th of August to appoint elders of the church to go through Illinois and the east, to counteract, if possible, this prejudice, aroused in the main, by the misrepresentations and slanderous assaults of Dr. John C. Bennett.[8] In the midst of the conference, much to the joy of the saints, President Smith appeared upon the stand and addressed the conference. His presence was all the more welcome because many of the people believed he had gone to Washington, others to Europe. Naturally his appearance created great cheerfulness and enthusiasm. President

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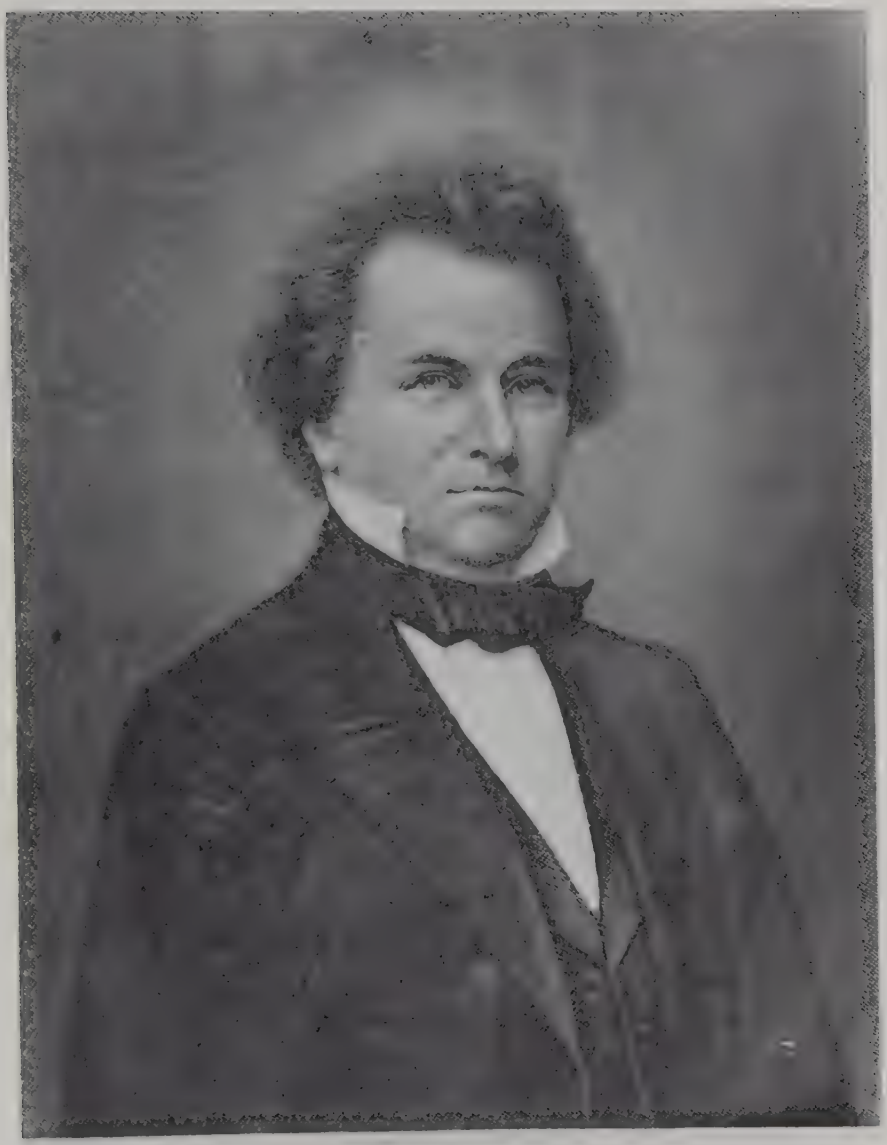
8. John C. Bennett labors hard to prove by statements alleged to have been made to him by the Prophet, and subsequently by Rockwell, that they were jointly guilty of the attempted assassination of Boggs, but there is no weight of evidence in his presentation of the case; nor is there any evidence that the "Mormon" people or the officials of the "Mormon" church approved of revenge by acts of assassination. Bennett in his book, *The History of the Saints* (p. 282), makes a quotation from the Nauvoo *Wasp* in which he charges editorial expressions of approval of the deed, as follows:

"The Nauvoo *Wasp* of May 28, A. D., 1842, a paper edited by William Smith, one of the twelve Mormon apostles, and brother of the Prophet, declared 'Boggs is undoubtedly killed according to report, but *who did the Noble Deed remains to be found out.*'"

This, however, is not an editorial expression of the *Wasp;* but is found in a communication, on the editorial page, it is true, but signed by a now unknown writer, under the *nom de plume* of *"Vortex."* It is this now unknown writer in the *Wasp* that refers to the then supposed assassination of Boggs as a "noble deed," *not* the editor. The editorial comment of the *Wasp* on this communication from *"Vortex"* is as follows: "We admit the foregoing communication to please our correspondent, not that we have faith that anyone has killed Governor Boggs. The last account we have received is that he is still living and likely to live." On the same page of the *Wasp* is published Joseph Smith's denial of complicity in the then supposed assassination of Boggs, and also a denial of having made any prediction of a violent death for him. It is only justice to the Prophet's memory to say that in all the investigations had upon the subject, historically, or judicially, his denial is not confuted. (See *Note* end of chapter).



JUDGE STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

Friend of the Prophet

Smith, by nature impulsive and emotional, was overjoyed to stand once more before his people. He addressed them in more than his usually spirited manner, and called upon the brethren to go through the eastern states taking documents with them, "to show to the world the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Boggs, Carlin and others, that the public might have the truth laid before them." In response to this call to sustain the Prophet's character, three hundred and eighty elders volunteered their services, and announced their willingness to go immediately, and really took their departure within a few days.

A Plot Against the Prophet Discovered

About the first of October, Elder Rigdon and Elias Higbee were in Carthage, and from a conversation with Judge Stephen A. Douglas, they learned that Governor Carlin had purposely issued an illegal writ for the arrest of President Smith, thinking he would go to Carthage to be acquitted on *habeas corpus* proceedings before Judge Douglas—known to be the Prophet's friend—when an officer of the state would be present with a legal writ and serve it upon him immediately, and thus drag him to Missouri. The plot, however, was discovered in time to be thwarted.

Meantime, through Major Warren, master in chancery, President Smith's case was presented to Justin Butterfield, Esq., of Chicago, United States attorney for the district of Illinois. He wrote an elaborate review of the case in which he claimed that President Smith could be released on a writ of *habeas corpus;* that he would have the right to prove that he was not in Missouri at the time the alleged crime was committed; that of necessity, if he was guilty of the crime with which he was charged, he must have committed it in Illinois, and therefore was not a fugitive from justice—and the governor of Illinois had no right to surrender him to the authorities of Missouri as such.

STAUNCH FRIENDS AND TRUE—BUTTERFIELD, ADAMS AND DOUGLAS

"I would advise," said Esq. Butterfield, "that Mr. Smith procure respectable and sufficient affidavits to prove beyond all question that he was in this state (Illinois) and not in Missouri at the time the crime with which he was charged was committed, and upon these affidavits, apply to the governor to countermand the warrant he has issued for his arrest. If he should refuse so to do, I am already of the opinion that, upon the state of facts, the supreme court will discharge him upon *habeas corpus.*"

President Smith acted upon this advice, and sent agents with all the necessary papers to Springfield and applied to Governor Ford—Carlin's term of office in the meantime having expired and Ford being installed—to revoke the writ and proclamation of ex-Governor Carlin for his arrest. The supreme court being in session, Governor Ford submitted the petition and all the papers pertaining thereto for their opinion, and the judges were unanimous in their belief that the Missouri writ was illegal, but were divided as to whether it would be proper for the present executive to interfere with the official acts of his predecessor, and therefore Governor Ford refused to interfere; but said, in a personal letter addressed to the Prophet:—

"I can only advise that you submit to the laws and have a judicial investigation of your rights. If it should become necessary, for this purpose to repair to Springfield, I do not believe that there will be any disposition to use illegal violence towards you; and I would feel it my duty in your case, as in the case of any other person, to protect you with any necessary amount of force, from mob violence whilst asserting your rights before the courts, going to and returning."

This reply was endorsed by Mr. Butterfield and James Adams. In conformity with his advice, President Smith was arrested by William Law, on Carlin's proclamation. Application was made at Carthage for a writ of *habeas corpus* and an order for such a writ was issued on the master in chancery, and with that document President Smith in com-

pany with his brother Hyrum, John Taylor and others, and in charge of Wilson Law, started for Springfield, where they arrived the 30th of December, 1842.

Trial Before Judge Pope

Judge Pope had continued his court two or three days in order to give the Prophet's case a hearing, and in the first interview the judge had with him, agreed to try the case on its merits, and not dismiss it upon a technicality. The deputy sheriff of Adams county was present, but refused at first to say whether he had the original writ or not; but finally King, his associate, admitted that they had it in their possession.

Fearing that it was the object of these men to hold the original writ until after proceedings had concluded and thus create more trouble, a petition was made to Governor Ford to issue a new writ, that the case might come up on its merits, which was granted, but as several days elapsed before a hearing could be had, President Smith was placed under $4,000 bonds, Wilson Law and General James Adams being his bondsmen.

At last the day of trial came on and the attorney-general of the state made the following objection to the jurisdiction of the court:

> "The arrest and detention of Smith, was not under or by color of authority of the United States, or of any officer of the United States, but under and by color of authority of the state of Illinois, by the officer of the state of Illinois.
>
> When a fugitive from justice is arrested by authority of the governor of any state, upon the requisition of the governor of another state, the courts of justices, neither state nor federal, have any authority or jurisdiction to inquire into facts behind the writ."

These points were argued *pro et con* by Mr. Butterfield for the defense, and the attorney-general for the state. After a patient hearing, the court gave its opinion, saying in relation to the first objection, that, "the warrant on its face purports to be issued in pursuance of the Constitution and

laws of the United States, as well as of the state of Illinois;" and therefore the court had jurisdiction.

"The matter in hand," said Judge Pope, "presents a case arising under the second section of Article IV of the Constitution of the United States, and an act of congress of February 12th, 1793, to carry it into effect. The Constitution says: 'The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law or equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, and which shall be made under their authority.' " Therefore, on that line of reasoning, the judge concluded the court had jurisdiction. As to the second objection—the right of the court to inquire into facts behind the writ—the judge held it unnecessary to decide that point, as Smith was entitled to his discharge, for defect in the affidavit on which the demand for his surrender to Missouri was made. To justify the demand for his arrest the affidavit should have shown: "First, that Smith committed a crime; second, that he committed it in Missouri. And it must also appear 'that Smith had fled from Missouri.' " None of these things the affidavit of Boggs did, and the judge held that it was defective for those reasons, and added:

> "The court can alone regard the facts set forth in the affidavit of Boggs as having any legal existence. The mis-recitals and over-statements in the requisition and warrant are not supported by oath and cannnot be received as evidence to deprive a citizen of his liberty, and transport him to a foreign state for trial. For these reasons Smith must be discharged."

President Smith had thus secured another notable victory over his old Missouri enemies, and over his new ones in Illinois.[9]

Celebration of the Prophet's Victory Over His Enemies New and Old

On the Prophet's arrival at Nauvoo, where news of his

9. All the pleadings and affidavits in the case together with the arguments and decisions of Judge Pope, will be found in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, ch. xii, pp. 209-245.

victory had preceded him, the people turned out *en mass* to meet him, and never did triumphant hero receive more sincere or heartier welcome from his people than did President Smith from the citizens of Nauvoo. He arrived in that city on the tenth of January, and the 17th day of that month was set apart as a day of humiliation, fasting, praise, prayer and thanksgiving "for the deliverance God had wrought for his servant." The bishops were instructed to provide places in the respective wards of Nauvoo—there were now ten ecclesiastical wards in the city, with a bishopric over each—for the gathering of their people, and it was arranged that one or more of the brethren who had been at the Springfield trial would be present to detail its chief events, all of which was carried out with great enthusiasm.

Rockwell, charged as the principal in the assault upon ex-Governor Boggs, had spent several months in the east pending the subsidence of the excitement following his own and the Prophet's arrest at Nauvoo; but returning to the west he was arrested on the fourth of March, 1843, in St. Louis, where he was recognized by a Mr. Elias Parker, who made affidavit that he was the person wanted for the assault upon Boggs. Rockwell was taken to Independence for trial, and his bail fixed at five thousand dollars; but as the Missouri court would only take some responsible resident of Missouri for surety, bail could not be obtained for him. He suffered great cruelty while in prison, but when his case came before the grand jury, the evidence was insufficient to warrant an indictment.[10] But in the meantime he had made an effort to escape, and was held on the charge of jail-breaking, for which,

10. The *Independent Expositor; Niles Register,* Sept. 30th, 1843, has the following statement on the Rockwell case:

"Orrin Porter Rockwell, the Mormon confined in our county jail some time since for the attempted assassination of ex-Governor Boggs, was indicted by our last grand jury for escaping from the county jail some weeks since, and sent to Clay county for trial. Owing, however, to some informality in the proceedings, he was remanded to this county again for trial. There was not sufficient proof adduced against him to justify an indictment for shooting at ex-Governor Boggs; and the grand jury, therefore, did not indict him for that offense." (Quoted by Bancroft, *History of Utah,* p. 156.)

when he came to be tried, he was sentenced to *five minutes imprisonment,* though they kept him several hours while an effort was made to trump up new charges against him.

Orrin Porter Rockwell's Integrity

One incident occurred during Rockwell's imprisonment that ought not to be passed without notice. Sheriff Reynolds made an effort to induce him to go to Nauvoo, and as the Prophet had great confidence in him, Reynolds proposed that Rockwell should drive President Smith in a carriage outside of Nauvoo, where the Missourians could capture him; and then, as to himself, he could either remain in Illinois, return to Missouri, or go where he pleased. "You only deliver Joe Smith into our hands," said Reynolds, "and name your pile." "I will see you all d—ed first, and then I won't," replied Rockwell.[11]

After meeting with many adventures in making his way out of Missouri, Rockwell finally arrived in Nauvoo on an evening when there was a social party in progress at President Smith's house, where he received a hearty welcome.

The Prophet's Self Revealment

During these days of enforced seclusion following the attempt to hale him back to Missouri on the charge of being accessory before the fact to the murderous assault upon ex-Governor Boggs, one gets a rare glimpse of the Prophet's

11. It is claimed by one writer that Rockwell admitted to General P. E. Connor, of California, who commanded a United States military force in Utah, 1862-65, and for whom Rockwell guarded stock,—that he made the assault on Boggs at Independence and expressed regret that he had not killed the ex-governor (*Mormon Portraits,* Appendix, p. 255). The "admission," however, is reported only by Dr. Wyl, author of the above *Portraits,* and has no other basis. One has but to read the book of that writer to be convinced of his utter insincerity, bias and bitterness. His work is after the same order as John C. Bennett's; ribaldry is its chief characteristic. Reporting Bennett's falsehood that the Nauvoo *Wasp* gave editorial indorsement of the assault on Boggs, by referring to it as a "noble deed," Wyl says, in a footnote, "This is correct. The author saw the *Wasp* in the Historian's office at Salt Lake" (*Portraits,* p. 33, footnote). By consulting footnote 8 of this chapter, the reader will see how entirely false is this declaration. Linn also quotes Wyl's statement in *The Story of the Mormons,* p. 245, note.

private life and character, that in part explains the mystery of his power and influence over his friends and people. He kept by him a specially prepared book in which he recorded the names of those who ministered to him in kindness; there he recorded the names and pronounced blessings upon his special friends and companions in developing the New Dispensation. This book he called the *Law of the Lord;*[12] and during his seclusion he made many entries in it that are of great value both as revealing the character of men with whom he labored, and also as revealing his own character; for if as a man thinketh and speaketh so is he, then we get a self-revelation of Joseph Smith from these entries in the *Book of the Law of the Lord* that is quite a convincing refutation of the calumnies fulminated against the "Mormon Prophet." For example: on one occasion during his seclusion he met at night a number of his friends on the island in the Mississippi, midway between Nauvoo and Montrose, and of that meeting, in the *Book of the Law of the Lord,* he said:

> "How glorious were my feelings when I met that faithful and friendly band, on the night of the eleventh [of August], on the Island at the mouth of the slough between Zarahemla [Montrose] and Nauvoo. With what unspeakable delight—and what transports of joy swelled my bosom—when I took by the hand, on that night, my beloved Emma—she that was my wife, even the wife of my youth, and the choice of my heart! Many were the vibrations of my mind when I contemplated for a moment the many scenes we had been called to pass through, the fatigues and the toils, the sorrows and suffering, and the joys and the consolations, from time to time, which had strewed our paths and crowned our board. Oh, what a commingling of thoughts filled my mind for the moment! And again she is here, even in the seventh trouble—undaunted, firm and unwavering—unchangeable, affectionate Emma!
>
> There was Brother Hyrum, who next took me by the hand. * * * Thought I to myself, Brother Hyrum, what a faithful heart you have got! Oh, may the Eternal Jehovah crown eternal blessings upon your head, as a reward for the care you have had for my soul! Oh, how many are the sorrows we have shared together! and again we find ourselves shackled by the unrelenting hand of oppression. Hyrum, thy name shall be written in the *Book of the Law of the Lord,* for those who come after to look upon, that they may pattern after thy works."

12. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. i, p. 124.

Some years before this, in December, 1835, the Prophet had said of Hyrum: "I could pray in my heart that all men were like my brother Hyrum, who possesses the mildness of a lamb, and the integrity of Job, and in short, the meekness and humility of Christ; and I love him with that love that is stronger than death, for I have never had occasion to rebuke him, nor he me."

Of Newel K. Whitney, the bishop of the church,—who was among those who visited him upon the island—he said:

"Here is Brother Newel K. Whitney also. How many scenes of sorrow have strewed our paths together; and yet we meet once more to share again. Thou art a faithful friend in whom the afflicted sons of men can confide with the most perfect safety. Let the blessings of the Eternal also be crowned upon his head. How warm that heart! how anxious that soul for the welfare of one who has been cast out, and hated of almost all men! Brother Whitney, thou knowest not how strong the ties are that bind my soul and heart to thee!"

So he goes on to call the faithful by their names and record their virtues and their deeds of love manifested towards himself, and pronounces his blessings upon them; and if, as one of old said, "We know that we have passed from death into life because we love the brethren"—surely Joseph Smith possessed that witness—he loved his brethren better than his life. Later in the *Book of the Law of the Lord,* he said:

"There are many souls whom I have loved stronger than death. To them I have proved faithful—to them I am determined to prove faithful, until God calls me to resign up my breath. O Thou, who seest and knowest the hearts of all men—Thou eternal, omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent Jehovah—God—Thou Elohim, that sittest, as saith the Psalmist, 'enthroned in heaven,' look down upon thy servant Joseph Smith at this time; and let faith on the name of thy Son Jesus Christ, to a greater degree than thy servant ever yet has enjoyed, be conferred upon him, even the faith of Elijah; and let the lamp of eternal life be lit up in his heart, never to be taken away; and let the word of eternal life be poured upon the soul of thy servant, that he may know thy will, thy statutes, and thy commandments, and thy judgments, to do them."[13]

13. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, chs. v, vi.

As this *Book of the Law of the Lord* was never intended for publication, we have here revealed the soul-thoughts of Joseph Smith; and as a man thinketh, so is he![14]

Joseph Smith's Ecstatic Review of Historical Events in Which the New Dispensation Had its Origin

Here follows the Prophet's review of those early events in which the New Dispensation had its origin:

"Now, what do we hear in the gospel which we have received? A voice of gladness! a voice of mercy from heaven; and a voice of truth out of the earth, glad tidings for the dead, a voice of gladness for the living and the dead; 'glad tidings of great joy; how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those that bring glad tidings of good things; and that say unto Zion, behold! thy God reigneth.' As the dews of Carmel, so shall the knowledge of God descend upon them.

And again, what do we hear? Glad tidings from Cumorah! Moroni, an angel from heaven, declaring the fulfillment of the prophets —the book to be revealed. A voice of the Lord in the wilderness of Fayette, Seneca county, declaring the three witnesses to bear record of the Book. The voice of Michael on the banks of the Susquehanna, detecting the devil when he appeared as an angel of light.[15] The voice of Peter, James and John in the wilderness between Harmony, Susquehanna river declaring themselves as possessing the keys of the kingdom, and of the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times.[16]

And again, the voice of God in the chamber of old father Whitmer, in Fayette, Seneca county,[17] and at sundry times, and in divers places through all the travels and tribulations of this Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. And the voice of Michael, the archangel; the voice of Gabriel, and of Raphael, and of divers angels, from Michael or Adam, down to the present time, all declaring their dispensation, their rights, their keys, their honors, their majesty and glory, and the power of their priesthood; giving line upon line, precept upon precept; here a little, and there a little—giving us consolation by holding forth that which is to come, confirming our hope.

Brethren, shall we not go in so great a cause? Go forward and not backward. Courage brethren; and on, on to victory! Let your hearts rejoice, and be exceedingly glad. Let the earth break forth into singing. Let the dead speak forth anthems of eternal praise to the King Immanuel, who hath ordained before the world was, that which

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14. *Proverbs*, xxiii, 7.
15. Except for this allusion to it, this event is lost to our annals.
16. Doubtless having reference to the visit of these three apostles to himself and Oliver Cowdery, on the occasion of their being ordained apostles of Jesus Christ (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xxvii:12).
17. See *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xx, this revelation was given at sundry times.

would enable us to redeem them out of their prison; for the prisoners shall go free. Let the mountains shout for joy, and all ye valleys cry aloud; and all ye seas and dry lands tell the wonders of your eternal king. And ye rivers, and brooks, and rills flow down with gladness. Let the woods and all the trees of the field praise the Lord; and ye solid rocks weep for joy. And let the sun, moon, and the morning stars sing together, and let all the sons of God shout for joy. And let the eternal creations declare his name forever and ever."

Note

Joseph Smith's Denial of Complicity in the Assault Upon ex-Governor Boggs, Not Confuted

Those who charge Joseph Smith with having planned the assault upon ex-Governor Boggs are utterly unworthy of belief. They are John C. Bennett and Wm. Law. Of the first enough already is known to discredit him. Wm. Law's statement is in the body of an affidavit that Joseph told him "that he sent a man to kill Governor Boggs of Missouri," that was not made until the 17th of July, 1885, and was not published until 1910. It was published for the first time in *The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy,* Charles A. Shook, 1910, pp. 130-5. One other statement of the same import as this of the affidavit is accredited to Wm. Law, and published in the Salt Lake *Tribune* in 1887, two years after the above mentioned affidavit was made. This alleged statement was said to have been made to Dr. Wyl, a German writer, and author of a vicious anti-"Mormon" book under the title *Mormon Portraits,* published 1886, in Salt Lake City. It follows very much in the style and tone of Bennett's *Expose,* and severer criticism than this could not be passed upon it. (See footnote 10, Ch. xlviii). This purported interview is published in the Appendix of Gregg's *Prophet of Palmyra,* 1890, pp. 504-517. Of this "interview" reported by Dr. Wyl, and of the statements made by the Nauvoo seceders generally, Gregg himself remarks:

"The statements of the interview must be taken for what they are worth. While many of them are corroborated elsewhere and in many ways, there are others that need verification, and some that probably exist only in the mind of the narrator. One fact, however, will obtrude itself upon the mind of the reader—that while these seceders are making all these damaging statements against the Prophet and the leaders at Nauvoo, it is remembered that only a year or so earlier they were denying them when made by others. It is for them to reconcile these damaging facts."[18]

But as to William Law himself: If the statement made by him in the affidavit of 1885, and that of the Wyl interview of 1887, *viz.*, that Joseph Smith told him [William Law] that he had sent Rockwell to Missouri to kill Boggs, then why is it that William Law remained

18. *Prophet of Palmyra,* Gregg, p. 504.

silent so long upon this important incident? William Law was Presiden Smith's counselor during the time that this case in relation to the attempt on the life of Boggs was before the courts of the country. During the Prophet's seclusion on account of the excited state of the country over Boggs' case, William Law was meeting the Prophet and aiding him to avoid further arrest and in frequent consultation with him during that period. (*History of the Church,* Period I, Vol. V, pp. 89-96). When a feast was given at President Smith's house in honor of his victory over his enemies who had trumped up this charge against him, William Law was among the distinguished guests of that occasion (*History of the Church,* Period I, Vol. V, p. 409); and continued to occupy the relationship of counselor to Joseph Smith in the first presidency of the church up to within two months of the Prophet's martyrdom. If Joseph Smith either confided as a secret or confessed as a crime his alleged connection in the assault upon Boggs, then it must have been during the time of these confidential relations; and evidently if Joseph Smith made the alleged statement to him concerning his complicity in the assault upon Boggs, William Law kept it concealed during all that time, and hence became *particeps criminis.* The greater likelihood is that William Law becoming embittered against his chief, joined with John C. Bennett and others in slandering him.

CHAPTER L

Revival of Old Missouri Charges—Trial and Acquittal of President Joseph Smith

MISSOURI was not content to let her pursuit of President Joseph Smith stop with his acquittal on the charge of complicity in the Boggs affair. No sooner was he released from arrest and departed from Springfield than John C. Bennett arrived there and wrote some of his friends in Nauvoo his intention to leave immediately for Missouri and obtain a new indictment by a grand jury on the old charge of "murder, treason, burglary, theft," etc., brought against the Prophet, Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt *et al,* in 1838; hoping that upon this charge he might succeed in getting out extradition papers on the ground that the Prophet was a fugitive from the justice of the state of Missouri.

An indictment on these old charges was finally obtained, supposedly at the instance of John C. Bennett and the Prophet's old Missouri enemies, at a special term of the circuit court of Daviess county, Missouri, on the 5th of June, 1843. Governor Reynolds, of Missouri, issued a requisition on Governor Ford for Joseph Smith on the 13th of the same month, and appointed J. H. Reynolds as agent of Missouri to receive Joseph Smith from the authorities of Illinois.

Sensational Arrest of the Prophet at Dixon

Governor Ford, responding to the request of Missouri, issued extradition papers and placed them in the hands of Harmon T. Wilson for execution. Friends in Springfield hearing that a warrant was issued for the Prophet's arrest dispatched messengers with that word to Nauvoo. President Smith was absent from the city with his wife visiting her relatives, the Wassons, living near Dixon in Lee county, some

two hundred miles north of Nauvoo. Hyrum Smith dispatched two messengers, Stephen Markham and William Clayton, to warn the Prophet of his danger, and these messengers reached him before the arrival of the officers. President Smith, however, concluded not to avoid arrest; for he feared that if he started for Nauvoo he might be apprehended *en route* where he had no friends and be run over into Missouri among his bitterest enemies. A short time after the arrival of Markham and Clayton, the two officers, Wilson and Reynolds, appeared at the Wasson home and very brutally, with oaths and threats and unnecessary violence,[1] placed President Smith under arrest, and were for dragging him into Missouri *sans ceremony*. By the activity and energy of his friends, however, President Smith succeeded in so far delaying the haste of his captors that he obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* at Dixon, made returnable before Hon. John D. Caton, judge of the ninth judicial circuit at Ottawa, Lasalle county. Before starting for Ottawa it was learned that Judge Caton was absent from the state and a new writ was issued "returnable before

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1. The following is the Prophet's description of his arrest by Wilson and Reynolds taken from a speech he delivered at Nauvoo in the presence of those officers and many thousands of Nauvoo's citizens, a few days after he was arrested: "The day before I was taken at Inlet Grove, I rode with my wife through Dixon to visit my friends, and I said to her, 'Here is a good people.' I felt this by the spirit of God. The next day I was a prisoner in their midst, in the hands of Reynolds, of Missouri, and Wilson, of Carthage. As the latter drove up, he exclaimed, 'Ha, ha, ha! By G—d, we have got the Prophet now!'—he gloried much in it—'But he is now our prisoner!' When they came to take me, they held two cocked pistols to my head, and saluted me with, 'G—d—n you, I'll shoot you! I'll shoot you, G—d—n you.' repeating these threats nearly fifty times, from first to last. I asked them what they wanted to shoot me for. They said they would do it, if I made any resistance.

'Oh, very well,' I replied, 'I have no resistance to make.' They then dragged me away, and I asked them by what authority they did these things. They said, 'By a writ from the governors of Missouri and Illinois.' I then told them I wanted a writ of *habeas corpus*. Their reply was, 'G—d—n you, you shan't have it.' I told a man to go to Dixon and get me a writ of *habeas corpus*. Wilson then repeated, 'G—d—n you, you shan't have it; I'll shoot you.'

When we arrived at Dixon, I sent for a lawyer, who came; and Reynolds shut the door in his face, and would not let me speak to him, repeating, 'G—d—n you, I'll shoot you.' I turned to him, and opened my bosom, and told him to 'shoot away.' I have endured so much persecution and oppression that I am sick of life. Why, then, don't you shoot, and have done with it, instead of talking so much about it?' This somewhat checked his insolence." (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, pp. 465-473.)

the nearest tribunal in the fifth judicial district to hear writs of *habeas corpus.*"

Cyrus Walker—Complicated Arrests

Cyrus Walker, the Whig candidate for congress, was at Dixon conducting his canvass; and President Smith called upon him to take his case as counsel. Walker refused to take the case unless President Smith would pledge himself to vote for him in the coming election. This agreement was made and Walker began a vigorous counteraction against the officers Wilson and Reynolds. Writs were issued against them before the local justice of the peace for threats against President Smith's life; another for violation of the law in relation to writs of *habeas corpus;* and still another, this from the circuit court of Lee county, for private injuries and false imprisonment, claiming $10,000 damages. As the officers could furnish no bondsman they were under the necessity themselves of obtaining writs of *habeas corpus.* So that while President Smith was the prisoner of Wilson and Reynolds, pending the hearing on a writ of *habeas corpus,* the two officers were prisoners under the same circumstances in charge of the sheriff of Lee county. Under these complex circumstances the parties started for Quincy, the nearest point within the fifth judicial district, it was supposed, where the cases could be heard. Quincy was two hundred and sixty miles distant.

En route for Quincy President Smith convinced the sheriff of Lee county and Esquire Walker—at least Walker pretended to be convinced—that the municipal court of Nauvoo had the right to try cases under writs of *habeas corpus,* and since the writ he had secured was made returnable before the nearest tribunal in the fifth judicial district authorized to hear and determine writs of *habeas corpus,* President Smith insisted on being taken to Nauvoo for the hearing. He prevailed, too, and for that place the party directed its course.

Nauvoo Aroused for the Safety of the Prophet

Meantime there were exciting times in Nauvoo. As soon as he was arrested President Smith dispatched William Clayton with the word to his brother Hyrum Smith that his friends might take such steps as would secure to him his rights. Clayton arrived in Nauvoo about two o'clock on Sunday, the twenty-fifth of June, while the regular Sunday services were in progress. Hyrum Smith called upon the brethren to meet him at the Masonic Hall where he imparted to them the information of the Prophet's arrest, and called for volunteers to go to his assistance. Immediately three hundred volunteered, and of these nearly two hundred were accepted, and before sunset were mounted and left the city under the command of Wilson Law and Charles C. Rich, both officers in the Nauvoo Legion.

A company of seventy-five men under the leadership of captain Dan Jones, a Welshman, boarded the *Maid of Iowa*—a small steamboat, purchased by the people of Nauvoo a few months before—and started down the Mississippi for the mouth of the Illinois river, thence up that stream with the view of intercepting any party which might attempt to take the Prophet *via* the river route into Missouri. It was supposed at Nauvoo that the officers were *en route* with President Smith for Ottawa, as Clayton had left him before it was learned that Judge Caton was not in the state, which fact changed the course of those having him in charge in the direction of Quincy.

The force of one hundred and seventy-five men under Law and Rich divided and subdivided into small companies in going northward through the country, and on the third day some of these small companies joined President Smith near Monmouth, in Warren county.

While in the vicinity of Monmouth, Wilson and Reynolds planned a scheme to go into that town, raise a *posse* of men, take President Smith by force and run him into Missouri.

The plot was overheard, however, and disclosed, by Peter W. Conover, one of the Prophet's newly arrived friends, whereupon Sheriff Campbell of Lee county, disarmed and took into closer custody the two officers.

Greeting of the Prophet at Nauvoo

As the party drew nearer to Nauvoo the small bands of the Prophet's friends were encountered one after another until his escort numbered one hundred and forty mounted men. At noon on the 30th of June he was met a mile and a half north of the city by a great concourse of the citizens of Nauvoo. A procession was formed and with President Smith at its head entered the city amid the enthusiastic cheers of the people, the firing of musketry and cannon, and the music of the band. The great concourse of people that thronged the streets in the vicinity of the president's house seemed unwilling to disperse until he announced that he would address them in the grove near the temple at four o'clock.

A company of fifty sat down at the Prophet's table to partake of the feast provided, and Wilson and Reynolds, who treated him so inhumanly when he was in their power at Dixon, were placed at the head of the table, and waited upon by Emma, the Prophet's wife, with the utmost regard for their comfort.

In the afternoon, several thousand people assembled at the grove, and at four o'clock, President Smith addressed them in an animated speech of considerable length, in which he related to them his adventures while in the power of his enemies, and contended that the municipal court of Nauvoo had the right to hear cases arising under writs of *habeas corpus*. In the course of this speech the Prophet allowed himself to be carried away by the fervor of his feelings. That will create no astonishment when the excitement and the indignation under which he was laboring, are taken into account. Under such circumstances and from such temperaments as that of President Smith's, we shall look in vain at such times for a

dispassionate discourse; and more than human must that man be who under the accumulated wrongs of years of oppression, can always confine his speech, when recounting those wrongs, within the lines that calm wisdom would draw.

Courage and Tenderness of the Prophet

There never was any doubt as to the courage of Joseph Smith. From boyhood he had been noted for his fearlessness under trying circumstances, but during the period here considered, when he was the constant object of assault, both by legal processes, under the leadership of cunning, malicious men, and the physical brutality of officials charged with the execution of the law; and both when facing the maliciously skillful in their proceedings under the color of law, and the threats of physical force from brutal captors, the conduct of the Prophet was most admirable. Also in seclusion, when others were easily excited and manifested symptoms of panic under circumstances of conflicting rumors of impending dangers, it is refreshing to see how calmly he keeps his balance and rightly judges the true status of many trying situations. But what is most pleasing to record of this period of enforced seclusion, while avoiding his enemies, is the development of that tenderness of soul manifested in his reflections upon his friends who stood by him from the commencement of his public career; for his father and mother, for his brother Alvin, for Emma, his wife, for his brother Hyrum, the Knights, who were his friends even before the *Book of Mormon* was translated, and especially for the friends who received him and ministered unto him during his retirement from public view. No act of kindness seems to go unmentioned. No risk run for him is unappreciated. Indeed he gathers much benefit from those trials, since their effect upon his nature seems to be a softening rather than a hardening influence. The trials of life are always beneficial where they do not harden and brutalize men's souls; and every day under

trials the Prophet seems to have grown more tender-hearted, more universal in his sympathies; his moments of spiritual exaltation are superb.[2]

Trial Before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo

In the meantime, a requisition was made on Sheriff Reynolds to bring his prisoner before the municipal court of Nauvoo, that the validity of the warrant, by virtue of which he held him, might be tested. Reynolds refused to recognize the summons of the court; therefore, his prisoner petitioned the court for a writ of *habeas corpus* to be directed to Sheriff Reynolds, commanding him to bring his prisoner before said court, and there state the cause of his capture and detention, in order that the lawfulness of his arrest might be determined. Reynolds complied with the attachment, and the Prophet was delivered into the charge of the city marshal. The next day, the municipal court held a session, William Marks acting as chief justice, D. H. Wells, N. K. Whitney, G. W. Harris, Gustavus Hills and Hiram Kimball, associate justices.

When President Smith was on trial for this same offense before Judge Douglas, on a writ of *habeas corpus,* in 1841, as already related in a previous chapter, the court refused to enter into the consideration of the merits of the case, as the judge doubted whether on a writ of *habeas corpus* he had a right to go behind the writ and inquire into the merits of the case. The same point was avoided by Judge Pope in the hearing before his court in the Boggs case. But the municipal court of Nauvoo had no such scruples, and at once proceeded to try the case *ex parte,* on its merits; and Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Brigham Young, George W. Pitkin, Lyman Wight and Sidney Rigdon were examined as witnesses. Their affidavits before that court concerning events that happened to the saints in Missouri, afford the most circumstantial,

2. See chapter xlix.

reliable and exhaustive data for the *History of the Church* while in that state that has ever been published.[3]

After hearing the testimony of these witnesses, and the pleadings of counsel, the court ordered that Joseph Smith be released from arrest, for want of substance in the warrant by which he was held, as well as upon the merits of the case.

At the conclusion of the trial the citizens of Nauvoo held a mass meeting and passed resolutions thanking the people of Dixon and vicinity, and of Lee county generally, for the stand they had taken in defense of the innocent, and in favor of law and justice.

A copy of the proceedings of the municipal court of Nauvoo, and of all the papers connected with the case, were immediately sent to Governor Ford as also were the affidavits from leading counsel and gentlemen from Dixon, as to the treatment of Wilson and Reynolds, that the governor and the people might know that they had not been injured.

Attitude of Governor Ford on the Prophet's Course

Governor Ford, also at that time, gave tacit approval of the course taken by the municipal court in issuing the writ of *habeas corpus,* though he afterwards became very pronounced in his opposition to the exercises of such powers by the city. Governor Ford's approval of what was done appears in this: As soon as President Smith was liberated, Sheriff Reynolds applied to the governor for a *posse* to retake him, representing that the Prophet had been unlawfully taken out of his hands by the municipal court of Nauvoo. The governor refused to grant the petition. Subsequently the governor of Missouri asked Governor Ford to call out the militia to retake the Prophet, but this he also refused to do; and gave as a reason that "no process, officer, or authority of the state had been resisted or interfered with," and recited how the prisoner had been released on *habeas corpus* by the municipal

3. The affidavits in full are published in the *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iii, Appendix, pp. 403-466.

court of Nauvoo. The governer acted in this instance with perfect knowledge of what had taken place, for the petition and statement of Reynolds were in his possession as were also complete copies of all the documents which contained the proceedings before the municipal court of Nauvoo; and in addition to these sources of information, the governor had dispatched a trusted, secret agent, a Mr. Brayman, to Nauvoo, who investigated the case and reported the above named information to him.[4]

Comment on the Nauvoo Charter: Writs of Habeas Corpus

Very naturally after the experiences of the "Mormon" people in Missouri, the Prophet was anxious to environ them with conditions that would insure protection to the community; hence for Nauvoo he secured as large concessions of political power as it was possible to obtain, and an examination of the Nauvoo charter proper with its attendant charters providing, as they did, for an independent educational system, from common schools to a university; an independent military organization, with a "lieutenant-gen-

4. The whole subject is reviewed by Ford in a communication to Governor Reynolds, of Missouri, under date of August 14th, 1843, published *in extenso* in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, pp. 533-4, 5, 6. In this communication Governor Ford makes the following statement about the friends of the Prophet who went from Nauvoo to his assistance when *en route* from Dixon to Nauvoo:

"On the road, during their progress, they were met by parties of the citizens of Nauvoo, some or most of whom are said to have been members of the Nauvoo Legion, though there is no evidence that they appeared in a military capacity. There was no exhibition of arms of any description, nor was there any military or war-like array, nor was there any actual force used, though Mr. Reynolds testifies that he felt under constraint, and that Smith, soon after meeting the first parties of Mormons, enlarged himself from his custody. * * *

After arriving at Nauvoo, a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by the municipal court of that city, and Mr. Reynolds was compelled by the authority of the court to produce Mr. Smith before that tribunal. After hearing the case, the court discharged Smith from arrest.

There is much other evidence submitted; but the foregoing is the material part of it to be considered on the present occasion.

Now, sir, I might safely rest my refusal to order a detachment of militia to assist in retaking Smith upon the ground that the laws of this state have been fully exercised in the matter. A writ has been issued for his apprehension. Smith was apprehended and was duly delivered by the officer of this state to the agent of the state of Missouri appointed to receive him. No process, officer or authority of this state has been resisted or interfered with. I have fully executed the duty which the laws impose upon me, and have not been resisted either in the writ issued for the arrest of Smith or in the person of the officer appointed to apprehend him."

eral" as its commander; a large grant of commercial as well as municipal power, demonstrates how well he succeeded. Commenting upon the charter immediately after its passage by the state legislature had been formally announced, he said: "The city charter of Nauvoo is of my own plan and device. I concocted it for the salvation of the church, and on principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protective influence without distinction of sect or party." On another occasion when defending the right of the city to issue writs of *habeas corpus*, even against processes of the state, he held: "If there is not power in our charter and courts, then there is not power in the state of Illinois nor in the congress or Constitution of the United States; for the United States gave unto Illinois her Constitution or charter; and Illinois gave unto Nauvoo her charters conceding unto us our vested rights which she has no right or power to take from us. All the power there was in Illinois she gave to Nauvoo. * * * The municipal court has all the power to issue and determine writs of *habeas corpus* within the limits of this state that the legislature can confer. This city has all the power that the state courts have, and was given by the same authority—the legislature. * * * 'But,' says the mob, 'what dangerous powers!' Yes, dangerous, because they will protect the innocent and put down mobocrats. There is nothing but what we have power over, except where restricted by the Constitution of the United States. * * * If these powers are dangerous, then the Constitution of the United States, and of this state are dangerous; but they are not dangerous to good men; they are only so to bad men who are breakers of the laws. * * * The lawyers themselves acknowledge that we have all power granted us in our charters that we could ask for—that we have more power than any other court in the state; for all other courts were restricted while ours was not."[5]

5. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, pp. 465-473—the Prophet's speech.

Such views in relation to an ordinary municipal government would unquestionably be regarded as untenable. No such powers as are here claimed are accorded to any ordinary city government in Illinois or any other of the states of the American union. What then may be said of the Prophet's claims in respect to the municipal powers of Nauvoo? Nothing in way of defense, except it be held that Nauvoo was not an ordinary municipality; that Joseph Smith had sought for extraordinary grants of power for the city of Nauvoo and had obtained them; that his personal experiences and the experiences of his people in Ohio and Missouri, had taught him the necessity of having officers charged with the duty of administering government, wherein his people were concerned, who were friendly disposed and whose interests were largely identical with those of the saints: *local self-government was an imperative necessity to them.* The things which the Prophet and his people suffered justified both him and them, perhaps, in seeking for and obtaining such powers as had been conferred by charters upon the city of Nauvoo; and under these granted powers, as he conceived them, the Prophet was wholly within the lines of right conduct when he invoked municipal powers in his own protection against the aggressions of his old enemies in Missouri and his new betrayers in Illinois. But whether the legislature of Illinois was fully aware of the extraordinary powers it was confering upon the city of Nauvoo, or being aware of the import of their action the party in control of the legislature was willing to grant the extraordinary powers in the hope of currying political favor with the saints, may not be determined; but in any event these extraordinary powers were granted; and wittingly or unwittingly a *"city-state"* had practically been established within the state of Illinois. Nothing short of this descriptive term can adequately set fort the municipal government of Nauvoo. It seems to be an unconscious reversion, in an incipient way, to the

"city-states" or "city-republics" of the old Greek confederacies, or the "free-towns" of mediæval times, when the cities were more potent than nations in commerce and even in politics. Whether or not the state courts of Illinois and United States courts would have sustained the Nauvoo charters if the matter of their validity had been referred to them for adjudication, may not be determined; but the likelihood is that they would not have been sustained; on the contrary they would have been most likely declared anomalous to the American system of government.

On the Broad Principles of Justice

Reverting to the case of the Prophet just before the municipal court, however, whatever opinion may be entertained as to the right of the city of Nauvoo to issue writs of *habeas corpus* to arrest state processes, there can be no question but what by the broad principles of justice, Joseph Smith ought to have been set free. The state of Missouri had no just claims upon him. He had been arrested and several times examined on these old charges now revived by the personal malice of John C. Bennett, and after being held a prisoner awaiting indictment and trial for five months, so conscious were the officers of the state that they had no case against him that they themselves connived at his escape.[6] After such proceedings to demand that Joseph Smith be dragged again into Missouri among his old enemies for trial upon these five-year-old charges, was an outrage against every principle of justice; and he and his friends were justified in resisting such process either by strategy or even by force.

We may conclude the account of this adventure of President Smith's by saying that about a year afterwards, a jury in Lee county awarded fifty dollars damages, and costs, against Wilson and Reynolds, for false imprisonment and abuse of the Prophet—a verdict which, while it confirms the

6. See this *History*, chs. xxiv and xxxviii.

unlawful course of those officers, and the fact that their prisoner was abused, insults justice by awarding such an amount for damages.

NAUVOO MANSION

Home of the Prophet Joseph Smith.

CHAPTER LI

Growth of Nauvoo: Two Remarkable Prophecies

MEANTIME Nauvoo was growing. Early in 1843 her population was variously computed from twelve to sixteen thousand. Her public buildings, chiefly the temple and the Nauvoo House, were progressing rapidly. More pretentious homes were being erected, and new additions to the original city plat were made. Among the substantial buildings of Nauvoo completed in 1843, was the Nauvoo Mansion,[1] the principal hotel of the city, and also the home of President Smith. It was a frame structure built and owned by President Smith for the accomodation of visitors to Nauvoo, now very numerous, pending the erection of the more pretentious Nauvoo House. President Smith did not long continue in control of it as a hotel, however, but leased it to others, though he continued to make it his home up to the time of his death, and here it was that his bullet-torn body lay in state after the tragedy at Carthage.

The Nauvoo Mansion

"The Mansion" was said to have been the most commodious hostelry and to set the best table of any public place of entertainment on the upper Mississippi in those days. Among other conveniences it had brick stables with stalls for seventy-five horses and storage for hay and grain to feed them.

Early in December, 1842, the city had been divided, ecclesiastically, into ten wards and bishops were appointed to preside over each. The city council was active in passing ordinances to meet growing necessities of a rapidly increasing

1. A steel engraving of "The Mansion" accompanies this chapter, from a photograph taken by the writer in 1885. It is an "L" shaped building, the west front facing Main street, and the south front Water street. The chief interest in "The Mansion" of course is that it was the home of the Prophet, where he feasted the poor and humble among his own people, as well as some of the first men of the state of Illinois.

population, looking especially to the cleanliness, health and morality of the city. In February, 1843, Joseph Smith was chosen a second time mayor of the city, and, all things considered, Nauvoo was rapidly approaching the high watermark of her prosperity.[2]

The Turmoil that Hinders Progress

But peace is essential to the growth of cities. Commerce flees from strife; and trade sinks into decay where conflicts distract the people. Nauvoo was favorably located and no city in the west gave better promise of becoming an important center of domestic commerce, manufactures, and inland and river trade. With peace it could easily have become the rival of St. Louis or Chicago. In addition to being a center of trade, manufactures and domestic commerce, the presence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints would have made it a shrine, a gathering place for the faithful from all parts of the world, and an educational center also; for already steps had been taken towards founding a university, and the keen interest which President Smith and his followers had ever manifested in education, gave every promise that Nauvoo in time would be one of the prominent centers of higher education in the United States.

The peace essential to this material and educational growth, however, was not granted to Nauvoo. Sectarian bitterness against the religion of the Latter-day Saints was too deep-rooted; political jealousy was too strong; and hence strife, plots, threats of violence, actual violence, rumors of invasions from Missouri, hints of assistance from mobs in Illinois, the frequent arrest of the founder of the city, the false reports that went abroad concerning its inhabitants—all combined to blight the prospects and hinder the growth which otherwise might have been realized because of Nauvoo's favorable position and early development.

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2. See *Note* 1 end of chapter.

Two great prophecies by Joseph Smith belong to this period. The first was in relation to the removal of the saints to the valleys of the Rocky Mountains; the other was a most remarkable prediction concerning Judge Stephen A. Douglas, just then beginning to become prominent in the politics of Illinois.

The Removal of the Saints to the Rocky Mountains—A Prediction

The first of these predictions falls under the date of August the 6th, 1842. The Prophet records the following incident as occurring on that day:

"Passed over to Montrose, Iowa, in company with General Adams, Colonel Brewer and others, and witnessed the installation of the officers of the Rising Sun Lodge of the Ancient York Masons, at Montrose, by General James Adams, deputy grand master of Illinois. While the deputy grand master, was engaged in giving the requisite instructions to the master elect, I had a conversation with a number of brethren, in the shade of the building, on the subject of our persecutions in Missouri, and the constant annoyance which has followed us since we were driven from that state. *I prophesied that the saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors, or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease; and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.*"[3]

Of this incident, one of the brethren who was present, Anson Call, according to Edward Tullidge, makes the following statement, important as relating to the prophetic incident itself, and also as a description of the Prophet when under the influence of the divine inspiration by which his prophetic utterances were prompted.

"On the 6th of August, 1842, with quite a number of his brethren, he [Joseph Smith] crossed the Mississippi river to the town of Montrose, to be present at the installation of the Masonic Lodge of the Risin Sun. A block schoolhouse had been prepared with shade in front, under which was a barrel of ice water, Judge James

3. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v. p. 85, and note.

Adams was the highest Masonic authority in the state of Illinois, and had been sent there to organize this lodge. He and Hyrum Smith, being high Masons, went into the house to perform some ceremonies which the others were not entitled to witness. These, including Joseph Smith, remained under the bowery. Joseph, as he was tasting the cold water, warned the brethren not to be too free with it. With the tumbler still in his hand he prophesied that the saints would yet go to the Rocky Mountains; and, said he, this water tastes much like that of the crystal streams that are running from the snow-capped mountains. We will let Mr. Call describe this prophetic scene: 'I had before seen him in a vision, and now saw while he was talking his countenance change to white; not the deadly white of a bloodless face, but a living, brilliant white. He seemed absorbed in gazing at something at a great distance, and said: 'I am gazing upon the valleys of those mountains.' This was followed by a vivid description of the scenery of these mountains, as I have since become acquainted with it. Pointing to Shadrach Roundy and others, he said: 'There are some men here who shall do a great work in that land.' Pointing to me, he said: 'There is Anson, he shall go and shall assist in building up cities from one end of the country to the other; and you, rather extending the idea to all those he had spoken of, shall perform as great a work as has been done by man, so that the nations of the earth shall be astonished, and many of them will be gathered in that land and assist in building cities and temples, and Israel shall be made to rejoice."[4]

We shall see in the progress of this *History* a wonderful fulfillment of the prophecy.

The prophecy relating to Judge Stephen A. Douglas occurred on the 18th of May, 1843. The text of it is taken from the daily *Journal* of William Clayton, then the private

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4. Tullidge's *Histories*, vol. ii, *History of Northern Utah and Southern Idaho*—Biographical Supplement, p. 271, *et seq.* There is some confusion of dates respecting this Call statement. The Prophet fixes the date of his prophecy on Saturday, the 6th of August, 1842. In Whitney's *History of Utah*, vol. iv, Biographical Section of the History (p. 143), the date on which Call heard the prophecy is given as the 8th of August, 1842. While in Tullidge's *Biography of Call* the date is given as the 14th of July, 1843, evidently an error. There is no entry in the Prophet's *Journal* upon the subject for the 8th of August, 1842; and the entries for the 8th of August, 1843, and the 14th of July, 1843, relate to matters of quite a different character. Tullidge, in relating Anson Call's recollection of the incident, also says that J. C. Bennett was present on the occasion, which must also be an error, as the rupture between Bennett and the church and its authorities occurred and he had left Nauvoo previous to the 6th of August, 1842. In the Call statement, as published by Tullidge, the name of Mr. Adams, the deputy grand master Mason in charge of the ceremonies, is given as "George." It should be "James."

The text of the Call statement given above has been edited to make it conform with the facts; that is, the date is given as the 6th of August, 1842; the name of John C. Bennett is omitted; and "James" has been substituted for "George," as the given name of Adams.

secretary of President Smith, and present at the interview described. Under the date above given Mr. Clayton makes the following entry:

Prophecy Upon the Head of Judge Stephen A. Douglas

"*May 18th, 1843*:—Dined with Judge Stephen A. Douglas, who is presiding at court. After dinner Judge Douglas requested President Smith to give him a history of the Missouri persecution, which he did in a very minute manner for about three hours. He also gave a relation of his journey to Washington city, and his application in behalf of the saints to Mr. Van Buren, the president of the United States, for redress, and Mr. Van Buren's pusillanimous reply—'*Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you;*' and the cold, unfeeling manner in which he was treated by most of the senators and representatives in relation to the subject, Clay saying, 'You had better go to Oregon,' and Calhoun shaking his head solemnly, saying, 'It's a nice question—a critical question; but it will not do to agitate it.'

The judge listened with the greatest attention, and then spoke warmly in deprecation of Governor Boggs and the authorities in Missouri, who had taken part in the extermination, and said that any people that would do as the mobs of Missouri had done ought to be brought to judgment; they ought to be punished.

President Smith, in concluding his remarks, said that 'if the government, which receives into its coffers the money of citizens for its public lands, while its officials are rolling in luxury at the expense of its public treasury, cannot protect such citizens in their lives and property, it is an old granny anyhow, and I prophesy in the name of the Lord of Israel, unless the United States redress the wrongs committed upon the saints in the state of Missouri and punish crimes committed by her officers, that in a few years the government will be utterly overthrown and wasted, and there will not be so much as a potsherd left, for their wickedness in permitting the murder of men, women and children and the wholesale plunder and extermination of thousands of her citizens to go unpunished, thereby perpetrating a foul and corroding blot upon the fair fame of this great republic, the very thought of which would have caused the high-minded and patriotic framers of the Constitution of the United States to hide their faces with shame. *Judge, you will aspire to the presidency of the United States; and if you ever turn your hand against me or the Latter-day Saints, you will feel the weight of the hand of the Almighty upon you; and you will live to see and know that I have testified the truth to you; for the conversation of this day will stick to you through life.*' He [Judge Douglas] appeared very friendly and acknowledged the truth and propriety of President Smith's remarks."

Time of the Publication of the Prophecy

This prophecy was first published in Utah, in the *Deseret News* of September 24th, 1856; it was afterwards published in England, in the *Millennial Star,* February, 1859.[5] In both instances it is found in the "History of Joseph Smith," then being published in sections in those periodicals. It is a matter of common knowledge that Stephen A. Douglas, after the publication of this prediction, did aspire to the presidency of the United States, and was nominated for that office by the Democratic Convention, held in Baltimore on the 23rd of June, 1860. When in the convention he was declared the regular nominee of the Democratic party, "The whole body rose to its feet, hats were waved in the air, and many tossed aloft; shouts, screams, and yells, and every boisterous mode of expressing approbation and unanimity, were resorted to."[6]

Bright Prospects for Mr. Douglas

When Mr. Douglas first began to aspire to the presidency, no man in the history of American politics had more reason to hope for success. The political party of which he was the recognized leader, in the preceding presidential election had polled 174 electoral votes as against 122 cast by the other two parties which opposed it, and a popular vote of 1,838,169 as against 1,215,798 votes for the two parties opposing. It is a matter of history, however, that the Democratic party in the election of 1860 was badly divided; and factions of it put candidates into the field with the following result: Abraham Lincoln, candidate of the Republican party, was triumphantly elected. He received 180 electoral votes; Mr. Breckenridge received 72 electoral votes; Mr. Bell 39; and *Mr. Douglas 12.* "By a plurality count of the popular vote, Mr. Lincoln carried 18 states; Mr. Breckenridge 11; Mr. Bell 3; and *Mr. Douglas one—Missouri!*[7] Twenty days less than

5. *Millennial Star,* vol. xxi, no. 9, p. 142.
6. See Cooper's *American Politics,* bk. i, p. 86.
7. *History of the United States,* Stephens, p. 559.

one year after his nomination by the Baltimore Convention, while yet in the prime of manhood—forty-eight years of age—Mr. Douglas died at his home in Chicago, a disappointed, not to say heart-broken man.

The Douglas Cause of Failure

Though it may be regarded somewhat as a digression here, let us now inquire into the relations between the prophecy and Mr. Douglas' failure to become president of the United States. Fourteen years after the interview containing the prophecy with which we are dealing, and about one year after the prophecy had been published in the *Deseret News,* Mr. Douglas was called upon to deliver a speech in Springfield, the capital of Illinois. His speech was delivered on the 12th of June, 1857, and published in the *Missouri Republican* of June 18th, 1857. It was a time of much excitement throughout the country, concerning the "Mormon" church in Utah. Falsehoods upon the posting winds seemed to have filled the air with the most outrageous calumny. Crimes the most repulsive—murders, robberies, rebellion and high treason were falsely charged against its leaders. It was well known that Mr. Douglas had been on terms of intimate friendship with President Joseph Smith, and was well acquainted with the other church leaders. He was therefore looked upon as one competent to speak upon the "Mormon" question, and was invited to do so in the speech to which reference is here made. Mr. Douglas responded to the request. He grouped the charges against the "Mormons" which were then passing current, in the following manner:

"First, that nine-tenths of the inhabitants are aliens by birth who have refused to become naturalized, or take the oath of allegiance, or do any other act recognizing the government of the United States as the paramount authority of the territory of Utah.

Second, that the inhabitants, whether native or alien born, known as 'Mormons' (and they constitute the whole people of the territory) are bound by horrible oaths and terrible penalties to recognize and maintain the authority of Brigham Young, and the government

of which he is the head, as paramount to that of the United States, in civil as well as in religious affairs; and they will in due time, and under the direction of their leaders, use all means in their power to subvert the government of the United States, and resist its authority."

The Hand Raised Against the Saints

Mr. Douglas based his remarks upon these rumors against the saints, in the course of which he said:

"Let us have these facts in an official shape before the president and congress, and the country will soon learn that, in the performance of the high and solemn duty devolving upon the executive and congress, there will be no vacillating or hesitating policy. It will be as prompt as the peal that follows the flash—as stern and unyielding as death. Should such a state of things actually exist as we are led to infer from the reports—and such information comes in an official shape—*the knife must be applied to this pestiferous, disgusting cancer which is gnawing into the very vitals of the body politic. It must be cut out by the roots and seared over by the red hot iron of stern and unflinching law. * * * Should all efforts fail to bring them* [the Mormons] *to a sense of their duty, there is but one remedy left. Repeal the organic law of the territory, on the ground that they are alien enemies and outlaws, unfit citizens of one of the free and independent states of this confederacy.*

To protect them further in their treasonable, disgusting and bestial practices would be a disgrace to the country—a disgrace to humanity—a disgrace to civilization, and a disgrace to the spirit of the age. Blot it out of the organized territories of the United States. What then? It will be regulated by the law of 1790, which has exclusive and sole jurisdiction over all the territory not incorporated under any organic or special law. By the provisions of this law, all crimes and misdemeanors, committed on its soil, can be tried before the legal authorities of any state or territory to which the offenders shall be first brought to trial and punished. Under that law persons have been arrested in Kansas, Nebraska, and other territories, prior to their organization as territories, and hanged for their crimes. The law of 1790 has sole and exclusive jurisdiction where no law of a local character exists, and by repealing the organic law of Utah, you give to the general government of the United States the whole and sole jurisdiction over the territory."

Douglas' Lost Opportunity

I shall so far anticipate historical events, which, if a chronological order were strictly followed, would belong to a later period of our narrative, as to say that the speech of

Mr. Douglas was of great interest and importance to the people of Utah at the time it was made. Mr. Douglas had it in his power to do them a great service because of his personal acquaintance with Joseph Smith and the great body of the "Mormon" people in Utah, as well as their leaders; for he had known both leaders and people in Illinois, and those whom he had known in Illinois constituted the great bulk of the people in Utah when he delivered his Springfield speech. He knew that the reports carried to the east by vicious and corrupt men were not true. He knew that these reports in the main were but a rehash of the old, exploded charges made against Joseph Smith and his followers in Missouri; and he knew these Missouri reports to be false by many evidences furnished him by Joseph Smith in the interview of the 18th of May, 1843, and by the "Mormon" people at sundry times during his association with them at Nauvoo. He had an opportunity to befriend the innocent; to refute the calumny cast upon a virtuous community; to speak a word in behalf of the oppressed; but the demagogue triumphed over the statesman, the politician, over the humanitarian; and to avoid popular censure, which doubtless he feared befriending the "Mormon" people would bring to him, he turned his hand against them with the result that he did not destroy them but sealed his own doom. In fulfillment of the words of the prophet, he felt the weight of the hand of the Almighty upon him—Mr. Douglas failed of his dearest ambition, the presidency of the United States, and on the 3rd of June, 1861, he died.

All the Elements of a Great Prophecy in the Douglas Incident

It was impossible for any merely human sagacity to foresee the events foretold in this prophecy. Stephen A. Douglas was a bright but comparatively an unknown man at the time of the interview, in May, 1843. There is and can be no question about the prophecy preceding the event.

It was published, as before stated, in the *Deseret News* of the 24th of September, 1856, *about one year before the Douglas speech at Springfield, in June,* 1857; and about four years before Douglas was nominated for the presidency by the Baltimore Democratic Convention.

Moreover a lengthy review of Mr. Douglas' speech was published in the editorial columns of the *Deseret News* in the issue of that paper for September 2nd, 1857, addressed directly to Mr. Douglas, the closing paragraph of which is as follows:—

"In your last paragraph [of the Springfield speech] you say: 'I have thus presented to you plainly and fairly my views of the Utah question.' With at least equal plainness and with far more fairness have your views now been commented upon. And inasmuch as you were well acquainted with Joseph Smith, and this people, also with the character of our maligners, and did know their allegations were false, but must bark with the dogs who were snapping at our heels, to let them know that you were a dog with them; and also that you may have a testimony of the truth of the assertion that you did know Joseph Smith and his people and the character of their enemies (and neither class have changed, only as the saints have grown better and their enemies worse); and also that you may thoroughly understand that you have voluntarily, knowingly, and of choice sealed your damnation, *and by your own chosen course have closed your chance for the presidential chair, through disobeying the counsel of Joseph which you formerly sought and prospered by following, and that you in common with us, may testify to all the world that Joseph was a true prophet, the following extract from the history of Joseph Smith is again printed for your benefit, and is kindly recommended to your careful perusal and most candid consideration.*"

Then follows the account of the interview between Joseph Smith and Mr. Douglas as recorded in the *Journal* of William Clayton, as published in the *Deseret News* a year before Mr. Douglas' Springfield speech, and as now quoted in this *History*. Also it should be remembered that the above editorial in the *Deseret News* boldly challenging Mr. Douglas on the matter of the presidency, preceded by three years the election of 1860.

This was boldly challenging Mr. Douglas. He raised his hand against the followers of Joseph Smith, despite the

warning of the Prophet; and his people in the chief organ of their church, reproduced the prophecy and told him that he had sealed his doom and closed his chance for the presidential chair through disobeying the counsel of the Prophet; and this three years before the election took place. The presidential election of 1860, and the death of Mr. Douglas in the prime of life the year following, tell the rest of the story.[8]

It may be that dwelling at such length upon this incident I have wandered from the direct line of the historical development of the history of the Latter-day Saints, but this remarkable prophecy, its no less remarkable fulfillment, and the deep interest of it must be my justification. I have nothing further to do with the career or character of Mr. Douglas than pointing out the remarkable fulfillment of a prophecy which demonstrates the divine inspiration of the man who uttered it.[9]

Notes

1. Nauvoo in 1843

In the spring of 1843, Nauvoo was visited by a Methodist minister, a Mr. Samuel A. Prior, who gave the following description of the city and her people:

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8. Shortly after the result of the election of 1860 was known in Utah, Elder Orson Hyde, one of the twelve apostles, then residing in Sanpete county, Utah, wrote to the *Deseret News* the following letter:

"Ephraim, Utah Ter., Nov. 27, 1860.

Will the judge now acknowledge that Joseph Smith was a true prophet? If he will not, does he recollect a certain conversation had with Mr. Smith at the house of Sheriff Backenstos, in Carthage, Illinois, in the year 1843, in which Mr. Smith said to him; 'you will yet aspire to the Presidency of the United States. But if you raise your hand or your voice against the Latter-day Saints, you shall never be President of the United States.'

Does Judge Douglas recollect that in a public speech delivered by him in the year 1857. at Springfield, Illinois, of comparing the 'Mormon' community, then constituting the inhabitants of Utah Territory, to a 'loathsome ulcer on the body politic,' and of recommending the knife to be applied to cut it out?

Among other things, the judge will doubtless recollect that I was present and heard the conversation between him and Joseph Smith at Mr. Backenstos' residence in Carthage, before alluded to.

Now, judge, what do you think about Joseph Smith and 'Mormonism?'

Signed "Orson Hyde."

See also *Note* 2 end of chapter.

9. See *Note* 3 end of chapter.

"At length the city burst upon my sight. Instead of seeing a few miserable log cabins and mud hovels which I had expected to find, I was surprised to see one of the most romantic places that I had visited in the west. The buildings, though many of them were small, and of wood, yet bore the marks of neatness which I have not seen equalled in this country. The fair-spread plain at the bottom of the hill was dotted over with habitations of men with such majestic profusion, that I was almost willing to believe myself mistaken, and instead of being in Nauvoo of Illinois, among Mormons, that I was in Italy at the city of Leghorn, which the location of Nauvoo resembles very much. I gazed for some time with fond admiration upon the plain below. Here and there arose a tall majestic brick house, speaking loudly of the genius and untiring labor of the inhabitants, who have snatched the place from the clutches of obscurity, and wrested it from the bonds of disease; and in two or three short years, rescued it from dreary waste to transform it into one of the first cities in the west. The hill upon which I stood was covered over with dwellings of men, and amid them was seen to rise the hewn stone and already accomplished work of the temple, which was now raised fifteen or twenty feet above the ground. * * * I passed on into the more active parts of the city, looking into every street and lane to observe all that was passing. I found all the people engaged in some useful and healthy employment. The place was alive with business, much more so than any place I have visited since the hard times commenced. I sought in vain for anything that bore the marks of immorality, but was both astonished and highly pleased at my ill success. I could see no loungers about the streets nor any drunkards about the taverns. I did not meet with those distorted features of ruffians, or with the ill-bred and impudent. I heard not an oath in the place, I saw not a gloomy countenance; all were cheerful, polite and industrious."[10]

2. An Episode in the History of the Presidential Campaign in the Year 1860

The following affidavit made at the request of the author of this *History,* cannot fail to be of interest, and is important as testimony to some of the facts of the Douglas incident.

Affidavit of James Dwyer

"In the year 1860 I was on a mission in the eastern states in the interest of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, having in charge especially the saints scattered throughout the state of Connecticut. In this capacity I was in the city of Norwich, Connecticut, when Judge Stephen A. Douglas made one of the greatest speeches of the presidential campaign of that year. Thousands of people came

10. *History of the Mormons,* Smucker, p. 152-5. Mr. Prior's communication is also published in *Liverpool Route,* p. 63.

from all over the New England States to hear him. As he spoke from the veranda of the hotel at which I was stopping, and where he, too, had rooms, I heard his speech.

After the speaking was over, as I was on my way upstairs to my room, a thought came to me that I would like to know from Mr. Douglas himself how he stood in regard to Utah and the 'Mormon' question, since that had become an incident of considerable interest in the campaign. I retraced my steps, knocked on Mr. Douglas' door and was admitted to his presence. I introduced myself and told him that I was a 'Mormon.' When I told him I was a 'Mormon' he shook my hand very cordially and with a smile upon his face said he knew Joseph Smith well. Said he had very important relations with him during those troublesome times in Illinois. Said he always found Joseph Smith to be a perfect gentleman in every sense of the word. I then asked Mr. Douglas the following question:

Mr. Douglas, I would like to know what your course and policy will be toward Utah and the 'Mormon' people should you suceed in being elected to the presidency. His answer was this: (In a defiant attitude.) 'I hold Brigham Young and the "Mormon" people in utter contempt, and should I be elected I will use the full power of the law against them.'

I then took the liberty of saying to him: 'Mr. Douglas, in consequence of the speeches you made against Brigham Young and the 'Mormon' people in Cleveland, and which appeared consecutively in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* newspaper at that time, and your present views and intended policy, I feel to say to you with all due respect and candor, you never can reach the White House on such a record.'

(Signed) "JAMES DWYER."

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 7th day of March, 1911.

(Signed) "ROBERT S. JUDD.
Notary Public."

"My commission expires December 19, 1914."

(SEAL.)

3. IF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS HAD BEEN TRUE TO THE PEOPLE OF HIS FRIEND JOSEPH SMITH—WHAT?

It would be mere conjecture, of course, to say what the result would have been had Stephen A. Douglas been true to the saints—the people of his friend, Joseph Smith. But certainly had he been elected in 1860, the southern states would have had no excuse for their great movement of secession as they at least persuaded themselves they had in the election of Abraham Lincoln. And had Mr. Douglas, in the event of his election, followed the counsel given to the government and people of the United States by Joseph Smith in respect of the question of slavery, that evil might have been abolished without the effusion of blood, and no place found in the history of the United States for that horrible conflict known as the "American Civil War," or "War Between the States."

The Prophet's counsel here referred to in respect of slavery was as follows:

"Petition also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave states, your legislators to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolitionists from reproach and ruin, and infamy and shame. *Pray congress to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of the public lands, and from the deduction of pay from the members of congress.* Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire him to labor like other human beings; for 'an hour of virtuous liberty, is worth a whole eternity of bondage.'[11]

The document from which this counsel is quoted was published in February, 1844. Eleven years later, namely, in 1855, Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson declared that the question of slavery should be met in accordance "with the interests of the south, and with the settled conscience of the north. It is not really a great task," said this eminent writer, "a great feat for this country to accomplish, to buy that property of the planter as the British nation bought the West Indian slaves." He also predicted that "the United States will be brought to give every inch of their public lands for a purpose like this." This plan suggested by Mr. Emerson in 1855, brought to him no end of praise as a sage philosopher and wise humanitarian. But what of Joseph Smith, whose suggestion preceded that of Mr. Emerson by eleven years? Let another—Josiah Quincy—answer:

"We who can look back upon the terrible cost of the fratricidal war which put an end to slavery, now say that such a solution of the difficulty would have been worthy a Christian statesman. But if the retired scholar [referring to Emerson] was in advance of his time when he advocated this disposition of the public property, in 1855, what shall I say of the political and religious leader [referring to Joseph Smith] who had committed himself in print, as well as in conversation, to the same course in 1844? If the atmosphere of men's opinions was stirred by such a proposition when war clouds were discernible in the sky, was it not a statesman-like word eleven years earlier when the heavens looked tranquil and beneficent?"[12]

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11. Joseph Smith's Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States, *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 205. The "Views" complete will be found in *Ibid*, pp. 197-209.

12. *Figures of the Past*, Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, Josiah Quincy, p. 398.

CHAPTER LII

Political Difficulties of the Saints in Illinois—Petition that Nauvoo Be Taken Under Protection of Federal Government

TO hold the balance of political power in a free state may be, under extraordinary circumstances, advantageous to those who possess it; but the position is always dangerous, and the hold upon the advantages precarious. Such a condition can never be permanently established; for as soon as likelihood of permanency appears there is quickly formed a combination of forces to break down the balance of power party, so obnoxious is it in free communities where political questions naturally divide the people into two parties.

The Dangerous "Balance of Power"

Such were the conditions that confronted the Latter-day Saints at Nauvoo, in the congressional and county election in the fall of 1843. The Whig and Democratic parties were so divided in Illinois that the citizens of Nauvoo held the balance of power in the congressional district, as also in Hancock county, of which Nauvoo was the most populous town; and it was feared that they would soon hold the balance of power in the state if they did not even then possess it. This condition brought to the saints the usual temporary advantages that go with it. Many concessions were made to them, candidates of both political parties sought their support after the manner of political candidates, anxious to win. It was a case where "Bel boweth down, and Nebo stoopeth." In this instance, however, the position was not sought by the saints, but was one forced upon them by the nature of the circumstances that environed them. President Smith himself perhaps has given the best explanation of the enforced necessity

of the saints voting unitedly in Illinois, and I here quote that explanation:

The Prophet's Explanation of Political Conditions

"With regard to elections, some say all the Latter-day Saints vote together and vote as I say. But I never tell any man how to vote, or whom to vote for. But I will show you how we have been situated by bringing a comparison. Should there be a Methodist society here and two candidates running for office, one says. 'If you will vote for me and put me in governor I will exterminate the Methodists, take away their charters, etc.' The other candidate says, 'If I am governor I will give all an equal privilege.' Which would the Methodists vote for? Of course they would vote *en mass* for the candidate that would give them their rights. Thus it has been with us. Joseph Duncan said, if the people would elect him, he would exterminate the 'Mormons' and take away their charters. As to Mr. Ford he made no such threats, but manifested a spirit in his speeches to give every man his rights; hence the church universally voted for Mr. Ford, and he was elected governor."[1]

In the congressional and county elections of 1843, the "balance of power" situation became a prominent factor. It will be remembered that Cyrus Walker refused to become legal counsel for President Smith when under arrest at Dixon, unless the latter would pledge him his vote in the then pending election. This President Smith did and Walker was satisfied that he would go to congress, as he expected that the Prophet's pledge to vote for him would bring to him practically, the entire vote of Nauvoo, which would insure his election, and he so expressed himself to Stephen Markham. He was justified, of course, in entertaining this expectation, since the pledge on the part of President Smith meant more than his individual vote.

Was the Dixon Arrest of the Prophet a Whig Conspiracy

Meantime, however, it began to be rumored that the arrest of President Smith at Dixon was a political plot on

1. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, p. 490. The remarks were made at a public meeting soon after the Prophet's release by the municipal court of Nauvoo from the custody of Reynolds and Wilson in the Dixon affair.

the part of what was called the "Whig Junto" at Quincy, to force Governor Ford, a Democrat, to issue extradition papers for President Smith, and thus put the Democratic state administration out of favor with the saints, provide for the deliverance of President Smith out of the hands of the officers from Missouri by Whig agencies, and thus win the gratitude of the saints and obtain their votes for the Whig party candidates.

The "Whig conspiracy" was set forth in great detail in the Illinois *State Register* about the middle of July, and was reprinted in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of the 19th of that month.[2] Credence must have been given to this charge, and was likely the factor which determined the vote at Nauvoo in favor of the Democratic candidates. At any rate on the day preceding the election, Sunday, August 6th, President Smith said in a public meeting:

"I am not come to tell you to vote this way, that way or the other. In relation to national matters, I want it to go abroad unto the whole world that every man should stand on his own merits. The Lord has not given me a revelation concerning politics. I have not asked him

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2. The several things relied upon to prove the charges were: The desire on the part of the Whigs to put the Democrats in bad repute with the saints by making it appear that Governor Ford was willing to deliver Joseph Smith to Missouri through forcing him to issue extradition papers against the Prophet on the eve of the election; procuring an indictment against the Prophet by calling a special session of the circuit court of Daviess county, Missouri; employing in this business John C. Bennett, a special favorite and tool of the "Whig Junto" at Springfield, and whose movements the Whig press, especially the *Sangamo Journal*, carefully chronicled; the "treason" charged against President Smith was five or six years old, he was permanently settled at Nauvoo and could be found at any time, the circuit court which indicted him held three regular sessions every year—why, then, the special session of the court unless there existed the conspiracy? Mr. Walker, shortly after his nomination, went to Nauvoo to solicit the support of the "Mormons," but he was disappointed by their answers and dejected. When President Smith was arrested at Dixon, Walker "miraculously happened" to be within six miles of the place ready to be employed to deliver the Prophet from custody, but only on condition that he would pledge his vote to Walker. The *Register* article concludes:

"We say, let all these facts be borne in mind, and they produce a strong suspicion, if not conviction, that the whole affair is a Whig conspiracy to compel a Democratic governor to issue a writ against Smith, pending the congressional election, so as to incense the Mormons, create a necessity for Walker's and perhaps Browning's professional services in favor of Smith, to get him delivered out of the net of their own weaving, and thereby get the everlasting gratitude of the Mormons and their support for the Whig cause."

for one.[3] I am a third party, and stand independent and alone. I desire to see all parties protected in their rights."

He then detailed his relations with Cyrus Walker, and referred to the fact that Walker in a public speech, before the people of Nauvoo, had withdrawn all claim to their vote and influence if it would be detrimental to their interests as a people. Then President Smith added:

"Brother Hyrum tells me this morning that he has a testimony to the effect that it would be better for the people to vote for Hoge; and I never knew Hyrum to say he had a revelation and it failed. Let God speak, and all men hold their peace. I never authorized Brother Law [William Law, his second counselor in the presidency] to tell my private feelings;[4] and I utterly forbid these political demagogues from using my name henceforth and forever."

President Smith voted personally for Cyrus Walker, but the Democratic ticket both for congressman and for Hancock county officers was triumphantly elected.[5]

The sudden and unexpected change in the vote of the citizens of Nauvoo, stirred to the very depths the enmity of the defeated political party; and when, shortly after the election, the newly elected county officers appeared at the

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3. On another occasion and in harmony with this principle, President Smith said: "It is right, politically, for a man who has great influence to use it, as well as a man who has no [i. e. small] influence to use his. From henceforth I will maintain all the influence I can get. *In relation to politics I will speak as a man; but in relation to religion, I will speak in authority.*" (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, p. 286). The speech from which the above is quoted was delivered on the 21st of February, 1843.

4. The day previous to this, Saturday, Wm. Law had stated when in controversy with Hyrum Smith, "that to his certain knowledge, the Prophet Joseph was in favor of Mr. Walker." (Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 318).

5. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, p. 526. Linn says that Hoge was elected by a majority of 455. (*Story of the Mormons*, p. 249). Ford says that Hoge received about three thousand votes in Nauvoo; "and was elected to congress by a six or eight hundred majority." Gregg, the historian of Hancock county, says that the vote for Hoge in the county was just 2,088, and he was elected by a majority of 455 in the district. (*History of Hancock County*, p. 375).

Another thing that may have influenced this election was that a Mr. Backenstos, a managing Democrat in Hancock county, is represented by Governor Ford as having gone to Springfield to ascertain what the governor would do if the "Mormons" voted the Democratic ticket. Ford was absent in St. Louis at the time; but this did not prevent Backenstos returning to Nauvoo saying that he had "the most ample assurances of favor to the Mormons, so long as they voted the Democratic ticket." Ford admits that two years later a prominent Democrat of Springfield confessed to him the fact that during his absence in St. Louis in 1843, he had given such positive pledge to Mr. Backenstos. (Ford's *History of Illinois*, pp. 317-8).

courthouse in Carthage to take the oath of office, and file their bonds, an attempt was made to keep them from doing so; and the court was threatened with violence if the "Mormons" were permitted to qualify.

Anti-"Mormon" Agitation at Carthage

They qualified, nevertheless; whereupon a call was issued for an anti-"Mormon" meeting to convene in Carthage on the following Saturday, August the 19th, to protest against the "Mormons" holding office. The people of Carthage and vicinity assembled at the appointed time, organized with a chairman, Major Reuben Graves; and a secretary, W. D. Abernethy; and a committee of nine to draft resolutions. After listening to speeches by Valentine Wilson, Walter Bagby and others, the meeting adjourned to the sixth of September.

To enumerate the crimes alleged against the saints in the preamble to the resolutions adopted at their second meeting, would be drawing up a list of all the crimes that ever threatened the peace, happiness, prosperity and liberty of a state. They resolved that from recent movements among the "Mormons," there were indications that they were unwilling to conform to the ordinary restrictions of law; and therefore concluded that the people of Illinois must assert their rights in some way. That while they deprecated anything like lawless violence, they pledged themselves to resist all wrongs the "Mormons" should inflict upon them in the future—"peaceably if they could, but forcibly if they must." They called upon all good and honest men to assist in humbling the pride of that "audacious despot," Joseph Smith; pledged themselves to raise a *posse* and take him if the authorities of Missouri made another demand for him; that it might not be said of them that they allowed the most outrageous culprits "to go unwhipped of justice." They agreed to support no man of either political party who should truckle to the "Mormons" for their influence, and finally—

"*Resolved,* that when the government ceases to afford protection, the citizens of course fall back upon their original, inherent right of self-defense."[6]

The Old Missouri Formula

The old formula of justification this, for mob-violence, and mob rule. How many crimes have been committed in its name! And how ridiculous withal to assume such an attitude in this instance when the people of Hancock county and of Illinois had all the machinery of the state government through which to correct alleged abuses in the city government of Nauvoo, and alleged crime among her people.

Later in the fall, acts of violence began to be perpetrated upon the saints who lived at a distance from Nauvoo; and threats of violence were frequent. In December a member of the church living near Warsaw, by the name of Daniel Avery, and his son, Philander, were kidnapped by Levi Williams, of Warsaw, John Elliot and others, and run across the Mississippi to Missouri, where for several weeks Daniel Avery was kept a prisoner in Clark county, while one Joseph McCoy was hunting up witnesses to prove that he had stolen a mare from him. Philander Avery escaped and returned to Illinois; but his father remained a prisoner, and suffered great cruelty at the hands of his captors. Finally, however, he was released by a writ of *habeas corpus,* and went to Nauvoo where he made affidavit as to his treatment.

A Threatened Missouri Invasion of Illinois

Wild rumors abounded also as to what the Missourians intended to do; and some of the letters from Missouri that fell into the hands of President Smith, through friends of his, threatened Illinois with invasion, and for a time it would seem that a border war was inevitable. Governor Ford was kept informed as to all acts of violence perpetrated upon the

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6. The minutes of the meeting at Carthage are given in full in *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, pp. 4-8.

saints, and especially as to the threats of the Missourians of an attack upon Nauvoo, and the services of the Nauvoo Legion were tendered to repel any attempt at invasion of the state should it occur. Governor Ford, however, refused to believe there was any danger in the threats, and therefore would detail no portion of the legion, or any other companies of the state militia, to be ready for such an event.

Unreasonable Petitions and Actions of the Nauvoo Municipal Government

About this time also—December, 1843—the mayor of Nauvoo and the city council petitioned congress to take the city of Nauvoo directly under the protection of the United States government and accept the Nauvoo Legion as United States troops! This petition was made part of a memorial drafted by the city council covering the whole of the grievances of the Latter-day Saints endured in Missouri and Illinois, and reciting the threatening portents of the present and future.[7]

A petition, signed by nearly all the citizens of Nauvoo,

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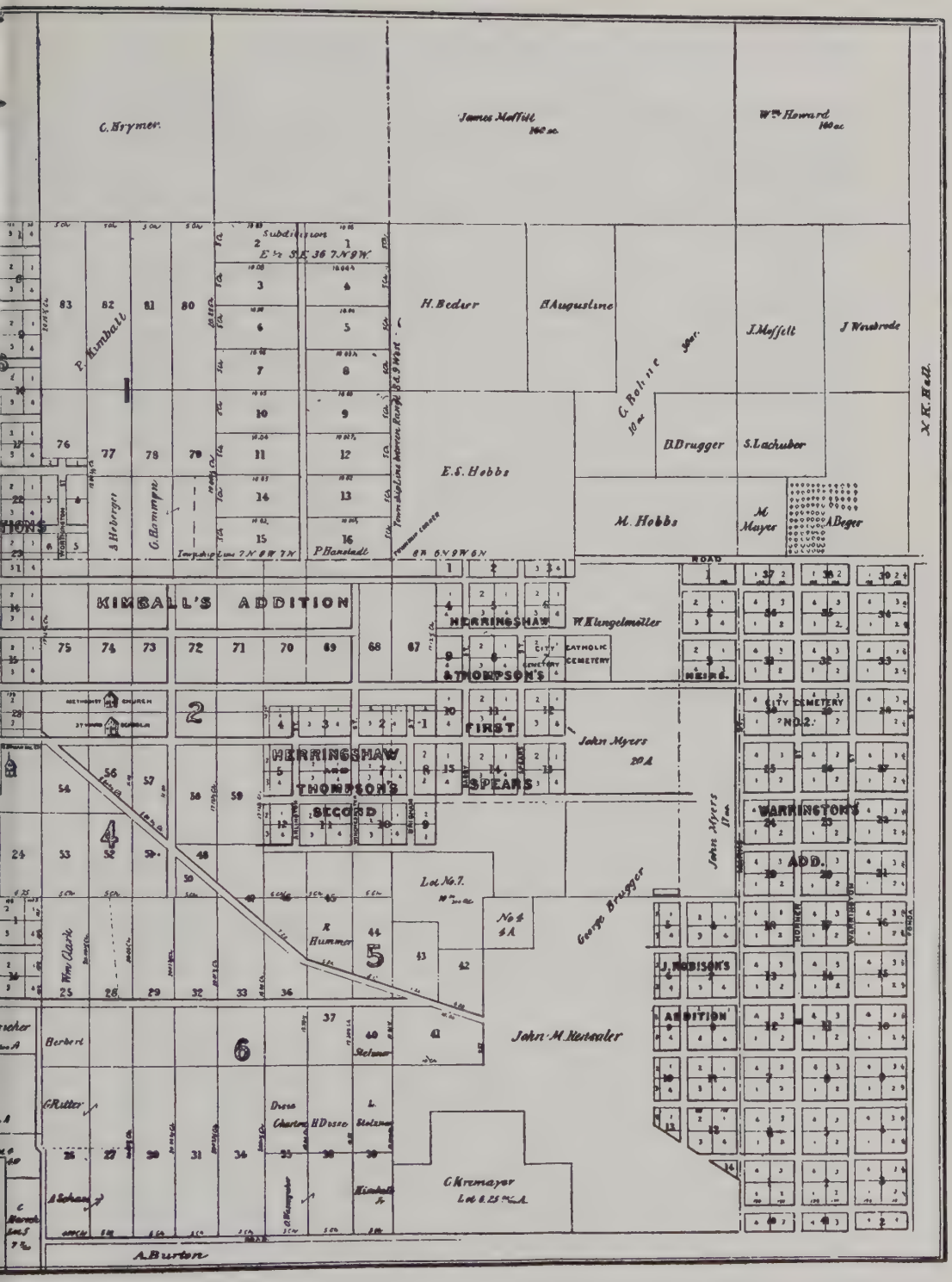
7. The idea seems to have been to create of Nauvoo a territory: "*Section* 1. Be it ordained by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, that all rights, powers, privileges, and immunities belonging to territories, and not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, are hereby granted and secured to the inhabitants of the city of Nauvoo, in addition to the spirit, letter, meaning, and provisions of the afore-mentioned [Nauvoo] charter, or act of incorporation from the state of Illinois, until the state of Missouri restores to those exiled citizens the lands, rights, privileges, property, and damage for all losses." In addition to this it was to be provided that "*Section* 2, the mayor of Nauvoo be and hereby is empowered by the consent of the president of the United States, whenever the actual necessity of the case and the public safety shall require it, to call to his aid a sufficient number of United States forces, in connection with the Nauvoo Legion, to repel the invasion of mobs, keep the public peace, and protect the innocent from the unhallowed ravages of lawless banditti that escape justice on the western frontier; and also to preserve the power and dignity of the Union.

Section 3. And be it further ordained that the officers of the United States army are hereby required to obey the requisitions of this ordinance.

Section 4. And be it further ordained that, for all services rendered in quelling mobs and preserving the public peace, the said Nauvoo Legion shall be under the same regulations, rules, and laws of pay as the troops of the United States."

Needless to say the proposed plan was utterly impractical and impossible under the Constitution of the United States; but the action of the city council does emphasize the fact that her people seemed to have had the idea that Nauvoo largely had the privileges and powers of a sovereign state, or that they were to be granted to her.

NAUVOO.
Scale 600 ft. to One Inch.
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
P Kimball
COMMERCE
CITY
ROBINSON
TAYLOR
BRATTLE
SAMUEL
CARLOS
HYRUM
JOSEPH
HIBBARD
CUTLER
YOUNG
KNIGHT
MULHOLLAND
RIPLEY
WHITE
HOTCHKISS
MUNSON
KIMBALL
PARLEY
SIDNEY
WATER
LUMBER
HILLS
MARION
LOCUST
CHERRY
BAIN
GRANGER
MAIN
CARLIN
PARTRIDGE
DURPHEY
WELLS
WOODRUFF
PAGE
BARNEY
WELLS ADDI
HIBBARD'S
HIBBARDS
SECOND
FIRST
ADDITION
J.B Shilling
W. Schiff


C. Krymer
James Moffitt
Wm Howard
Subdivision
E½ S.E. 36 7 N 9 W.
H. Bedier
H. Augustine
J. Moffett
J. Weisbrode
P. Kimball
G. Bohne
B. Drugger
S. Lachuber
E. S. Hobbs
M. Hobbs
M. Mayer
A. Beger
X. K. Hall
S. Heberger
G. Hammon
P. Hanstadt
KIMBALL'S ADDITION
HERRINGSHAW & THOMPSON'S
W. Klingelmüller
CITY CATHOLIC CEMETERY
HEIRS
CITY CEMETERY NO. 2
FIRST
HERRINGSHAW AND THOMPSON'S SECOND
SPEARS
John Myers 20 A
John Myers 17 ac
WARRINGTON'S ADD.
Lot No. 7
No 4 4 A
George Brugger
R. Hummer
Wm Clark
J. ROBISON'S ADDITION
John M. Kensaler
Herbert
Stelzner
G. Ritter
Disse
Charles
H. Disse
L. Stelzner
C. Kremayer
A. Schaw
A. Burton

asking the governor to issue no more warrants at the demand of Missouri for the arrest of Joseph Smith on the old charges was presented to Governor Ford, but he refused to give the people any encouragement that he would favorably entertain their suit.

In view of the apathy of Governor Ford in relation to the security of Nauvoo, the city council and mayor increased the police force by the addition of forty men to act as night guards; and the legion was brought to a higher state of efficiency by frequent drills and musters. In the latter part of December—on information reaching Nauvoo of a threatened attack upon the city by mob forces collecting at Warsaw—a portion of the legion was detailed and held in readiness to repel such threatened attack.[8]

Other steps of a rather unusual character were taken to "insure the peace of the city." A special ordinance was passed making it unlawful for any "person to come with process, demand, or requisition," founded upon the former Missouri difficulties to arrest Joseph Smith. This ordinance recited and justified its passage on the fact that a *nolle prosequi* had "once been entered in the courts of Missouri upon all the cases of Missouri against Joseph Smith and others;" and as there appeared "to be a determined resolution by the state of Missouri to continue these unjust, illegal, murderous demands for the body of General Joseph Smith," it had become "intolerable to be thus continually harrassed and robbed of * * * money to defray the expense of these prosecutions" —hence the ordinance.[9]

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8. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, ch. v. pp. 98-123.

9. I suppose the statement that a *nolle prosequi* had been entered in all these cases is based upon the fact stated in the certificates of the disposition of the several indictments in which President Smith figured before the courts in Missouri, filed with Hon. James L. Minor, secretary of state for Missouri, on 18th of March, 1841. On the 23rd of February of that year the secretary of state, acting under a resolution of the general assembly of Missouri, made inquiry of the clerk of the circuit court of Boone and other counties "what was the final disposition of the indictments against the Mormons." In answer, the clerk of the circuit court of Boone county said, respecting the indictment for "treason" against Joseph Smith, *et al*: "From the records sent to this court, it appears that Joseph Smith, Jun., Lyman Wight,

Another ordinance was passed "to prevent unlawful search or seizure of person or property by foreign[10] process in the city of Nauvoo." Protests to this ordinance arose from citizens of Carthage who considered said ordinance to be designed to hinder the execution of the statutes of Illinois within the limits of Nauvoo, and threatened to retaliate by stopping execution of processes issuing from that city. The mayor (President Smith) explained to a delegation of representatives from the people of Carthage that the purpose of the ordinance was to prevent kidnapping under the pretense of law or process, and to facilitate the apprehension of thieves in the city by throwing all "foreign processes" into the hands of the city marshal, who would be most likely to know the hiding places of fugitives from justice who might secret themselves in the city. The dissatisfaction continuing the ordinance was amended to the effect that nothing in the ordinance should be so construed "as to prevent, hinder or thwart the designs of justice, or retard the civil officers of the state or county in the discharge of their official duties, but to aid and assist them within the city limits.[11] About a month later, this ordinance, also the special ordinance to prevent the arrest of Joseph Smith on old Missouri charges and one that had been passed making gold and silver alone legal tender in Nauvoo, were repealed on the recommendation of Joseph Smith, who recognized that in these matters the city council had exceeded its authority.[12]

Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin and Alex. McRay, were ordered to be taken by the sheriff of Daviess county to the jail in the county of Boone, there to await their trial, on a change of venue from Daviess to Boone county, which was not done, and there being no recognizance on file, in my office, against the other defendants, *and this cause, having been continued some time on the docket and no defendant appearing, was dismissed."* (*Document Containing Correspondence, Orders, &c., In Relation to the Disturbance with the Mormons,* published by order of the general assembly of Mo., pp. 152-59). The same statement is made as to the indictments in which Joseph Smith's name appears for "arson," "riot," "receiving stolen goods," "larceny." (See *Document* cited above).

10. This of course meant process other than that issuing from the municipal court.

11. Minutes special session of Nauvoo city council, Jan. 10, 1844. (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, pp. 173-4).

12. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 212.

Another ordinance and one of importance as affecting the material welfare of the city was suggested by President Smith, and finally passed, for the erection of a dam in the Mississippi to create water power within the city limits; also he suggested petitioning congress to make a canal over the Des Moines Rapids in the Mississippi, at the head of which Nauvoo was situated.[13]

It was in the closing months of 1843 that a number of prominent elders of the church, at President Smith's suggestion, made appeals to their native states, reciting the story of the wrongs inflicted upon them; deploring and denouncing the general government for assuming that it had no power to redress those grievances, and calling upon their respective states to unite in resenting the injustice of Missouri against the saints; to unite in chastizing her for her crimes against republican institutions; and procuring in some way redress of grievances for those who had been wronged.[14]

Letters of the Prophet to Prospective Presidential Candidates

As the time of the United States presidential election for 1844 approached, the probable candidates for the office of president began to be discussed.

It was well known that the vote of the citizens of Nauvoo would be important, as it would most likely determine whether Illinois would go Whig or Democratic. The political friends of John C. Calhoun at Quincy, early perceived the importance of securing their favor, and began to

13. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 80, 103, 106. The general government finally constructed a canal around the "Rapids" at a cost of $4,582,009, completing it in 1877. The canal is 7½ miles in length, has 3 locks, overcoming the obstruction in river navigation, which the Des Moines Rapids presented. The water power of the Des Moines Rapids is now utilized at Keokuk, about twelve miles below Nauvoo, where a great electrical plan of 300,000 horsepower was opened in 1913, see the *Electric World*, New York, May 31st, 1913, for description.

14. Such were the points covered in the appeal of President Smith to the "Green Mountain Boys," Vermont (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, ch. iv); and the other "appeals," of which there were quite a number, generally included these same items.

work for it. A Colonel Frierson, United States surveyor at Quincy, the political friend of John C. Calhoun, expressed great sympathy for the saints because of the injustice and persecution they had received at the hands of Missouri, and intimated to Joseph L. Heywood that the Hon. B. Rhett, a representative from South Carolina to congress, and also a political friend to Mr. Calhoun, had expressed a willingness to present to congress a memorial for a redress of wrongs suffered by the saints in Missouri; but was careful to intimate that he supposed that Mr. Calhoun would be a more acceptable candidate to them than Mr. Van Buren.[15]

Colonel Frierson afterwards went to Nauvoo, met in council with the leading citizens, and drafted a memorial to congress; a copy of which he took with him to Quincy to obtain signers; but it never reached the house of representatives.

It was this incident most likely that suggested to President Smith the propriety of addressing letters to each of the candidates for the presidency—five in number, *viz.*,—John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Richard M. Johnson, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren. These letters called attention to the wrongs endured by the Latter-day Saints in Missouri; of their being robbed and abused; deprived of the rights of citizenship in both state and nation; then banished from the state, contrary to all constitutional guarantees of the rights of citizens; also their ineffectual attempts to obtain redress of their grievances; and finally asking these candidates what would be their "rule of action" relative to the saints as a people, "should fortune favor your ascension to the chief magistracy?" Only three of the number gave any reply. They were John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and Lewis Cass. The first was of the opinion that the general government possessed such limited and specific powers, that the Missouri

15. Heywood's letter setting forth these things is published in full in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 62-3.

troubles of the saints did not come within its jurisdiction. As to his treatment of the Latter-day Saints, as the Constitution and the laws of the Union made no distinction between citizens of different religious creeds, he would make none; but so far as the executive was concerned all should have the full benefit of both, and none should be exempted from their operation.[16]

Clay partially disclaimed being a candidate for the presidency, but said if he ever entered into that high office, he must do so free and unfettered, with no guarantees but such as might be drawn from his whole life, character and conduct. But he was careful to say, that he had watched the progress of the saints, and sympathized with them in their sufferings under the injustice which had been inflicted upon them; and thought that they, in common with other religious communities, should enjoy the security and protection of the Constitution and laws.[17]

It is presumed that the letters addressed to Martin Van Buren and Lewis Cass were of similar import to those addressed to the other presidential candidates. Van Buren ignored the Prophet's inquiries, and nothing is known of the answer by Cass beyond the fact that he made one.[18]

To the letters of Calhoun and Clay, President Smith wrote scathing replies. The particular portion of Calhoun's answer with which he dealt, was that which claimed that the general government had no jurisdiction in the case of the saints in Missouri, and handled rather severely the senator's doctrine of the limited powers of the general government.

In reply to Henry Clay President Smith dealt chiefly

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16. Calhoun's letter complete will be found in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 155-6; the Prophet's answer *in extenso*, p. 156 *et seq.*

17. Clay's letter in full is quoted in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 376; and the Prophet's answer in full will be found in *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiii, pp. 553-557.

18. *Wednesday, Dec. 27th, 1843*: I received letters from General Lewis Cass of Michigan, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, in answer to mine of Nov. 4th." (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 143-4.)

with that gentleman's "no pledge nor guarantee" proposition, "only such as could be drawn from his whole life, character and conduct;" and drew such a picture of that statesman's past life and conduct, that the Kentucky senator could not feel flattered withal; and in round terms he denounced the subterfuges of politicians in general, and demanded of the nation justice in behalf of his afflicted people.

Viewing these replies in the absence of the intensity of feeling which produced them, they seem unnecessarily harsh. The harshness, however, is rather the fault of the times than of the writer. Those were days when moderation in language was certainly not characteristic of current political literature. In it personal abuse seems often to have been mistaken for argument; and severity of expression rather than force of reason seemed to be the purpose both of political speaking and writing. The letters written to these leading candidates were also marred by senseless and pedantic quotations from foreign and ancient languages—the work probably of W. W. Phelps.

Political Reform Principles Offered by Joseph Smith

When it was ascertained that from none of the candidates in the field for president could the citizens of Nauvoo hope for assistance in obtaining justice for the wrongs they had suffered in Missouri, President Smith allowed his friends at Nauvoo to put his name in nomination for the office of president of the United States; and promptly published his *Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States,* a document which excited considerable comment from the press of the country, very much of which was favorable.

In this document the candidate reviewed the growth and development of the American government. He advocated prison reform. Advised the people of the south to "petition their respective legislatures to abolish slavery by

the year 1850, or now." He recommended the payment of a reasonable price to the slaveholders of the south for their slaves, to be paid by the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands, and reduction in the salary paid to congressmen. "The southern people," said he "are hospitable and noble. They will help to rid so free a country of every vestige of slavery, whenever they are assured of an equivalent for their property."[19] He recommended more economy in the national and state governments, and more equality among the people.

He proposed the establishment of a national bank, with branches in each state, the directors thereof to be elected yearly by the people; and the profits arising from the business to be used as revenue in defraying the expenses of government, the profits from the branch banks being used by the respective states, and those arising from the central institution by the general government; and the reduction of taxation to the extent of the net profits of these institutions.

In consequence of the experience the Latter-day Saints had passed through in Missouri, President Smith advocated in his *Views* the adoption of a constitutional amendment giving the president of the United States full power to send an army to suppress mobs; "and called for the repeal of that 'relic of folly,' which makes it necessary for the governor of a state to make demand of the president for troops in case of a rebellion." "The governor himself," he goes on to say,

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19. This recommendation was a statesman-like word, and deserves to be presented in the Prophet's own phrases.

"Petition, also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave states, your legislators to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolitionist from reproach and ruin, infamy and shame.

Pray congress to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands, and from deduction of pay from the members of congress.

Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire him to labor like other human beings; for an hour of virtuous liberty on earth is worth a whole eternity of bondage. * * * The southern people are hospitable and noble. They will help to rid so free a country of every vestige of slavery, whenever they are assured of an equivalent for their property." (See the whole document in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 197-209).

"may be a mobber; and instead of being punished, as he should be, for murder or treason, he may destroy the very lives, rights and property he should protect."

He favored the annexation of Texas, and the extension of the authority of the United States over contiguous territory on the west, and said:

> "When a neighboring realm petitioned to join the Union of the Sons of Liberty, my voice would be, come—yea, come Texas, come Mexico, come Canada, and come all the world, let us be brethren, let us be one great family, and let there be a universal peace."[20]

Political Convention at Nauvoo

On the seventeenth of May, 1844, a state convention was held at Nauvoo, which ratified the views of President Smith on the "Powers and Policy of Government," passed a series of resolutions inviting all men of all parties to assist in the work of reforming the government, and in a formal manner placed in nomination "General Joseph Smith for president of the United States, and Sidney Rigdon for vice-president."

James Arlington Bennett, of New York, was first asked to take the second place on the ticket; but being of foreign birth, was not eligible. Then the position was offered to Colonel Solomon Copeland of Paris, Tennessee,[21] but for some reason he did not accept; so the next choice was Sidney Rigdon, who by that time had removed from Nauvoo to Pennsylvania.

Arrangements were made to hold a national convention at Baltimore, Md., on the thirteenth of July following, and preparations were made for an active campaign in favor of the prophet-nominee; but before the time for the national convention had arrived, the standard bearer of the new party of "Reform, Jeffersonian Democracy, Free Trade and Sailors

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20. The paper was published at Nauvoo in pamphlet form and widely circulated throughout the United States.

21. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 248.

Rights,"[22] fell pierced by assassins' bullets—the victim of a cruel mob.

Of course President Smith could have no hope that he would be elected to the presidency, but by becoming a candidate he gave the citizens of Nauvoo an opportunity to act consistently with their views of what ought to be done for the general good of the nation, and at the same time avoid the wrath of the political parties in the state of Illinois by affiliating with neither of them in the then pending election. Explaining his reasons on one occasion for allowing his name to go before the people as a candidate President Smith said:

"I would not have suffered my name to have been used by my friends on any wise as president of the United States, or candidate for that office, if I and my friends could have had the privilege of enjoying our religious and civil rights as American citizens, even those rights which the Constitution guarantees unto all her citizens alike. But as a people we have been denied from the beginning. Persecution has rolled upon our heads from time to time, from portions of the United States, like peals of thunder, because of our religion; and no portion of the government, as yet, has stepped forward for our relief. And in view of these things, I feel it to be my right and privilege to obtain what influence and power I can, lawfully, in the United States, for the protection of injured innocence."[23]

The *Times and Seasons* editorially announcing the candidacy of President Smith said:

"One great reason that we have for pursuing our present course is, that at every election we have been made a political target for the * * * demagogues in the country to shoot their loathsome arrows at. And every story has been put into requisition to blast our fame from the old fabrication of 'walk on the water' down to 'the murder of ex-Governor Boggs.' The journals have teemed with this * * * trash, and even men who ought to have more respect for themselves—men contending for the gubernatorial chair have made use of terms so degrading, so mean, so humiliating that a billingsgate fisher-woman

22. The fifth resolution adopted at the Nauvoo Convention read as follows: "Resolved, that the better to carry out the principles of liberty and equal rights, Jeffersonian Democracy, Free Trade, and Sailors' Rights, and the protection of person and property, we will support General Joseph Smith for the president of the United States at the ensuing election." (Proceedings of the convention in full will be found in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 386-397.)

23. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 210-211.

would have considered herself disgraced with. We refuse any longer to be thus bedaubed for either party. * * * We withdraw. Under existing circumstances, we have no other alternative; and if we can accomplish our object, well: if not, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that we have acted conscientiously, and have used our best judgment. And if we have to throw away our votes, we had better do so upon a worthy rather than an unworthy individual, who might make use of the weapon we put in his hand to destroy us."[24]

Viewpoint of the Prophet on His Candidacy

President Smith usually referred to his candidacy in a jocular vein. Speaking at a meeting at Nauvoo when his candidacy had been discussed rather earnestly he said:

"As to politics, I care but little about the presidential chair. I would not give half as much for the office of president of the United States as I would for the one I now hold as *Lieutenant General of the Nauvoo Legion.* * * * When I get hold of eastern papers, and see how popular I am, I am afraid myself that I shall be elected; but if I should be, I would not say, 'Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you.' "[25]

As another evidence that the Prophet entertained no serious thought of success in his election, mention should be made of the fact that during the time when preparations were being made for a vigorous canvass in favor of his election, extensive plans were being laid by President Smith and his associates for the removal of the church bodily from Illinois to that then little known great "West," rather vaguely spoken of as "Oregon" and "California."

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24. *Times and Seasons,* vol. v, p. 441.
25. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 243.

CHAPTER LIII

The Western Movement of the Church Projected by Joseph Smith: Efforts for Peace

ON the 20th of February, 1844, President Smith instructed the twelve apostles of the church to send out a delegation to explore California and Oregon with the view of finding a location to which the church could remove after the temple at Nauvoo was completed.[1] The day following seven of the apostles with other brethren convened in council in President Smith's office. The minutes of that meeting follow:

Preparations for the West

"At a meeting of the twelve at the mayor's office, Nauvoo, February 21, 1844, seven o'clock, p. m., Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, Geo. A. Smith, Willard Richards, and four others, being present, called by a previous notice, by instruction of President Joseph Smith on the 20th instant, for the purpose of selecting a company to explore Oregon and California, and select a site for a new city for the saints.

Jonathan Dunham, Phineas H. Young, David D. Yearsley, David Fullmer, volunteered to go; and Alphonzo Young, James Emmet, George D. Watt, and Daniel Spencer were requested to go.

Voted the above persons to be notified to meet with the council on Friday evening next, at the assembly room.

Willard Richards, Clerk."[2]

On the 23rd of the same month President Smith met with the apostles and others to further discuss the movement. He suggested the apointment of a "leader to drum up volunteers." "Let that man go that can raise $500; a good horse and mule, a double-barrel gun, one barrel rifle, and the other smoothbore, a saddle and bridle, a pair of revolving pistols, bowie-knife and a good sabre." If enough did not volunteer immediately to make up the party, the brethren were informed

1. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 222.
2. *Ibid*, p. 223.

that they could wait until after the election. Nine of those present volunteered to go[3]

After this, the "Western Exploration Company," and the progress it made in its preparations was a subject frequently mentioned in the Prophet's *Journal.*

The question is raised as to President Smith projecting this western movement of the church. That is why it is particularized in this text. Some there are who seek to make it appear that the whole western movement, in conception as in execution, originated with Brigham Young, after the death of President Smith. The following entries in his *Journal,* together with such evidence as is supplied in the text above are relied upon to establish the fact that the movement was conceived and plans for its consummation laid by Joseph Smith:—

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE FOR WESTERN MOVEMENT

"*Monday, Feb. 26th,* 1844: 'Ira S. Miles volunteered to join the mountain expedition.'

Tuesday, Feb. 27th: 'Almon L. Fullmer and Hosea Stout volunteered to go on the western exploring expedition.'

Wednesday, Feb. 28th: 'Thomas S. Edwards volunteered to join the exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains.'

Thursday, Feb., 29th: 'Moses Smith and Rufus Beach volunteered to join the Oregon exploring expedition.'

Monday, March 4th: 'I instructed a letter to be written to James Arlington Bennett to consult him on the subject of nominating him for vice president. I here insert the letter.'

The letter which appears in full in the *Journal of Joseph Smith,* also contains this paragraph:

'All is right in Nauvoo. We are fitting out a noble company to explore Oregon and California, and progressing rapidly with the great temple which we expect to roof this season.'

March 11, 1844: 'Spent the day in council in the lodge room, * * * to take into consideration * * * the best policy for this people to adopt to obtain their rights from the nation and insure protection for themselves and children, and to secure a resting place in the mountains or some uninhabited region, where we could enjoy the liberty of conscience guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our country, rendered doubly sacred by the precious blood of our fathers, and denied

3. *Ibid,* p. 224.

to us by the present authorities who have smuggled themselves into power in the state and nation."[4]

On the 25th of February, and doubtless associating his thought with the preparations then going on for this western movement, President Smith predicted a speedy deliverance of the saints from their enemies. He records the incident as follows:

"I gave some important instructions, and prophesied that within five years we should be out of the power of our old enemies, whether they were apostates or of the world; and told the brethren to record it, that when it comes to pass they need not say they had forgotten the saying."

Joseph Smith's Western Ordinance

Late in March, President Smith drew up *"An ordinance for the Protection of the Citizens of the United States Emigrating to the Adjoining Territories, and for the Extension of the Principles of Universal Liberty."* In the "Preamble" the ordinance called attention first to the conditions prevailing in the intermountain and Pacific-slope west, where no organized and effective government existed, leaving those who emigrated there exposed both to domestic feuds and foreign invasion, conditions that hindered the development of civilization in a vast region of country—an empire in its extent; and, second, to the aims of the memorialist, which unquestionably were beneficent as a statement of the essential points of them will disclose:

"To open the vast regions of the unpeopled west and south to our enlightened and enterprising yeomanry; to protect them in their researches; to secure them in their locations, and thus strengthen the

4. The foregoing excerpts are found in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, chs. ix, x, *passim*, pp. 222-261. See also compilation of evidence by President Joseph F. Smith, presented at the memorial services of the fiftieth anniversary of the entrance of the "Mormon Pioneers" into Salt Lake valley, published in the *Deseret Evening News* of July 26th, 1897. Also this compilation is published in the writer's *Succession in the Presidency of the Church*, second edition, 1900, pp. 113-117. In the same will be found two affidavits of men who volunteered to go with the company which the Prophet was organizing to explore the west, *viz.*, Samuel W. Richards and Joseph Kelting. (*Ibid*, pp. 118-120.)

government and enlarge her borders; to extend her influence; to inspire the nations with the spirit of freedom and win them to her standard; to promote intelligence; to cultivate and establish peace among all with whom we may have intercourse as neighbors; to settle all existing difficulties among those not organized into an acknowledged government bordering upon the United States, and territories; to save the national revenue in the nation's coffers; to supersede the necessity of a standing army on our western and southern frontiers; to create and maintain the principles of peace and suppress mob insurrections; and oppression in Oregon and all lands bordering upon the United States, and not incorporated into any acknowledged national government; to explore the unexplored regions of our continent; to open new fields for enterprise to our citizens and protect them therein; to search out the antiquities of the land, and thereby promote the arts and sciences, and general information; to amalgamate the feelings of all with whom we may have intercourse on the principles of equity, liberty, justice, humanity, and benevolence; to break down tyranny and oppression, and exalt the standard of universal peace."[5]

To accomplish these purposes President Smith offered his services to the United States, and asked the congress of the United States to empower him to raise "a company of one hundred thousand armed volunteers in the United States and territories, at such times and places, and in such numbers as he shall find necessary and convenient for the purpose specified in the foregoing preamble, and to execute the same."

Joseph Smith's Western Movement Before Congress

Orson Pratt and John E. Page, two of the twelve apostles, went to Washington in the interest of this scheme, and urged its consideration among the congressmen. Subsequently, in April, 1844, Orson Hyde was sent to Washington in the interest of the same great project; and through the influence of Mr. Hoge, representative to congress from the district which included Nauvoo, Mr. John J. Hardin, and Stephen A. Douglas, the senators from Illinois, succeeded in approaching a number of members of congress on the subject, but received small encouragement, as congressmen were extremely cautious in engaging in anything affecting their reputation and prospects for political preferment for the

5. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 275-277.

future. But however much these men objected to advocating anything which looked like favoring openly the scheme of President Smith, they all concurred in affirming that he had the right to lead his people to Oregon to settle, and the government could protect them under existing law. Stephen A. Douglas remarked, that if he could command the following that Mr. Smith could, he would resign his seat in congress to go to the west.

Also Mr. Douglas said that he would equally as soon go to Oregon without an act of congress as with one; "and that in five years," Orson Hyde represents him as saying, "a noble state might be formed; and then, if they would not receive us into the Union, we would have a government of our own." "He is decidedly of the opinion," continues Elder Hyde, "that congress will pass no act in favor of any particular man going there; but he says if any man will go, and desires that privilege, and has confidence in his own ability to perform it, he already has the right and the sooner he is off the better for his scheme."[6]

No action was ever taken by congress upon the memorial and ordinance of President Smith.[7] It is doubtful if any such action would have been taken in any event, but just at

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6. Orson Hyde makes his reports to President Smith in two letters dated respectively, April 25th and 26th; 1844. (See *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 369-376).

7. The memorial, however, was introduced into the house of representatives by Mr. John Wentworth of Chicago, a representative from Illinois when the following occurred in relation to it.

"MORMONS"

"Mr. Wentworth asked permission to present a memorial from General Joseph Smith, the head of the 'Mormons,' and required that it might be read by the clerk for the information of the house.

The clerk commenced the reading of the memorial. Before the reading was concluded, Mr. J. R. Ingersoll interposed, he had objected to the reception at first, and still objected. * * *

* * * Mr. Wentworth said he would move a suspension of the rules to enable him to have the paper read. * * * Mr. Wentworth then moved that the rules be suspended. * * *

* * * The question was put on suspending the rules and rejected—yeas, 79, nays, 86." (From the House Proceedings of May 25th, 1844. *Congressional Globe*, vol. xiii, no. 39, p. 624.)

the time when the ordinance he had drawn up was presented to the Illinois delegation and other congressional friends, and to the house of representatives, Oregon affairs were much involved. No regularly organized government existed there and the country was held by the United States and Great Britain under a treaty of joint occupancy; and it was feared that the entrance into that region of any such force of "armed volunteers" as was proposed by the ordinance for policing that great region of the west, extending from Texas to Oregon—however beneficent its intentions—would be regarded by England as an infraction of the existing treaty. Also there was an effort being made to organize a territorial government for Oregon; and as a preliminary to its introduction Mr. Semple moved a resolution requesting the president to give notice to the British government for the discontinuance of the treaty of "joint occupancy." This, Orson Hyde reports, "was voted down with a rush;" and so long as the treaty of joint occupancy existed the ambitious plan by President Smith for policing and encouraging the settlement of the intermountain and Pacific-slope west, could not be considered practicable.

Incidentally it appears from the Hyde letters that one reason for seeking the protection of the government for this western movement was the fear that if it was undertaken without such protection, the old enemies of the church in Missouri would make that movement an occasion for renewing the war upon the saints. In conversation with Mr. Semple, who had just affirmed the right of the "Mormons" to emigrate to Oregon without an enactment of congress authorizing them to go, Mr. Hyde said to him:

"Other people might make a move to Oregon, and no prejudices bar their way, and their motives would not be misinterpreted. But, * * * Missouri knows her guilt; and should we attempt to march to Oregon without the government throwing a protective shield over us, Missouri's crimes would lead her first to misinterpret our intentions, to fan the flame of popular excitement against us, and scatter the firebrands of a misguided zeal among the combustible materials of other

places, creating a flame too hot for us to encounter—too desolating for us to indulge the hope of successfully prosecuting the grand and benevolent enterprise we have conceived."[8]

About this time—the spring of 1844—there was such a bitter agitation of "Mormon" affairs in Hancock county, and things were so rapidly hastening to a climax, that nothing further was done during the lifetime of President Smith to receive government authorization for removal to the west; but the removal was a project never abandoned by him; for as hostility to the church increased in rancor and volume in Illinois, until the whole horizon appeared black and threatening, the Prophet repeatedly told his brethren that *"it was light in the west."*

Peace Efforts of the Saints in Illinois

While these preparations for removal of the church to the west were under way, efforts were made by leading church officials to establish more peaceful relations with the people of Hancock and neighboring counties; also with Missouri. On the 14th of February the *Warsaw Signal* published a letter from Governor Ford, dealing with the situation in Hancock county. The letter was one acknowledging receipt of the resolutions adopted at the anti-"Mormon" meeting held at Carthage, to which reference has already been made.[9] The letter was expostulatory in character. The governor had been called upon to abolish the Nauvoo charters, a thing, he points out, which both parties, by large majorities in each, refused to do after he called their attention to the necessity of some

8. Let no one suppose these fears concerning Missouri to be groundless—a mere air-drawn dagger—a phantom fear. In an editorial of the *Times and Seasons* of February 15th, 1844—discussing the candidacy of Joseph Smith for president of the United States—the following occurs: "We have been informed from a respectable source, that there is an understanding between Mr. Benton [Senator Thomas H.], of Missouri, and Mr. Van Buren, and a conditional compact entered into, that if Mr. Benton will use his influence to get Mr. Van Buren elected, that Van Buren when elected shall use his executive influence to wipe away the stain from Missouri, by a further persecution of the Mormons, and wreaking out vengeance on their heads, either by extermination, or by some other summary process. We could scarcely credit the statement, and we hope yet for the sake of humanity, that the suggestion is false; but *we have too good reason to believe that we are correctly informed.*"

9. ch. lii.

modification of them in a message to the last legislature. He had also been called upon to take away the arms of the "Mormons;" to raise the militia to arrest a supposed fugitive; and to repeal some of the ordinances of the city of Nauvoo! "Hancock county is justly famed for its intelligence," said the governor to his correspondent, "and I cannot believe that any of its citizens are so ignorant as not to know that I have no power to do these things." Some of the requests were so preposterous that they gave color to the supposition that they were made for political effect only. He hoped this charge was not true; for it would be more creditable to those concerned "to have their errors attributed to ignorance than to a disposition to embroil the country in the horrors of war for the advancement of party ends." In conclusion, and referring to the possiblity of the demands made upon him being made for political effect only, he said:

> "But if there should be any truth in the charge, (which God forbid) I affectionately entreat all the good citizens engaged in it to lay aside their designs and yield up their ears to the voice of justice, reason, and humanity. All that I can do at present is to admonish both parties to beware of carrying matters to extremity.
>
> Let it come to this—let a state of war ensue, and I will be compelled to interfere with executive power. In that case also, I wish, in a friendly, affectionate, and candid manner, to tell the citizens of Hancock county, Mormons and all, that my interference will be against those who shall be the first transgressors.
>
> I am bound by the laws and Constitution to regard you all as citizens of the state, possessed of equal rights and privileges, and to cherish the rights of one as dearly as the rights of another. I can know no distinction among you except that of assailant and assailed."

The governor's letter was published in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* with strong editorial endorsement of its pacific advice and warning to the people of Hancock county. It reviewed at length and justified the three releases granted to Joseph Smith in Illinois from processes issued by Missouri; it also called attention to the fact that such members of the Church of the Latter-day Saints who had been accused of crime, captured and taken into Missouri and examined before

the courts of that state—Rockwell and Avery among the number—had been acquitted. Moreover, the ordinances of the city of Nauvoo which had been the occasion of most complaint had been repealed,[10] so that there was "nothing left for a bone of contention." To the Latter-day Saints it said:

> " 'A soft answer turns away wrath,' says the wise man: and it will be greatly to the credit of the Latter-day Saints to show the love of God, by now kindly treating those who may have, in an unconscious moment, done them wrong; for truly, said Jesus, 'Pray for thine enemies.' "

The editorial declared it to be the intention of the citizens of Nauvoo to carry out the suggestion of the governor for peace; and called upon all honest men to help them cherish all the love, friendship, courtesy, kindly feelings and generosity "that ought to characterize clever people." "Our motto, then, is peace with all," said the *Neighbor's* editorial, and also expressed a willingness to aid the governor "in his laudable endeavors to cultivate peace and honor the laws, believing that very few of the citizens of Hancock county will be found on the negative of such a goodly cause." Following is the concluding paragraph:

> "Considering his [the governor's] views a kind of manifesto or olive leaf, which shows that there is rest for the soles of the saints' feet, we give it a place in the *Neighbor,* wishing it God speed, and saying, God bless good men and good measures! And as Nauvoo has been, so it will continue to be, a good city, affording a good market to a good country; and let those who do not mean to try the way of transgressors, say 'Amen.' "

In the same issue of the *Neighbor,* President Smith, in a signed communication, advised that paper to take no further editorial notice of the fulminations of the editor of the *War-*

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10. These were the ordinances forbidding the arrest of Joseph Smith under process issued by Missouri; to prevent unlawful search and seizure of persons or property in the city of Nauvoo by foreign [outside] process; and the ordinance making gold and silver alone legal tender in Nauvoo. See ch. lii this *History.*

saw Signal[11] against the people of Nauvoo, and recommended that the advice of Governor Ford be honored, and that friendship and peace be cultivated with all men. President Smith also both in the *Times and Seasons* and in the *Neighbor* made overtures of peace to Missouri. He did not abate the just demands of the Latter-day Saints against Missouri for injuries inflicted upon them, both in person and in property, while they were living in that state, but he did appeal to them for an honorable settlement of the existing difficulties, to be followed by forgiveness.[12]

Armed conflict with surrounding peoples, or with any people, was no part of the policy of the church. True it may be said of the work Joseph Smith introduced, as Jesus said of the work which he began by his personal ministry, that it brought "not peace, but a sword;"[13] in each case, however, "the sword" has been found in the hands, not of those who accepted the work, but in the hands of those who rejected it, and made war upon it. Early in the New Dispensation of the gospel, the Lord commanded his servants to "renounce

11. This was Thomas C. Sharp, who waged relentless editorial war upon the church and urged the expulsion of the saints from Hancock county. The *Warsaw Signal* was the successor to the *Western World,* founded by a Mr. Daniel N. White, in 1840. The *Signal* had an intermittent existence for about thirteen years. The late President John Taylor refers to Sharp as "a violent, unprincipled man;" subsequently he was one of the nine men who were indicted for the murder of Joseph Smith.

12. Following is the paragraph containing the main proposition of the article: "So much to preface this 'Friendly Hint' to the state of Missouri; for, notwithstanding some of her private citizens and public officers have committed violence, robbery, and even murder upon the rights and persons of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, yet compassion, dignity, and a sense of the principles of religion among all classes, and honor and benevolence, mingled with charity by high-minded patriots, lead me to suppose that there are many worthy people in that state who will use their influence and energies to bring about a settlement of all those old difficulties, and use all consistent means to urge the state, for her honor, prosperity, and good name, to restore every person she or her citizens have expelled from her limits, to their rights, and pay them all damage, that the great body of high-minded and well-disposed southern and western gentlemen and ladies—the real peacemakers of the western world, will go forth, good—Samaritan-like, and pour in the oil and wine, till all that can be healed are made whole; and, after repentance, they shall be forgiven; for verily the scriptures say, 'Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repents, more than over ninety-and-nine just persons that need no repentance.' * * * Now is the time to brush off the monster that, incubus-like, seems hanging upon the reputation of the whole state. A little exertion, and the infamy of the evil will blacken the guilty only." (*Nauvoo Neighbor,* Impression of March 13, 1844.)

13. *St. Matt.* x:34-40.

war and proclaim peace;"[14] and true to this spirit of the work the Prophet sought for peace.

A "Wolf Hunt" Proposed

On their part the anti-"Mormons" of Hancock county exhibited no disposition to act favorably upon the pacific advice and warning of Governor Ford. His letter was published in the *Warsaw Signal* on the 4th of February; on the 17th of the same month the anti-"Mormons" at Carthage met in convention and among other unfriendly resolutions passed one appointing "Saturday the 9th of March as a day of fasting and prayer;" wherein "the pious of all orders" are requested to pray Almighty God, that he would speedily bring the false prophet, Joseph Smith, to deep repentance for his presumption and blasphemy; or that he will make a public example of him and his leading accomplices."[15] Three days later a public meeting in Carthage appointed a "grand wolf hunt"[16] for the same day, 9th of March, which all the citizens of Hancock and surrounding counties were urged to join, notwithstanding the previous appointment of that day as a day of fasting and prayer" against Joseph Smith and his associates; and which, if not sinister in its purposes, demonstrates how recklessly an invoked solemn occasion for a supposedly high purpose was set aside for a day of half riotous, prairie sport.

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14. August, 1833, *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xcviii.

15. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, impression of Feb. 28th, 1844.

16. This was a sport common in early times in the prairie states of the west, where wolves were numerous. The men and boys met at a given place, on county or township lines, and moved toward some center agreed upon, closing in from all sides upon the game. Firearms were prohibited; so also were dogs in the hunt referred to in the text; and it was requested by the committee in charge that no deer should be killed. The lines enclosing Hancock county on the above occasion were designated as the place of rendezvous, and the central place of meeting, where a flag was raised, was about two miles southwest of Carthage, the time two o'clock p. m. (See *Nauvoo Neighbor*, impression of February 28th, 1844). It was under the pretext of carrying on this sport that mobs sometimes convened to do violence to the saints scattered throughout Hancock county; and on one occasion such a hunt was doubtless planned against Nauvoo itself. (See Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 364; and the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, impression of October 2nd, 1844). Gregg, in his *Prophet of Palmyra*, seeks to discredit Ford's account of the event, but fails to disprove the governor's charge.

CHAPTER LIV

Seceders from the Church: Destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor

MORE serious than all external opposition to the church was the internal dissension which culminated about this time in the open revolt of men who had occupied leading positions in the church, and in the civil affairs of Nauvoo. It has already been stated that the introduction of the practice of the new marriage system of the church, permitting under special conditions a plurality of wives, gave opportunity to evil disposed persons to justify sexual immoralities because of this action of President Smith and the faithful brethren to whom he had confided the knowledge of this principle; that denunciation of these immoralities brought upon him the displeasure and hatred of those who were exposed.[1] These finally united in secret covenant to encompass the Prophet's overthrow. On Orrin P. Rockwell's return to Nauvoo from prison he reported that some of the Missourians said they had secured the services of some of Joseph Smith's confidential friends, whom he did not suspect, but living in Nauvoo, to deliver him into their hands. These Missourians did not design to try the Prophet, but to hang him; and they had a man among the "Mormons" who would betray him, if they could not get him into their power without.[2]

"Among False Brethren"

The special night guards, whose appointment has already been noted, several times came in contact with men moving about the city in a manner which, to say the least, was suspicious; and soon complaints were made by a number

1. See ch. xlv, this *History*.
2. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 162-5.

of men that the city government was arbitrary and oppressive; they claimed that these night watchmen threatened their peace and even started rumors that President Smith had appointed them for the purposes of intimidation.

Among others who complained of the appointment of night watchman were William Law, second counselor in the first presidency of the church, and William Marks, president of the Nauvoo stake of Zion. In the course of a speech made at the meeting of the city council at the time of the appointment of the special watchmen, President Smith referred to the danger of invasion from Missouri and incidentally remarked: *"We have a Judas in our midst."* This gave great offense to both William Law and William Marks; also to Wilson Law, brother of William. "What can be the matter with these men?" commented the Prophet, on their manifestation of fear. "Is it that the wicked flee when no man pursueth, that hit pigeons always flutter, that drowning men clutch at straws, or that President Law and Marks are absolutely traitors to the church, that my remarks should produce such excitement in their midst? Can it be possible that the 'traitor' whom Porter Rockwell reports to me as being in correspondence with my Missouri enemies is one of my quorum [the first presidency]? The people in the town were astonished, almost every man saying to his neighbor, 'is it possible that Brother Law or Marks is a traitor, and would deliver Brother Joseph into the hands of his enemies in Missouri? If not what can be the meaning of all this?' The righteous are bold as a lion."[3]

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3. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 170. This Wm. Marks afterwards was prominent among those who induced the Prophet to come back and deliver himself up to his enemies after he had started west. After the Prophet's death Marks joined the apostate James J. Strang in his attempt to lead the church, and still later was a principal factor in bringing into existence the "Josephite" or "Reorganized Church." (See the author's work on *Succession in the Presidency of the Church,* second edition, 1900.)

Treachery of William Law: On the 18th of June, Truman Gillett, Jun., made affidavit to the effect that about the first day of June, 1842, he overheard a conversation on the steamboat *Massachusetts* between two men talking of incidents on the upper Mississippi when one said to the other: "If Law could have succeeded in getting an

Two special sessions of the city council were devoted to an inquiry into the cause of alarm on the part of these men. It appears from the minutes of the proceedings that the trouble arose from some of the night guards discussing who the "Judas" was on whom the Missourians relied to betray the Prophet, with the result that suspicions had fallen upon William Law. This "talk of the street" had alarmed Mr. Law and his friends, and hence came the charges that the night guards of the city were under secret orders from the mayor and oath-bound "to put out of the way" those suspected of treachery to the Prophet; that the organization of "Danites" had been revived and a reign of terror was to be inaugurated. The existence of such conditions was stoutly denied by the mayor and many others. The night guards in a body and at each of the special sessions of the city council denied the charges of being oath-bound, or of having received other instructions than those given in open council by the mayor at the time they received their appointment. The complainants against the guards and the city administration appeared at a very great disadvantage at the investigation.[4]

Early in the spring of 1844, the Prophet was apprised by two young men, Denison L. Harris and Robert Scott, the latter living in the family of William Law, of a secret movement then on foot to take his life, and the lives of several other

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introduction for us to Joe Smith, d—n him, we would have gagged him and nabbed him; and, d—n him, all h— could not have rescued him from our hands." The next morning Gillett got into conversation with the man who made these remarks, and leading him back to the above subject he explained that he had been "on the upper Mississippi on business; that he had stopped at Nauvoo on his way down with some twelve or fourteen other men, who laid a plan to kidnap Joe Smith; that some of the company queried about getting access to him, but one of them said he knew they could if he could find William Law. They called on William Law in the evening to get an introduction to their great Prophet, and Law went with them to the gate, where they were stopped by the police, 'and it was well for him that we did not succeed in getting an introduction to him.' Deponent said: 'Did William Law know your business?' and he said 'yes.'" (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, pp. 500-1.)

4. Minutes of the two special sessions of the council held on the 3rd and 5th of January respectively are published in *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, pp. 162-170.

leading men of the church; among them the Prophet's brother, Hyrum. These young men were invited to the secret meetings by the conspirators, but before going conferred with the Prophet, who told them to go, but to take no part in the proceedings of these wicked men against himself. They carried out his instructions, and at the risk of their lives attended the secret meetings three times, and brought to President Smith a report of what they had witnessed—the hatching of plots to take the life of the Prophet and his brother Hyrum.[5]

In addition to the testimony of these young men was that of M. G. Eaton, and A. B. Williams who related, substantially, the same thing. These men went before Daniel H. Wells, a justice of the peace, and made affidavit that such a plot existed. In their statements they named as leaders of the movement, Chauncey L. Higbee, R. D. Foster, Joseph H. Jackson, and William and Wilson Law. These names corresponded with those given by the young men before alluded to, except that they also named Austin Cowles, a member of the high council at Nauvoo, as one of the active and leading conspirators.[6]

Self-Revealment of the Conspirators

These statements were shortly confirmed by the action of the conspirators themselves, as they soon came out in open as well as in secret opposition to the leading church authorities; and on the 18th of April a number of them were excommunicated for unchristian-like conduct, by a special council of leading brethren of the church, among whom were six of the twelve apostles. Among the number excommunicated were William Law, a member of the first presi-

5. A full account of this conspiracy, written by Horace Cummings, was published in the *Contributor*, Utah, vol. v, no. 7, April, 1884.

6. Affidavits given at length in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 278-280.

dency, his brother Wilson Law, and Dr. Robert D. Foster.[7]

An effort was made by these men to organize a church by the appointment of apostles, prophets, presidents, etc.; but it failed miserably, the following was insignificant. William Law was "president" of the inchoate, ecclesiastical institution.[8]

The mask having at last fallen from the faces of this coterie, they joined with the avowed enemies of the saints outside of Nauvoo, and openly advocated the repeal of the city charter, which but a few years before they had assisted to obtain. They violated on several occasions the city ordinances, resisted the city officers, and threatened the life of the mayor. These disturbances led to arrests and trials before the municipal court, from which the accused generally appealed to the circuit courts; and retaliated by counter arrests of the city authorities for false imprisonment, defamation of character, etc. In many of these cases the power of the muni-

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7. The excommunication of these parties is recorded in the *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 341, under date of the 18th of April, and a long list of names of the prominent church officials who participated in the action is given. The announcement of the excommunication in the *Times and Seasons* bears the date of 18th of April, but it is published in the issue of that weekly periodical dated *15th of April,* 1844. This may be accounted for on the ground that the *Times and Seasons* was issued irregularly, publication often delayed; and the April 15th number may have been so delayed and the excommunication notice of the 18th find place in it without any real anachronism. The matter is mentioned because the parties dealt with complained in the *Nauvoo Expositor* of the irregularity in the procedure of the council which excommunicated them. Dr. Foster declared that he had been notified to appear before the high council of the church on the *20th of April,* but on the morning of the 20th, when preparing to go to trial, he was informed that he had already been excommunicated. It is also claimed on the part of the Laws that they were not given an opportunity to be present at the council taking action against them; and that as to Wm. Law the council acting had no jurisdiction in his case, since being in the presidency of the high priesthood he could only properly be tried before the general presiding bishop of the church, assisted by twelve high priests especially chosen. (See *Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. 107:81-84). The proceedings were irregular but justified, no doubt, in the minds of those who conducted them, on the ground that the apostasy of those affected by their action was so notorious that formalities were of little consequence. And yet such irregularities in church policy are to be deplored.

8. It was a matter of amusement to President Smith rather than anxiety, this "New Church Movement." Referring to it in a public address on Sunday, the 26th of May, he said: "Inasmuch as there is a 'new church' this [the church he had founded] must be the old, and of course we ought to be set down as orthodox. From henceforth let all the churches now no longer persecute orthodoxy. I never built upon any other man's ground. I never told the old Catholic that he was a 'fallen' true prophet!" (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 411.)

cipal court to grant writs of *habeas corpus* was freely exercised, and the city authorities released as the actions were malicious, and adjudged to be insufficient grounds on which to hold the alleged offenders. In some cases, however, complaints were made before the Hancock circuit court by the seceders, and a number of such cases against President Smith were pending at the time of his death.[9]

Charges of Adultery and Perjury

At the May sitting of the grand jury at Carthage two indictments were found against President Smith, one for "adultery," on the testimony of William Law; and one for "perjury" on the testimony of Joseph H. Jackson. Instead of avoiding the issue thus presented President Smith promptly met it. Their information of the finding of the indictments reached Nauvoo on Saturday, 25th of May, and on Monday the Prophet presented himself before the court at Carthage and demanded a hearing.[10] Anti-"Mormon" writers usually limit the Prophet's demand for a trial to the case of "perjury"[11] but he placed himself in the hands of the court and was as likely to meet the one charge as the other. It was beyond his power to pick and choose as to which case he would answer. All that can be said in the matter is that on the perjury case the prosecution not being ready, a continuance was taken to the next term. "I was left to give bail to the sheriff at his option," remarks the Prophet in his narrative: "he told me I might go home, where he would call and take bail at his own convenience."[12] The disposition of the charge

9. The activities in this kind may be judged by citing the following:

"The May term of Hancock circuit court commenced its session at Carthage on the 20th, Hon. Jesse B. Thomas presiding. At this term, four cases were on docket against the Prophet, and were disposed of as follows:

Alexander Simpson—For false imprisonment: change of venue to Adams county.
Francis M. Higbee—For slander: change to the county of McDonough.
Charles A. Foster—For false imprisonment: change to the county of McDonough.
Amos Davis—For trespass: change to McDonough county."

These were all civil actions (Gregg's *History of Hancock County*, p. 301).

10. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 405; 412-414.
11. *History of Hancock County*, Gregg, pp. 301-2.
12. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 413.

of adultery is not given, and whether that too was continued until the next term of court or not is unknown. But certainly those making the charge could not have been very confident of their case as we hear no more of it. Anti-"Mormon" writers, however, seldom neglect to say that at the time of the Prophet's death "he was under an indictment for adultery and perjury," without mentioning the prompt boldness with which President Smith placed himself in the hands of the court to face these charges.[13]

At last the disaffected parties imported a press into the city and proposed publishing a paper to be called the *Nauvoo Expositor*. It avowed its intention in its *Prospectus* to agitate for the repeal of the Nauvoo charter, and also announced that since its position in the city of the saints afforded it opportunities of being familiar with the abuses that prevailed, its publishers intended to give a full, candid and succinct statement of facts as they really existed in the city of Nauvoo, regardless of whose standing in the community might be imperiled. One Sylvester Emmons was employed as editor.

The One and Only Number of the Nauvoo Expositor

The first number—and the only one ever issued—of the *Nauvoo Expositor* was published on the 7th of June. It must have been a great disappointment to its publishers[14] if they possessed any newspaper taste or pride, since it was a sad jumble in arrangement of selected and original matter. Of the former there is a surprisingly large quantity of colorless stuff for a paper that so thundered in its *Prospectus* as to the "gross abuses" and the "unsupportable oppressions of the ministerial powers" it had to expose; and the original matter was both vapid and pointless; it was strong only in its bitterness and evil intent. It charged the Prophet

13. See article by United States' Secretary of State, John Hay, *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869; Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 328; Linn's *Story of the Mormons*, p. 290.

14. William Law, Wilson Law, Charles Ivins, Francis M. Higbee, Chauncy L. Higbee, Robert D. Foster, and Charles A. Foster are announced as the publishers.

with exercising illegal authority, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs; with the introduction of the plural wife system, and other supposed doctrinal heresies; with gross immoralities; and malfeasance in the administration of the affairs of the church. Both by its *Prospectus* which was reproduced in the one published number, and by editorial utterance the *Expositor* avowed its intention to work for the repeal of the city's charter. Naturally the publication of such a paper aroused great indignation within Nauvoo; and such was the bitterness engendered in the public mind outside of Nauvoo, both in Hancock county and in the surrounding counties, that to allow its continued publication meant, undoubtedly, the rising of mob forces and open war upon the saints with the destruction of Nauvoo as the inevitable result.

This bitterness had been created in the public mind in large part through the misrepresentations that had been made of the purposes and designs of the church leaders; in part by the unwisdom of church members, for whom no claim is made of impeccability, either in word or action; nor is absolute inerrancy in judgment and policy claimed for even the leaders of the church; but most of the ill repute in which Nauvoo was held by the people of Hancock and surrounding counties —after the fact of misrepresentation—arose from the wickedness of the very men—adding to the coterie the villain John C. Bennett—who now engaged through the press they had founded to expose alleged corruption in high places in Nauvoo.[15]

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15. Thomas Gregg, author of the *History of Hancock County*, also author of the *Prophet of Palmyra*, an anti-"Mormon" history of "Mormonism" with the Prophet as the central figure, says of the *Expositor* and its publishers:

"As we have seen, the professed aim and purpose of this sheet, *Nauvoo Expositor*, were to expose the enormities practiced by the Prophet and his followers at Nauvoo. And from the statements and proofs adduced, and from corroborative facts—making all due allowance for exaggeration and vindicative feeling—we are compelled to accept many of them as true. Yet, it is painful to remember that while they were showing Joseph Smith to have been a desperately bad man, they were—to put it in as mild a way as possible—adding little to their own characters, inasmuch as for years they had been his supporters and defenders, and (having been in his confidence) must have known long before what his true character was, and that all

The appearance of the *Expositor* constituted a problem most difficult of solution. Such was the general indignation among the citizens of Nauvoo that there was danger of an uprising and a destruction of the press and printing office by them—this meant mob violence in Nauvoo,[16] and any manifestation of mob violence in Nauvoo meant the awaited pretext for its destruction by outside forces. Indeed, there were those who believed that one reason for the publication of the *Expositor* was to provoke the citizens to some overt act against the law, that a pretext might be found for the raising of mob forces against the city. John Taylor (mentioned in note 16) says: "Various attempts had heretofore been made by the party [i. e. the seceders from the church] to annoy and irritate the citizens of Nauvoo; false accusations had been made, vexatious law suits instituted, threats made, and various devices resorted to, to influence the public mind, and, if possible, to provoke us to the commission of some overt act that might make us amenable to the law.

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his pretensions to religion and sanctity were false. And it will be remembered, too, that when Dr. Bennett revolted, but a short period before, and made the same or similar charges, all, or most of these men made public contradiction of them." (Gregg's *Prophet of Palmyra*, pp. 240-1).

Of course the reader should remember in connection with Mr. Gregg's conclusion from "corroborative facts" that many of the statements of these seceders from the church are true, that this is the conclusion of a man strongly prejudiced against the Church of the Latter-day Saints; and one who would especially count the charge of introducing the new marriage system as among the "enormities" of the Prophet. The fact of Joseph Smith establishing that system is, of course, not denied in this *History;* and neither is it conceded—within the limitations and explanations already set forth (ch. xlv) to be an "enormity."

16. John Taylor, who became the third president of the church and at the time a member of the city council, in his account of The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith—published as an "Introduction" to *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, by Sergeant Daniel Tyler, 1881, on this point says: "It [*The Expositor*] was, however, no sooner put in circulation than the indignation of the whole community was aroused; so much so, that they threatened its annihilation; and I do not believe that in any other city in the United States, if the same charges had been made against the citizens, it would have been permitted to remain one day."

Elias Smith, afterwards known in Utah as "Judge Elias Smith," a man of most excellent character, coolness of temperament, and soundness of judgment, is represented by the minutes of the Nauvoo city council as saying in the *Expositor* case that he "believed, by what he had heard, that if the city council did not do it [i. e. destroy the *Expositor* press] others would." (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 446.)

* * * So far from displeasing our enemies it [the destruction of the *Expositor*] would be looked upon by them as one of the best circumstances that could transpire to assist them in their nefarious and bloody designs."[17] In an editorial of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* the same writer says that the press was destroyed in response to the "cries and pleadings" of the people "with the city authorities," asking: "Will you suffer that servile, murderous-intended paper to go on and villify and slander the innocent inhabitants of this city, and raise another mob to drive and plunder us again as they did in Missouri?"[18]

It is quite evident that the publishers of the *Expositor* provokingly relied upon this fear of outside interference as an asset in their audacious undertaking. It was part of the testimony before the city council that Francis M. Higbee and William Law had declared before the press was destroyed that "they had commenced their operations and would carry them out *law or no law.*"[19] Francis M. Higbee said the interest of the city is done the moment a hand is laid on the press."[20] Again Francis M. Higbee, speaking of the *Expositor* press said: "If they [citizens of Nauvoo] lay their hands upon it, or break it, they may date their downfall from that very hour, and in ten days there will not be a Mormon left in Nauvoo."[21]

In view of this trying situation the city council was convened and after long deliberation determined upon the destruction of the press by order of the city council as the wisest course. The justification for the procedure was as follows:

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17. Tyler's *Mormon Battalion,* Introduction, pp. 15, 16.

18. *Nauvoo Neighbor,* the impression of the 12th of June, 1844—two days after the destruction of the *Expositor.* The same view is expressed by Joseph Smith in his interview with Governor Ford in Carthage prison the day before he was murdered "Our whole people were indignant, and loudly called upon our city authorities for a redress of our grievances." (See Taylor's report of the interview in Tyler's *History of Mormon Battalion,* Introduction, p. 39.)

19. Sworn statement of John Birney. (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 447.)

20. *Ibid.* Sworn statement of Stephen Markham.

21. Sworn statement of David H. Redfield. *Ibid.*

"Blackstone on 'Wrongs' asserts the doctrine that scurrilous prints may be abated as nuisances."[22]

The Nauvoo charter, following the Springfield charter gave the city authority to "remove nuisances." The city council after long deliberation and the hearing of testimony, much of which, though not all, taken under oath,

POWER TO "REMOVE NUISANCES"

"*Resolved;* by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing office from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor* is a public nuisance, and also all of said *Nauvoo Expositors* which may be or exist in said establishment; and the mayor is instructed to cause said printing establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he shall direct.

Passed June 10th, 1844.

George W. Harris,
President, pro tem.

W. Richards, Recorder."[23]

Whereupon the mayor issued an order to the city marshal to "destroy the printing press from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor,* and pie the type of said printing establishment in the street, and burn all the *Expositors* and libelous hand bills found in said establishment."[24] Also at the same time the mayor issued an order to the acting major-general of the Nauvoo legion to be in readiness to assist the city marshal in the event of his meeting with resistance in the execution of the mayor's orders. There was but slight resistance—the merely formal denial of admittance—the locking of a door, which the marshal then broke down. The order was otherwise quietly executed.

It may not be denied that the procedure of the city council in destroying the *Expositor* press was irregular; and

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22. Joseph Smith in his letter to Governor Ford, 22nd of June, 1844. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 538, *et seq.* He seemed not to have observed that the cited legal authority went no further than to *scurrilous prints,* not to printing presses.

23. Minutes of the city council of Nauvoo, *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 447.

24. *Ibid,* p. 448.

the attempt at legal justification is not convincing; but it was doubtless a better method of meeting the issue than by the action of a mob; for it stopped the offensive publication, and gave less ground for complaint against the people of Nauvoo; and if in their corporate capacity the city administration had exceeded their jurisdiction, they were amenable to the law.[25] Such was the view expressed of the matter by President Smith in his interview with Governor Ford the day before the tragedy at Carthage. He said:

"We made that order [i. e. for the destruction of the *Expositor* press] in our corporate capacity, and the city marshal carried it out. It is possible there may have been some better way, but I must confess that I could not see it. * * * In relation to the press, you say that you differ from me in opinion. Be it so: the thing, after all, is only a legal difficulty, and the courts, I should judge, are competent to decide on that matter. If our act was illegal we are willing to meet it. * * * If it is deemed that we did a wrong in destroying that press, we refuse not to pay for it; we are desirous to fulfill the law in every particular, and are responsible for our acts."[26]

In a letter to Governor Ford, President Smith also said: "If we have erred in judgment [in respect of the *Expositor* matter] it is an official act, and belongs to the supreme court to correct it, and assess damages *versus* the city to restore property abated as a nuisance."[27]

The several references to Blackstone in this chapter as an authority for destroying the *Expositor* press is unfortunate: The author referred to says: "A fourth species of remedy

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25. See testimony at the hearing of Joseph Smith before the city council; full minutes of which are published in *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, pp. 488-491. Also hearing of city council before Esquire D. H. Wells, *Ibid,* pp. 488-491. The hearing before Esquire Wells was had by the advice of Judge Jesse B. Thomas, of the state judicial district in which Nauvoo was located.

26. Tyler's *Mormon Battalion,* Introduction, pp. 40-43. John Taylor makes the same representation in his discussion of the *Mormon Question* with Schuyler Colfax, vice-president of the United States, 1869 (page 20): "In a conversation with Governor Ford on this subject afterwards, when informed of the circumstances, he said to me: 'I cannot blame you for destroying it, [i. e. the press] but I wish it had been done by a mob.' I told him that we preferred a legal course, and that Blackstone described a libelous press as a nuisance and liable to be removed; that our city charter gave us the power to remove nuisances; and that if it was supposed we had contravened the law, we were amenable for our acts and refused not an investigation."

27. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 538.

by the mere act of the party injured, is the abatement, or removal of nuisances." On this, the following commentary in note 6 is made: "So it seems that a *libelous print, or paper* (not the printing press on which they may have been printed) affecting a private individual may be destroyed; or, which is the better course, taken and delivered to a magistrate."[28] The destruction of libelous "prints and papers" can scarcely be held to sustain the action of destroying a printing press.

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28. Chitty's *Blackstone*, bk. ii, ch. i, iv, note 6.

CHAPTER LV

The Rising Storm of Mobocracy—Joseph Smith's Submission to the Requirements of Governor Ford—He Goes to Carthage

THE destruction of the *Expositor* press gave the seceders from the church at Nauvoo all the advantage in the situation they had anticipated. Except, perhaps, as to an attempted advantage sought either by themselves or their accomplices by setting fire to various buildings belonging to themselves, the blackened ruins of which they expected to be able to point to in confirmation of the reports they carried to Carthage, that they had been driven from their homes in peril of their lives; that their mill and office had been burned, and Hyrum Smith had offered a reward for the destruction of the *Signal* office and press at Warsaw.[1] In the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* extra edition, of June 21st, the following statement is made contradicting these reports:

Disclaimers of Evil and Threats

"To disabuse the public mind, we wish briefly to state that the statements of the renegadoes from this place are false. They left the city at their own instance: they were not threatened, or menaced. Their mill is not burned; their office is not burned; T. C. Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal,* has not had his life threatened by Hyrum Smith, nor has that gentleman offered a reward to any person who would destroy that office. All these statements are grossly false."

The report concerning Hyrum Smith threatening the life of Sharp and offering a reward for the destruction of the *Signal* was more formally made. The threat against Sharp is said to have been made in the session of the city council

1. "These apostates, the Laws, Fosters, Higbees *et al* reckless of all consequences, made a deadly thrust at our overthrow, leaving the city suddenly, and, afterwards, by themselves or agents, fired their own buildings, doubtless thinking they could charge it upon the saints, and by that means excite a mob in the surrounding country, who would fall upon and burn the city, but in this they were disappointed, our vigilant police discovered and extinguished the flames." (From a letter of Willard Richards and John Taylor to Reuben Hedlock, presiding elder of the church in England, under date of July 9th, 1844. *Millennial Star,* vol. xxiv, p. 743.)

that ordered the destruction of the *Expositor*[2] press: whereupon sixteen reputable gentlemen published the following card:

To the Public

"We whose names are undersigned having seen in the *Warsaw Signal,* containing the proceedings of a meeting held at Carthage on the 13th inst., many statements calculated to arouse the indignation and wrath of the people against the citizens of Nauvoo, do certify that Hyrum Smith did not make any threats nor offer any reward against the *Signal,* or its editor, in the city council."[3]

The Clamor of the Mob

Indignation meetings over the *Expositor* affair were held first at Warsaw, and afterwards at Carthage. The men who had used their uttermost endeavors for more than two years to incite the people to acts of mob violence against the saints, had now a popular war cry—*"unhallowed hands had been laid upon the liberty of the press!" "The law had ceased to be a protection to lives or property in Nauvoo!" "A mob at Nauvoo, under a city ordinance, had violated the highest privilege in the government; and to seek redress in the ordinary mode would be utterly ineffectual!"* Therefore those in attendance upon these meetings adopted resolutions announcing themselves at all times ready to cooperate with their fellow citizens in Missouri and Iowa "to exterminate, *utterly exterminate,* the wicked and abominable Mormon leaders, the authors of their troubles!"[4]

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2. Gregg reports the rumor in his *History of Hancock County,* p. 319, as follows: "Hyrum was reported to have said: 'We had better send a message to long-nosed Sharp [editor of the *Warsaw Signal*] that if he does not look out, he might be visited with a pinch of snuff that will make him sneeze!' And he continued: 'If any person will go to Warsaw boldly, in daylight, and break the press of the *Signal* office with a sledge hammer, I will bear him out in it, if it costs me a farm. He could only be taken with a warrant at any rate, and what good would that do?'"

3. The names of the signers are as follows: John Taylor, G. W. Harris, Aaron Johnson, Phineas Richards, William Boles, Thomas Smith, Geo. P. Stiles, Edward Hunter, W. W. Phelps, Moses F. Clare, Alanson Ripley, Levi Richards, Orson Spencer, Addison Everett, John P. Greene, Philip B. Lewis.

4. Resolutions of Warsaw meeting, adopted also at Carthage meeting, see *Warsaw Signal* of the 19th of June, 1844. Resolutions are published in *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, pp. 462-466. For arrangements for cooperation of Carthage-Warsaw forces with Missouri mobs in attack upon Nauvoo, see affidavit of Thomas G. Wilson, Isaac Morley, *et al.* (*Ibid,* pp. 480-482).

Committees were appointed to notify all persons in the respective townships suspected of being "tools of the Prophet to leave immediately, on pain of instant vengeance." And it was further recommended that the adherents of Joseph Smith as a body, be "driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo; that the Prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands; and, if not surrendered, a war of extermination should be waged—if necessary for the mob's protection—of his adherents; and to carry out these resolutions every citizen was called upon to arm himself."[5]

The late John Hay, secretary of state, in both McKinley's and Roosevelt's administration—1898-1905—in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1869, in an article on "The Mormon Prophet's Tragedy," commenting on the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor,* has the following passage:

COMMENT "WITH POWDER AND BALL"

"These occurrences gave rise to an excitement in the county which one regarding the matter calmly from this distance finds it difficult to account for. Public meetings were held in every precinct. Volunteer companies sprang up everywhere at the tap of the drum. There was drilling on every common, and hoarse eloquence in all the schoolhouses. Expresses were riding on all the roads with imperfectly defined purposes. The brigadier-general commanding the militia ordered a levy *en mass* in the adjoining counties. The newspapers of the county grew hysterical with exclamation points and display type. The *Warsaw Signal,* published at the headquarters of the anti-Mormons, by Mr. Thomas C. Sharp, was simply frantic in its issue of the 12th of June. Here is an extract. I regret not to be able to give the eccentricities of lettering by which the words seem to shriek on the page. A letter from Foster relates the destruction of the *Expositor* press. The *Signal* adds: 'We have only to state that this is sufficient! War and extermination is inevitable! Citizens, Arise, One and All!!! Can you stand by and suffer such Infernal Devils! to rob men of their property and rights, without avenging them? We have no time to comment: every man will make his own. *Let it be made with powder and ball!!!*' "[6]

5. *Warsaw Signal,* extra of June 17th, 1844.

6. The article of the late secretary of state is written in a very flippant spirit, utterly unworthy of the "tragedy" it undertakes to chronicle; and unworthy of the really great "secretary of state," in two presidential administrations, who wrote it. The only palliation that can be offered for this serious literary blunder of a great man is, that it was written when Mr. Hay was young [thirty-one years of age], and

The publishers of the *Expositor* promptly made complaint before Thomas Morrison, a justice of the peace at Carthage, against the mayor of Nauvoo and all the members of the city council, charging riot committed in destroying the anti-"Mormon" press. The mass meeting at Carthage, which had adopted the Warsaw resolutions was in full blast when the news arrived of the failure of Constable Bettisworth to bring the mayor and the Nauvoo city council to Carthage for trial. This increased the excitement, and poured more gall into the cup of bitterness. It was resolved that the "riot" in Nauvoo was still progressing, and of such a serious character as to demand executive interference; and therefore two "discreet citizens" were appointed to go to Springfield and lay the case before Governor Ford. But this appeal to the executive was not "to interfere" with the resolutions before passed—active preparations for the "extermination of the Mormons" were to be continued.

The authorities at Nauvoo also dispatched messengers to Governor Ford with full accounts of the proceedings, both in regard to the destruction of the press and the refusal to accompany Constable Bettisworth to Carthage. This that he might not by their neglect be misled by a false representa-

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depending chiefly upon boyhood recollection [some of his boyhood was spent in Warsaw and Carthage], and contemporary newspapers rather than upon a careful examination of the documents in the case. Writing to Mr. William A. Linn, author of *The Story of the Mormons*, as late as Nov, 17, 1900, Mr. Hay says of his *Atlantic Monthly* article: "I relied more upon my memory and contemporary newspapers for my facts than on certified documents. I will not take my oath to everything the article contains, but I think in the main it is correct." An able *Review* of Mr. Hay's article was published by Elder Orson F. Whitney—author of Whitney's *History of Utah*—in 1905, in which the utter unworthiness of Mr. Hay's article as an historical document [except where sustained by corroborative evidence] is pointed out. H. H. Bancroft says of Hay's article that, "However justly it may lay claim to Boston 'smart' writing, so far as the facts are concerned it is simply a tissue of falsehoods." (*History of Utah*, p. 183, note). This view should be so far modified as to say that there are many statements in Mr. Hay's article which are valuable contributions to the history of the event he celebrates—the one quoted in the text above, for example; and others also as we shall see, in relation to which he had opportunity of obtaining special knowledge. Mr. Hay's chief offense is his flippant style in dealing with a murder of even more than national importance; and his disposition to excuse the murderers and make light of the perjury, and the miscarriage of court processes and justice, by which they escaped punishment for their crime; by which circumstance an American commonwealth was forever dishonored among the states of the Union.

tion of the case, or be influenced by the thousand and one falsehoods that had been set on foot by the enemies of the saints.

Without waiting the issue of this appeal, however, the mob forces in Carthage, Warsaw, and other places in Hancock county began active operations by sending their committees to the settlements of the saints outside of Nauvoo, and threatening them with destruction if they did not accept one of three propositions: first, deny that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God, and take up arms and accompany the mob to arrest him; second, gather up their effects and forthwith remove to the city of Nauvoo; third, give up their arms and remain quiet until the pending difficulties should be settled by the expulsion of their friends. Usually a few days were allowed in which to make a decision and these were utilized by the people in conferring with the Prophet to know what he advised under the circumstances. The advice given, in its general purport, was to yield up none of their rights as American citizens to the demand of mobocrats, but to maintain their rights wherever they were strong enough to resist mob forces, and when they were not strong enough retreat to Nauvoo.[7]

Beside the reports of preparations for war by the mob which came to Nauvoo from the saints living in various parts of Hancock county, there were rumors of mob forces collecting on every hand. Great excitement was reported to exist in upper Missouri, the part of the state from which the saints had been driven but six years before; and it was reported that the Missourians were coming over into Illinois in large numbers to assist the anti-"Mormons" in and around Carthage. That arms and ammunition were sent over the Mississippi to the mob is quite certain; and it is also known that

7. The statements of the paragraph are sustained by the affidavits of many of the parties so called upon, and by their written communications sent to Nauvoo. (*Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, pp. 141-2; 220, 222-230-1; also *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, chs. xxiii and xxiv.)

Walter Bagley, the tax collector for Hancock county, had spent some time in Missouri as an anti-"Mormon" agent and agitator, seeking to bring about a concerted action between the old enemies of the saints, and those of the same disposition in Illinois.[8]

Defensive Measures by the Saints

While these hostile preparations were being made for the destruction of their people the leading men at Nauvoo were not idle. They kept an efficient corps of clerks busy copying reports and affidavits of threatened violence and insurrection, and sent them to Governor Ford, whom they petitioned to come to Nauvoo and in person investigate the causes of the disturbance. Information was also sent to the president of the United States, acquainting him with the prospects of an insurrection, and an invasion of Illinois by Missourians, and asking him for protection.

The communication of President Smith inviting Governor Ford to come to Nauvoo and investigate the whole situation is so luminous with the spirit in which Joseph Smith and his associates were acting, that I give his letter to the governor at length:

Information Supplied to Governor Ford

"Nauvoo, Ill., June 16th, 1844.

His Excellency, Thomas Ford.

Sir:—I am informed from credible sources, as well as from the proceedings of a public meeting at Carthage, &c., as published in the *Warsaw Signal*, extra, that an energetic attempt is being made by some of the citizens of this and the surrounding counties to drive and exterminate the saints by force of arms; and I send this information to your excellency by a special messenger, Hugh McFall, adjutant-general, Nauvoo Legion, who will give all particulars; and I ask at your hands immediate counsel and protection.

Judge [Jesse B.] Thomas has been here and given his advice in the case, which I shall strictly follow until I hear from your excellency, and in all cases adhere to the Constitution and laws.

The Nauvoo Legion is at your service to quell all insurrections and support the dignity of the common weal.

8. See *Warsaw Signal* of the 19th of June, extra; and *Nauvoo Neighbor*, extra of the 21st of June.

I wish, urgently wish, your excellency to come down in person with your staff and investigate the whole matter without delay, and cause peace to be restored to the country; and I know not but this will be the only means of stopping an effusion of blood.

The information referred to above is before me by affidavit.

I remain, sir, the friend of peace, and your excellency's humble servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

His excellency Thomas Ford."[9]

Nor were President Smith and his associates neglectful of anything that would have a tendency to allay the excitement. Jesse B. Thomas—mentioned in the above communication—judge of the circuit in which Hancock county was located, advised the mayor and city council to go before some justice of the peace of the county and have an examination of the charges specified in the writ issued by Justice Morrison, and that would take away all excuse for a mob, and he would be bound to order them to keep the peace. Some advised President Smith to go to Carthage for trial; but that he emphatically refused to do, since he knew that a numerous mob was collected there who were publicly pledged to take his life.[10] He and all others named in Justice Morrison's warrant, however, went before Squire Wells, a non-"Mormon" justice of the peace, and after a thorough investigation of the case were acquitted.[11]

In addition to these movements, a mass meeting was held in Nauvoo, at which John Taylor, one of the twelve apostles, was chairman. Pacific resolutions were adopted, denying the misrepresentations of the seceders, and appointing men to go to the neighboring towns and settlements to present the truth to the people and allay excitement. These men were authorized to say that the members of the city

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9. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 480. The letter was accompanied by documents giving evidence of uprisings in Missouri to invade Illinois for the purpose of making an attack upon Nauvoo. (*Ibid*, pp. 480-1).

10. The Prophet's interview with Governor Ford, Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, Introduction, p. 43.

11. The minutes of the trial are published in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 488-491.

council charged with riot and the violation of the law, were willing to go before the circuit court for an investigation of their conduct in respect to the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and refused not to be bound over for such a hearing. But when this announcement was made and it was learned that Judge Thomas had advised this course to allay excitement, the mob threatened that a committee would wait upon the judge and give him a coat of tar and feathers for giving such advice.[12]

The Nauvoo Legion Made Ready

These pacific measures having little or no effect, and active preparations for hostilities continuing on the part of the enemy, Nauvoo was placed under martial law; the legion was mustered into service, and Joseph Smith in person took command of it. He delivered an address to the legion and to the people, in which he reviewed the events that had brought upon Nauvoo the issues that confronted them. To dispel any illusion that any of them might have that he was the only one threatened, President Smith said:

> "It is thought by some that our enemies would be satisfied by my destruction, but I tell you as soon as they have shed my blood, they will thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the spirit of the fulness of the gospel. The opposition of these men is moved by the spirit of the adversary of all righteousness. It is not only to destroy me, but every man and woman who dares believe the doctrines that God hath inspired me to teach to this generation."

Words which subsequent events will prove to have been prophetic. He also said:

> "We have forwarded a particular account of all our doings to the governor. We are ready to obey his commands, and we expect that protection at his hands which we know to be our just due."

It will be remembered that when an urgent request was sent to the governor to come to Nauvoo in person to investigate the cause of the disturbance, the service of the legion

12. Affidavit of Anson Call, David Evans, Wm. E. Horner, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 221. Also affidavit of Hiram B. Mount and John Cunningham. *Ibid*, p. 222 *et seq.*

was tendered him to keep the peace. That President Smith had come to a settled determination to maintain the rights of the people at all hazards, and submit no longer to mob violence, may be clearly understood from the spirit of these extracts from the speech made to the legion on the occasion of his taking command of it.

"We are American citizens. We live upon a soil for the liberties of which our fathers periled their lives and spilt their blood upon the battlefield. Those rights so dearly purchased shall not be disgracefully trodden under foot by lawless marauders without at least a noble effort on our part to sustain our liberties. Will you stand by me to death, and sustain at the peril of our lives, the laws of our country, and the liberties and privileges which our fathers have transmitted to us, sealed with their sacred blood? (thousands shouted aye!) It is well. If you had not done it, I would have gone out there, (pointing to the west) and would have raised up a mightier people."[13]

"I call upon all men from Maine to the Rocky Mountains, and from Mexico to British America, whose hearts thrill with horror to behold the rights of free men trampled under foot, to come to the deliverance of this people from the cruel hand of oppression, cruelty, anarchy and misrule to which they have long been made subject. * * * I call upon God and angels to witness that I have unsheathed my sword with a firm and unaltered determination that this people shall have their legal rights and shall be protected from mob violence, or my blood shall be spilt upon the ground like water, and my body be consigned to the silent tomb. While I live, I will never tamely submit to the dominion of cursed mobocracy."[14]

There was much more of a like tenor, but this is sufficient to show the determination of the Prophet not to submit to the mobs then rising about him; and the people warmly seconded his resolution.

Word was sent to Brigham Young then on a misison in the eastern states, to return to Nauvoo, and to communicate with the other apostles in the east and request them also to return, as likewise all the elders, and as many more good, faithful men as felt disposed to accompany them, to assist the saints at Nauvoo. Thus every effort was being put forth by

13. This doubtless in allusion to the great enterprise of conducting a mighty emigration into the western wilderness noted in chapter liii, this *History*.

14. A synopsis of the speech compiled by Geo. A. Smith from verbal reports will be found in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 497-8.

the people of God to resist oppression and maintain their rights.[15]

Messengers to the Governor

In the midst of these preparations for hostilities a message was received from Governor Ford, stating that he had arrived in Carthage in the interests of peace, and hoped to be able to avert the evils of war by his presence; and that he might the better judge of the situation he asked that well informed, discreet persons be sent to him at Carthage, where he had established for the time headquarters. This request of the governor's was promptly complied with on the part of the people of Nauvoo; and John Taylor and Dr. J. M. Bernhisel were appointed to represent the situation at Nauvoo, and for that purpose were furnished with a copy of the proceedings of the city council, and the affidavits of a number of citizens bearing on the subjects that would likely be discussed.

These representatives of the citizens of Nauvoo, found the governor surrounded by their enemies—the Laws, Fosters, Higbees, Joseph H. Jackson, and others living at Warsaw and Carthage. The only audience given to Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel was in the presence of these parties, by whom they were frequently interrupted in the most insulting manner, and the parties so insulting and abusing them were unchecked by Governor Ford.

After the governor had heard the statements of these gentlemen and read the documents presented by them, he sent a written communication to Joseph Smith, in which he said that by destroying the *Expositor* press, the city council of Nauvoo had committed a gross outrage upon the laws and liberties of the people, and had violated the Constitution in several particulars. He also claimed that the municipal court of Nauvoo had exceeded its authority in granting writs of

15. Letter of Hyrum Smith to Brigham Young, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, pp. 153-4.

habeas corpus.[16] He accepted the statement of the mob at Carthage that Joseph Smith refused to be tried by any other court than the municipal court of Nauvoo, although he had before him the most positive proof that President Smith was willing to go before any justice of the peace in Hancock county except Justice Morrison of Carthage, where an angry mob had collected, and were threatening his destruction. He was even willing to be bound over to appear in the circuit court to answer for the part he took in abating the *Expositor* press as a nuisance. Yet in the face of these facts—in the face of the fact that all the parties charged with riot had appeared before Mr. Wells, a justice of the peace and a non-"Mormon," and after investigation were acquitted—yet the governor charged the members of the city council with refusing to appear before any other than the municipal court of Nauvoo for an investigation! He demanded that the mayor and all persons in Nauvoo accused or sued submit in all cases implicitly to the process of the courts and to interpose no obstacles to an arrest, either by writ of *habeas corpus* or otherwise. And in the case of the mayor and a number of the city council charged with riot, he required that they should be arrested by the same constable, by virtue of the same warrant, and tried before the same magistrate, whose authority he claimed had been resisted. "Nothing short of this," he added, "can vindicate the dignity of violated law, and allay the just excitement of the people."[17]

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16. Among these cases the one most offensive was that of Jeremiah Smith, accused of obtaining money—$4,000—from the United States treasury at Washington. He was found in Nauvoo, and twice arrested, first by the United States marshal of Iowa, and the second time by an Illinois marshal. In each case he sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*, brought before the city council and set free. Smith was afterward taken before the courts at Springfield, but apparently released. An effort was made, chiefly by one T. B. Johnson, to have the mayor and municipal court at Nauvoo indicted by the Springfield grand jury for exceeding their authority in trying this Smith case on its merits, and releasing the prisoner from both state and United States process. These efforts, however, were defeated. (See *Nauvoo Expositor*, also letters to the Prophet from Dr. L. W. Hickok and H. T. Hugins. *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, pp. 7 and 183; also *History of the Church*, Period I, vol vi, pp. 418-425 and pp. 594, 501.)

17. The Governor's letter, bearing date of June 22nd, is published *in extenso* in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 538-539.

Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel called the governor's attention to the state of excitement in Carthage, and informed him that there were men there bent on killing the Prophet, and that to insure his safety it would be necessary for him to be accompanied by an armed force which would doubtless provoke a collision. In answer to this the governor advised them to bring no arms, and pledged his faith as governor, and that of the state, to protect those who would go to Carthage for trial. He also made the same pledge in his written communication to President Smith.[18]

The conduct of the governor in thus adopting the reports of the enemies of the citizens of Nauvoo, and menacing the city with destruction, if his arbitrary commands were not complied with, created no small amount of astonishment in Nauvoo. President Smith, however, wrote a courteous reply, corrected the governor's errors, and also represented that the city council of Nauvoo in the *Expositor* press affair, had acted on their best judgment, aided by the best legal advice they could procure; but if a mistake had been made they were willing to make all things right; but asked that the mob might be dispersed, that their lives might not be endangered while on trial. Relative to going to Carthage, however, Joseph Smith pointed out the fact that the governor himself in his written communication had expressed his fears that he could not control the mob;[19] "in which case," he went on to say, "we are left to the mercy of the merciless. Sir, we dare not come, for our lives would be in danger, and we are guilty of no crime."[20]

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18. See Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 367, and last paragraph of Ford's letter of June 22nd. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 333-7.

19. The passages here referred to in the governor's letter are as follows: "I am anxious to preserve the peace, a small indiscretion may bring on a war. The whole country is now up in arms, and a vast number of people are ready to take the matter into their own hands. Such a state of things might force me to call out the militia to prevent a civil war; *and such is the excitement of the country that I fear that the militia, when assembled, would be beyond control.* * * * You have made it necessary that a *posse* should be assembled to execute legal process; and that *posse*, as fast as it assembles, is in danger of being imbued with the mobocratic spirit."

20. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 538-541.

"The Way is Open"—to the West!

On a hasty consultation with his brother Hyrum, Dr. Richards, and Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel, after the return of the latter from their conference with Governor Ford, it was decided that President Smith should proceed to Washington and lay the situation at Nauvoo before President Tyler, and he informed Governor Ford of this intention in his letter of the 22nd.[21] That plan, however, at a subsequent council meeting, was abandoned. President Smith received an inspiration to go to the west, and all would be well. He said to the trusted brethren in that council:

> "The way is open. It is clear to my mind what to do. All they want is Hyrum and myself; then tell everybody to go about their business, and not collect in groups, but scatter about. There is no danger; they will come here and search for us. Let them search; they will not harm you in person or in property, and not even a hair of your head. We will cross the river tonight, and go away to the west."[22]

This was between nine and ten o'clock on the night of the twenty-second of June, and preparations were at once begun to carry out this impression of the spirit. W. W. Phelps was instructed to take the families of the Prophet and his brother Hyrum to Cincinnati; and that night O. P. Rockwell rowed Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Dr. Richards over

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21. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 545. For close of the history here cited and the consideration of "Mormon" annals thereafter, see *Note* end of this chapter.

22. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 545.

It was while debating the question of submitting to the demands of the governor that the Prophet expressed to Stephen Markham the desire for Hyrum Smith to leave him. "I told Stephen Markham," he is recorded as saying, "that if Hyrum and I were ever taken again we would be massacred, or I was not a prophet of God. I want Hyrum to live to avenge my blood, but he is determined not to leave me." (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 546). Another version of the Prophet's remark is, "I want Hyrum to live to lead the church, but he is determined not to leave me." (Tullidge's *Life of Joseph, the Prophet,* Reorganized church edition, p. 489.) Mr. Tullidge is so far confirmed by other evidence that it is certain at least that Joseph Smith contemplated Hyrum succeeding him, and even ordained him to that purpose. At the October conference following the martyrdom, at which time the twelve apostles were recognized as the presiding quorum of the church, President Brigham Young said: "Did Joseph ordain any man to take his place? He did. Who was it? *It was Hyrum.* But Hyrum fell a martyr before Joseph did." (*Times and Seasons,* vol. v, p. 683).

the Mississippi to Montrose, and then returned with instructions to procure horses for them and make all necessary preparations to start for "the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains."[23]

About ten o'clock the next day the governor's *posse* arrived in Nauvoo to arrest the Prophet, but not finding him it returned to Carthage, leaving a man by the name of Yates to watch for the Prophet's appearing. Yates said that if the mayor of the city, Joseph Smith, and his brother were not given up, the governor had expressed a determination to send his troops into the city and guard it until they were found, if it took three years.

The Voice of False Friends

At this crisis, some of Joseph Smith's friends instead of rendering him all possible assistance to escape from his enemies, complained of his conduct as cowardly and entreated him to return to Nauvoo and not leave them as a false shepherd leaves his flock when the wolves attack them. The parties most forward in making this charge of cowardice were Reynolds Cahoon, L. D. Wasson and Hiram Kimball. Emma Smith, his wife also sent a letter by the hand of Reynolds Cahoon, entreating him to return and give himself up, trusting to the pledges of the governor for a fair trial. Influenced by these entreaties to return, and stung by the taunts of cowardice from those who should have been his friends, he said: "If my life is of no value to my friends, it is of none to myself." And after a brief consultation with Rockwell and his brother Hyrum, against his better judgment, and with the conviction in his soul that he would be killed, he resolved to return; and crossed over the river that evening to Nauvoo.[24]

Word was sent to the governor on the 23rd by the hand of Theodore Turley and Jedediah M. Grant that President

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23. *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, pp. 332-3; also *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 547-548.
24. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 549.

Smith would be ready to go to Carthage as early the next day as the governor's *posse* could meet him, provided he could be assured of a fair trial, and his witnesses not be abused. That message was delivered to the governor, and he decided at once to send a *posse* to escort the Nauvoo party to Carthage; but through the influence which Wilson Law, Joseph H. Jackson and others of like character had over him he changed his good intention of sending a *posse* and ordered the messengers to return that night with orders to Joseph Smith and the city council to be in Carthage the next day by ten o'clock without an escort; and he declared that if the mayor and council did not come Nauvoo would be destroyed.

Owing to the jaded condition of their horses Turley and Grant did not reach Nauvoo until daylight of the twenty-fourth. After the orders of the governor were delivered, these faithful brethren who reported them began to warn the Prophet against trusting himself in the hands of his enemies at Carthage, but he stopped them and would not hear them further—he had decided upon his course.

The Melancholy Journey to Carthage

Early on the morning of the twenty-fourth, President Smith and the members of the city council, accompanied by a few friends, started for Carthage to give themselves up. As they passed the temple, the party paused, and the Prophet looked with admiration upon the noble edifice and the glorious landscape, which everywhere from that spot greets the eye, and then said: "This is the lovliest place, and the best people under the heavens; little do they know the trials that await them!" On the outskirts of the city the party passed the home of Squire D. H. Wells, who at the time was sick. President Smith dismounted and called to see him. At parting the Prophet said to him cheerfully: "Squire Wells, I wish you to cherish my memory; and do not think me the worst man in the world either."

About ten o'clock the party arrived within four miles

of Carthage and there met a company of sixty mounted militiamen under the command of Captain Dunn, on their way to Nauvoo with orders from Governor Ford to demand the state arms in possession of the Nauvoo Legion. It was on the occasion of meeting these troops that President Smith uttered these prophetic words:

> *"I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; But I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offense towards God, and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall yet be said of me—he was murdered in cold blood."*[25]

At the request of Captain Dunn, President Smith in his capacity of lieutenant general of the legion, countersigned the governor's order for the state arms. But Captain Dunn also prevailed upon him to return to Nauvoo and assist in collecting the arms, promising afterwards the militia under his command would escort himself and party into Carthage, and he would protect them even at the risk of his own life, to which his men assented by three hearty cheers. It is supposed that Captain Dunn feared the people in Nauvoo might become exasperated and resent the indignity offered them in demanding the surrender of the state arms. Hence his anxiety to have the Prophet return. A message was sent to the governor informing him of this new move.

The arms were collected without any difficulty, though the people were reluctant to surrender them, since disarming them and allowing their enemies who had vowed their ex-

25. See letter of Taylor and Richards to the saints in England announcing the martyrdom, (*Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 775.) The letter is dated July 9th, 1844. See also *Times and Seasons*, July 15th, 1844. Hyrum Smith also seems to have had a premonition of the approaching tragedy; for while in the midst of his preparations for going to Carthage, this same morning, he read the following paragraph near the close of the 12th chapter of *Ether*, ver. 38, in the *Book of Mormon* (current edition) and turned down the leaf upon it:

"And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord that he would give unto the Gentiles grace, that they might have charity. And it came to pass that the Lord said unto me, if they have not charity, it mattereth not unto you, thou hast been faithful; wherefore thy garments are clean. And because thou hast seen thy weakness, thou shalt be made strong even unto the sitting down in the place which I have prepared in the mansions of my Father. And now I * * * bid farewell unto the Gentiles; yea, and also unto my brethren whom I love, until we shall meet before the judgment-seat of Christ, where all men shall know that my garments are not spotted with your blood." (See also *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. 135.)

termination to keep their arms, smacked of treachery; but the order of the governor and the advice of their Prophet-leader was obeyed. The arms were taken to the Masonic Hall and stacked up, Quartermaster-General Buckmaster receiving them.

The arms collected, Captain Dunn thanked the people for their promptness in complying with the demands of the governor, and promised them that while they conducted themselves in such a peaceable manner they should be protected. The company of militia accompanied by President Smith and his party started for Carthage bout six in the evening.

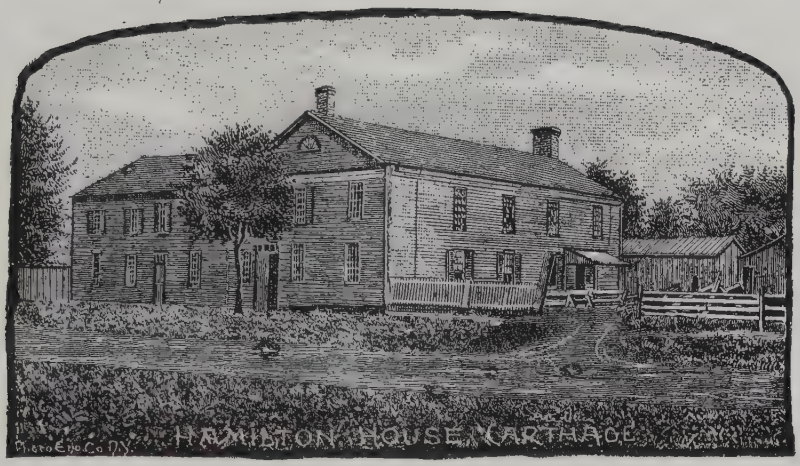
Passing the Masonic Hall where a number of the citizens of Nauvoo still lingered, having collected there to witness the surrender of state arms, the Prophet raised his hat and said: "Boys, if I don't come back, take care of yourselves. I am going like a lamb to the slaughter."[26]

When the company was passing President Smith's farm he stopped and looked at it for a long time. Then after he had passed it he turned and looked again, and yet again several times. His action occasioned some remarks by several of the company, to which, in reply he said: "If some of you had such a farm, and knew you would not see it any more, you would want to take a good look at it for the last time."

It was midnight of the 24th when the party entered Carthage, but a militia company encamped on the public square—the Carthage Greys—were aroused and gave vent to profane threats as the company passed, of which the following is a specimen: "Where's the d—n Prophet?" "Stand away, you McDonough boys,[27] and let us shoot the d—n Mormons!" "G—d d—n you, old Joe, we've got you now!" "Clear the way, and let us have a view of Joe

26. *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 343.

27. Dunn's Dragoons were from Augusta, in the extreme southeast corner of Hancock county, but are several times mistakenly referred to by other writers as "McDonough" county troops.



HAMILTON HOUSE, CARTHAGE, ILLINOIS

Headquarters of Governor Ford During the Period of the Martyrdom

Smith, the Prophet of God. He has seen the last of Nauvoo! We'll use him up now!"

Amid such profanity and abuse, and violent threats, much of which must have been overheard by Governor Ford, the Prophet's party proceeded to Hamilton's hotel, which it entered and took quarters for the night. Under the same roof were sheltered the apostates of Nauvoo, Joseph H. Jackson, the Foster brothers, the Higbees and the Laws, besides other desperate men who had sworn to take the life of President Joseph Smith.

The crowd which had followed the Nauvoo party from the public square still hung around the Hamilton House yelling and cursing, and acting like ravenous beasts hungry for their prey. Governor Ford pushed up a window—for he, too, was quartered at the Hamilton House—and thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, I know your great anxiety to see Mr. Smith, which is natural enough, but it is quite too late tonight for you to have that opportunity; but I assure you, gentlemen, you shall have that privilege tomorrow morning, as I will cause him to pass before the troops upon the square, and I now wish you, with this assurance, quietly and peaceably to return to your quarters." In answer to this there was a faint "Hurrah, for Tom Ford," and the crowd withdrew. They could afford to wait. They were sure of their prey.

Note

Sources of Latter-day Saint History From the Close of the Prophet's Journal

The close of the history of the church, really "annals," Joseph Smith's *Journal*, from which the *History of the Church*, Period I, was written, so far as it was dictated by Joseph Smith, closes with his entry on the 22nd of June, 1844; and with these words: "I told Stephen Markham that if I and Hyrum were ever taken again we should [would] be massacred, or I was not a prophet of God. I want Hyrum to live and avenge my blood, but he is determined not to leave me."

After that date for the pro-"Mormon" side of events occurring in the few remaining days of the Prophet's life, we are dependent upon a

narrative made up from the *Journals* kept at the time by Dr. Willard Richards, and the statements published by John Taylor, Messrs. Reid and Woods, and John S. Fullmer, and the writing and statements of Dan Jones, Cyrus H. Wheelock, Stephen Markham, and many others who were personally acquainted with the transactions, edited and harmonized by the church historian of that and a later period. (See *History of the Church,* Period I, Vol. VI, Introduction, ch. xxviii). This is what is known as the first compilation of data by the church historians, under the title —

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
ARREST, IMPRISONMENT,
AND
MARTYRDOM
OF
PRESIDENT JOSEPH SMITH, AND PATRIARCH
HYRUM SMITH, IN CARTHAGE JAIL,
HANCOCK COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

This narrative extends from the 22nd of June, 1844 to the 29th of June, closing with the account of the burial of the Prophet; to which was added, in later years, excerpts from Ford's *History of Illinois.* (See *Millennial Star,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 332, *et seq,* to p. 584). Also this division of the history is published in *History of the Church,* Period I, Vol. VI, Chs. xxviii to xxxiii, inclusive.

A second Compilation of *data* was made by the church historians extending from the 22nd of June, 1844, to August the 8th of the same year, at which time the quorum of the twelve apostles was accepted as the presiding council of the church, and with that incident the church historians close what they call in the *Millennial Star, The History of Joseph Smith.* (See *Millennial Star,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 598 *et seq. passim,* to p. 792; and in Vol. XXV of the *Star,* from p. 6, *et seq, passim,* to p. 280, inclusive). Of these compilations and the whole *History of Joseph Smith,* cited so frequently in these pages as the *History of the Church,* Period I, the church historians, George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff say:

"* * * *The History of Joseph Smith* is now before the world, and we are satisfied that a history more correct in its details than this was never published. To have it strictly correct, the greatest possible pains have been taken by the historians and clerks engaged in the work. They were eye and ear witnesses of nearly all the transactions recorded in this history, most of which were reported as they transpired, and, where they were not personally present, they have had access to those who were.

Moreover, since the death of the Prophet Joseph, the history has been carefully revised under the strict inspection of President Brigham Young, and aproved of by him.

We, therefore, hereby bear our testimony to all the world, unto whom these words shall come, that the *History of Joseph Smith* is true, and is one of the most authentic histories ever written.

We were, much of the time associated with him in his travels and ministry since he organized the church of Christ upon the earth. He labored diligently for the salvation and benefit of the human family. He ever taught and practiced, in public and in private, virtue, holiness and truth.

His brother Hyrum was martyred at the same time with him. He, also, was a great and good man, a wise counselor to his brother Joseph and a prophet and patriarch in the church, and the spirit of his office was with him up to the time of his death.

They were slain for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ, and the people and nation who have persecuted them unto death and shed their blood will assuredly find their words fulfilled upon their heads, even in speedy and certain destruction, as were the words of the Savior fulfilled upon the Jewish nation for stoning and killing the prophets and shedding the blood of the Lord's anointed.

[Signed] "Geo. A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, Historians."[28]

After the above sources our main church annals are published in the *Millennial Star,* under the title, History of Brigham Young, beginning in Vol. XXV, p. 295, and continuing to Vol. XXVII, p. 553. This division of the published annals consists of the *Autobiography of Brigham Young,* from his birth up to the 8th of August meeting at Nauvoo, 1844; and the *Histories* and *Autobiographies* of a number of other leading elders, among them Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards *et al.* After this our annals are in *Ms.* volumes scattered through many private *Journals,* Senate and House executive *Documents;* and always the *Revelations* given to the church; periodicals and private and official documents.

28. *Millennial Star,* vol. xxv, pp. 279 to 280.

CHAPTER LVI

Preliminary Steps to Martyrdom

EARLY in the morning of the 25th of June, at Carthage, President Smith, his brother Hyrum and the members of the Nauvoo city council named in the warrant of arrest sworn out by Francis M. Higbee, voluntarily surrendered themselves to Constable Bettisworth. Shortly afterwards the Prophet was again arrested by the same constable on a charge of "treason" against the state and people of Illinois, on the oath of Augustine Spencer.[1] Hyrum was arrested on a similar charge, sworn out by Henry O. Norton.

The Arrest of the Prophet for "Treason"

Soon after the arrest of President Smith for treason[2] Governor Ford presented himself at the Hamilton House, and requested the Brothers Smith to accompany him, as he de-

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1. Augustine Spencer was an unworthy member of a very worthy and honorable family (a brother of Orson and Daniel Spencer), that received the New Dispensation of the gospel at West Stockbridge, Berkshire county, Mass., 1838-1840. Evidently Augustine fell under the influence of the seceders from the church at Nauvoo. Elder Parley P. Pratt under date of May 3rd, 1844, wrote from Richmond, Mass., to President Smith and Orson Spencer, informing them that Augustine Spencer in letters to the saints in the east was secretly disseminating the gossip of Nauvoo and the fulminations of the disaffected parties among the saints in the east, embittering their minds against the work, and doing great harm to their faith. (Pratt's letter is published in *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 354-5). Norton was also an apostate.

2. The "treason" consisted in calling out the Nauvoo Legion on the 18th of June, proclaiming the city, "within the limits of its corporation, under martial law." This was called "levying war against the state." (Gregg's *History of Hancock County*, p. 321. See also Proclamation, *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 497.) Governor Ford commenting on the charge of "treason" says: "The overt act of treason charged against them consisted in the alleged levying of war against the state by declaring martial law in Nauvoo, and in ordering out the legion to resist the *posse comitatus*. Their actual guiltiness of the charge would depend upon circumstances. If their opponents had been seeking to put the law in force in good faith, and nothing more, then an array of military force in open resistance to the *posse comitatus* and the militia of the state, most probably would have amounted to treason. But if those opponents merely intended to use the process of the law, the militia of the state, and the *posse comitatus*, as cats-paws to compass the possession of their persons for the purpose of murdering them afterwards, *as the sequel demonstrated the fact to be*, it might well be doubted whether they were guilty of treason." (Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 337). Italics are mine—Author.

sired to present them to the militia troops, in fulfillment of his promise to them of the night before. The troops had been drawn up in two lines, and Joseph and Hyrum Smith linking arms with Brigadier-General Miner R. Deming, passed down the lines followed by their friends and a company of Carthage Greys. They were introduced as "General" Joseph and "General" Hyrum Smith, of the Nauvoo Legion. The Carthage Greys, a few minutes before, at the headquarters of General Deming, had revolted and behaved in an uproarious manner, but were pacified by the governor, and accompanied him, General Deming, and the Prophet and his party to where the other troops were drawn up in line. Here they again revolted because the Brothers Smith were introduced to the troops from McDonough county as "Generals Smith." Some of the officers of the Carthage Greys threw up their hats, drew their swords and said they would introduce themselves to "the d—ned Mormons in a different style." They were again pacified by the governor, who promised them "full satisfaction." But they continued to act in such an insubordinate manner that General Deming put them under arrest,[3] but afterwards released them without punishment.

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3. This incident about the revolt of the Carthage Greys is thus related in Gregg's *History of Hancock County*, p. 372: "It seems that after the McDonough regiment had been disbanded, and were about to return home, they expressed a desire to see the prisoners. The wish was reasonable, and as the easiest mode of gratifying it they were drawn up in line, and General Deming with the two prisoners, one on each arm, and the Greys as an escort passed along the line of troops, Deming introducing them as 'General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith,' of the Nauvoo Legion. The Greys not aware that this was done at the request of the McDonough men, and not satisfied to be made an escort to such a display exhibited signs of dissatisfaction, and finally gave vent to their feelings by hisses and groans. As a punishment for this offense they were afterward ordered under arrest. In the meantime there was great excitement in the company. As a detachment of the troops was being detailed for the purpose of putting the general's order into execution, the officer in command of the Greys addressed them a few words and then said: 'Boys will you submit to an arrest for so trifling an offense?' 'No!' was the unanimous response. *'Then load your pieces with ball!'* was the sullen order. In the meantime some explanations had been made, which permitted General Deming to countermand the order of arrest, and the Greys were quietly marched back to their encampment."

This account says nothing of the fact that the night before, Governor Ford had promised all the troops a view of General Smith; and that the Greys had been in revolt at General Deming's headquarters before the party, including Joseph and Hyrum Smith, reached the McDonough troops. Moreover the writer was

A Prophecy—"Scenes of Blood!"

Shortly after this episode with the Carthage Greys, a number of the officers of other militia companies and other gentlemen curious to see the "Prophet" crowded into the hotel. President Smith took occasion to ask them if there was anything in his appearance to indicate that he was the desperate character his enemies represented him to be. To which they replied, "No, sir, your appearance would indicate the very contrary, General Smith; but we cannot see what is in your heart, neither can we tell what are your intentions." To which President Smith promptly replied:

"Very true, gentlemen, you cannot see what is in my heart, and you are therefore unable to judge me or my intentions; but I can see what is in your hearts, and I will tell you what I see. I can see that you thirst for blood, and nothing but my blood will satisfy you. It is not for crime of any description that I and my brethren are thus continually persecuted, and harassed by our enemies, but there are other motives, and some of them I have expressed, so far as relates to myself; *and inasmuch as you and the people thirst for blood, I prophesy in the name of the Lord that you shall witness scenes of blood and sorrow to your entire satisfaction. Your souls shall be perfectly satiated with blood, and many of you who are now present shall have an opportunity to face the cannon's mouth from sources you think not of, and those people that desire this great evil upon me and my brethren shall be filled with sorrow because of the scenes of desolation and distress that await them.* They shall seek for peace and shall not be able to find it. Gentlemen, you will find what I have told you to be true."[4]

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informed by Colonel H. G. Ferris, when in Carthage in 1885, investigating these matters, that when word arrived in Carthage that Joseph Smith would surrender himself to the authorities, if the governor would pledge him protection and a fair trial, the governor made a speech to the mixed multitude of troops and citizens in which he stated the proposition of the Smiths, and wanted to know if they would sustain him in pledging them protection, to which they responded in the affirmative. There was some talk, too, of sending the Greys as a *posse* to escort the Smiths into Nauvoo. Against this proceeding General Deming protested and told Governor Ford that the pledge of protection made by the crowd and the troops was not to be depended upon, it was insincere, and that the lives of the Smiths were not to be trusted to the Carthage Greys. Colonel Ferris was present at the above meeting, a member of the Greys, and was the writer's informant. Such the statement to me by Colonel Ferris.—B. H. Roberts.

4. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 358. This prediction was fulfilled to the men of western Illinois during the Mexican war in which the 1st and 2nd Illinois regiments led by Colonel John J. Hardin and William H. Bissel, were nearly annihilated, in the battle of *Buena Vista*, (See *Note* 1 end of this chapter for an account of the disaster which befell these regiments

The members of the Nauvoo city council under arrest for riot, in destroying the *Expositor* press, were taken before Robert F. Smith, justice of the peace, also captain of the Carthage Greys. Governor Ford had said, in a communication referred to in the last chapter,[5] that nothing but the appearance of the mayor (Joseph Smith) and the city council before Justice Morrison, who issued the writ against them for "riot," in the first place, would vindicate the majesty of the law; but now that the prisoners were at Carthage, where Justice Morrison lived, and could have been brought before him, and were willing to go before him, they were taken before another justice!

In Carthage Prison

In order to avoid increasing the excitement, the prisoners admitted there was sufficient cause to be bound over to appear at the next term of the circuit court for Hancock county on the charge of "riot." The bonds of all the party amounted to seven thousand five hundred dollars.

Justice Smith dismissed his court without taking any action on the charge of "treason" under which the brothers Smith were still held; but about eight o'clock the same evening, Constable Bettisworth appeared at their lodgings at the Hamilton House and insisted on their going to jail. The Prophet demanded to see the copy of the mittimus which was at first denied; but upon his counsel, Messrs. Wood and Reid, informing the constable that the accused were entitled

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and also one from Kentucky—the 2nd—commanded by Colonel McKee). If that event—described by Gregg as the "saddest, and for Illinois, the most mournful event of that battle-worn day"—February 23rd, 1847—should be added, the war sacrifices of Illinois in men in the "War Between the States"—which sacrifices exceeded those of other northern states—population taken into account. (See Gregg's History of Illinois in *History of Hancock County*, pp. 129-130, and *Notes* 1 and 2, end of this chapter).

5. "I require any and all of you who are or shall be accused, to submit yourselves to be arrested by the same constable, by virtue of the same warrant, and be tried by the same magistrate whose authority has hitherto been resisted. Nothing short of this can vindicate the dignity of violated law and allay the just excitement of the people." (Letters of Governor Ford to Joseph Smith, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 301; also *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 533-537.)

to a hearing before a justice before they could be sent to prison, to the surprise of all the constable produced a mittimus, issued by Justice Robert F. Smith. It stated that Joseph and Hyrum Smith were under arrest charged with treason; "and have been," so the paper read, "brought before me, as a justice of the peace, in and for said county, for trial, at the seat of justice hereof, which trial has been necessarily postponed, by reason of the absence of material witnesses."[6] Now, this "mittimus," so far as it related to the prisoners appearing before Justice Smith for trial, was untrue; "unless," as lawyer Reid says, in the account he published of these proceedings—"unless the prisoners could have appeared before the justice without being present in person or by counsel!" The same representation of the case is made by lawyer James W. Woods,[7] associated with Mr. Reid as counsel for President Smith.

Most vigorous protest was made against this unlawful proceeding, but to no avail.

Elder John Taylor went to the governor and reminded him of his pledges of protection, and expressed his dissatisfaction at the course things had taken, and told the governor that if they were to be subject to mob rule, and, contrary to law, be dragged to prison at the instance of every scoundrel whose oath could be bought for a dram of whisky, then the governor's protection availed very little, and they had miscalculated his promises.[8]

In the meantime a drunken rabble had collected in the street in front of the Hamilton House, and Captain Dunn, with some twenty men came to guard the prisoners to the jail. The Prophet's friends followed him through the excited crowd in the direction of the jail. Stephen Markham walked

6. Copy of the mittimus containing the false statement is given at length in the *Times and Seasons* of July 1st, 1844, vol. v, no. 12.

7. A somewhat lengthy statement of the events of the martyrdom and of the days immediately preceding it is given by Reid and Woods and published in the *Times and Seasons* of July 1st, 1844, vol. v, no. 12.

8. See Taylor's statement in the Introduction to Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, pp. 35-36.

on one side of him, and his brother Hyrum and Dan Jones on the other, and with their walking sticks kept back the rabble, which several times broke through the guard, while Elder John Taylor, Willard Richards and John S. Fullmer walked behind them.

The jail was reached and the prisoners given in charge of Mr. George W. Stigall, who first put them in the cell used for criminals, but afterwards gave them the more comfortable quarters known as the "debtors' apartment." When night came the prisoners and their friends stretched themselves out on the floor of the old jail—and so passed the night of the twenty-fifth.

Prison Interview With Governor Ford

Governor Ford represents in his *History of Illinois,* that these men were placed in prison to protect them from the rabble,[9] but says not a word about the protest of the prisoners against being thrust into jail, or the illegal means employed in putting them there.

In the forenoon of the twenty-sixth, a lengthy interview took place between Governor Ford and Joseph Smith in which the whole *Expositor* trouble was reviewed, the causes leading up to the destruction of the *Expositor* press, calling out the legion on which the charge of "treason" was based, and all other affairs connected with the difficulties. Governor Ford condemned the action of the city council in ordering the destruction of the press; but the course pursued by that body was defended by President Smith as the best that could be followed under the circumstances; and urged that even if they had been wrong in the course they had taken, it was a matter for the courts to decide and not a thing for mobs to settle. In conclusion the Prophet told the governor that he considered himself unsafe in Carthage, as the town was swarming with men who had openly sworn to take his life. He understood

9. Ford's *History of Illinois,* p. 338.

the governor contemplated going to Nauvoo, accompanied by the militia, to investigate certain charges about counterfeiting the United States' currency, and if possible secure the dies and other implements used in manufacturing it, and President Smith demanded his freedom that he might go with him. The governor promised him that he should go.[10]

Colonel Thomas Geddes, commander of one of the divisions of the militia then gathered at Carthage, under the orders of Governor Ford, and for many years a prominent citizen in Hancock county, accompanied his excellency on this visit to the "Mormon" leaders in prison; and to Mr. Gregg, the historian of Hancock county—and a pronounced anti-"Mormon,"—he made a statement concerning a conversation between himself and the governor immediately following this visit to the prison, "of which," says Mr. Gregg in recording the incident, "he says his recollection is clear:"

> "While the Smiths were in jail, I went to the jail in company with Governor Ford, and there we conversed with them for some time, the burden of Smith's talk being that they were only acting in self-defense, and only wanted to be let alone. After leaving the jail, and while returning from it, the governor and I had still further conversation about the subject matter. After some time the governor exclaimed, 'Oh, it's all nonsense; you will have to drive these Mormons out yet!' I then said, 'If we undertake that, governor, when the proper time comes, will you interfere?' 'No, I will not,' said he; then, after a pause, adding, *'until you are through.'* "[11]

This incident reveals, and from a non-"Mormon" source, the bias of Governor Ford's mind in this controversy now approaching its terrible climax; and will enable the reader to better understand the part taken by him in the events which follow in this Nauvoo period of our history.

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10. For this conversation *in extenso* as reported by Elder John Taylor who was present, see Introduction of Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, pp. 37-44. The same appears in Captain Burton's *City of the Saints*, 1862. Ford justified himself in breaking the promise he made to Joseph Smith that he would take him to Nauvoo, if he himself went, by saying that his officers were opposed to it as "highly inexpedient and dangerous." (*History of Illinois*, p. 340.)

11. Gregg's *History of Hancock County*, p. 372.

Illegal Demand for the Prisoners

The false mittimus on which President Smith and his brother Hyrum were thrust into prison, ordered the jailor to keep them in custody, "until discharged by due course of law." On the morning of the 26th the prosecutors expressed their wish that the prisoners be brought before the court for examination. Counsel for the defense objected inasmuch as the prisoners had already been committed and the justice and constable had no further control over them; that if they were brought out of prison it must be on *habeas corpus* proceedings or some other "due course of law." The constable, Mr. Bettisworth, with an order from the justice of the peace sought to take the prisoners before the court, but the jailor, Mr. George W. Stigall, refused to give them up until discharged from his custody "by due course of law." In this emergency Justice Robert F. Smith conferred with the governor as to what would be best to do; and that functionary is reported to have said: "We have plenty of troops; there are the Carthage Greys under your command, bring them out."[12]

President Smith and his associates seem to have been uninformed of this movement, and at 3 p. m. sent the following note per hand of John Taylor to their counsel:

"Jail, Carthage, June 26, 3 p. m.

Messrs. Woods and Reid:

Sirs:—Constable Bettisworth called a little while since, and wanted to come in, the guard would not permit [him].[13] We since learned that he wanted to take us before the magistrate, and we have since learned that there is some excitement because we did not go, and we wish to see you without delay.

We are informed that Dr. Foster has said that they can do

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12. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 423; also *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 594.

13. Elder Taylor states that Constable Bettisworth and a Mr. Simpson called at the jail "professing to have some order, but he would not send up his name and the guard would not let him pass." (Taylor's The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith in Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, Introduction, p. 45.)

nothing with us, *only by powder and ball,* as we have done nothing against the law.

Yours,
JOSEPH SMITH,
Per W. RICHARDS."[14]

The suggestion of Governor Ford to call out the Carthage Greys to take the prisoners from the custody of the jailor was acted upon. What the justice had illegally begun the same person as the captain of militia must consummate with unlawful force. Yet when this same governor was appealed to for protection for the prisoners against their illegal imprisonment, he expressed himself as being very sorry the circumstance had occurred, but he really could not interfere with the civil authorities![15]

It was about four in the afternoon of the 26th when the constable and the Carthage Greys appeared at the jail and demanded the prisoners. The jailor protested against the proceedings; so, too, did the counsel for President Smith; but by threats amounting to intimidation, Constable Bettisworth and Frank Worrell, the latter in command of the squad of Carthage Greys that attended the constable, compelled the jailor against his conviction of duty to surrender the prisoners.[16]

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14. Relative to the remark attributed to Dr. Foster in the above note, it is also reported in the Church Historian's Compilation, *Millennial Star,* vol. xxiv, p. 423, that it was a matter of common conversation on the camp ground and in the hotel, in the very presence of the governor that, "The law is too short for these men, but they must not be suffered to go at large;" and "if the law will not reach them, powder and ball must." (*Ibid,* p. 423).

15. Taylor's statement, Introduction, Tyler's *Mormon Battalion,* pp. 35, 36. Mr. H. T. Reid, one of President Smith's counsel, also says on this incident: "His excellency did not think it within the sphere of his duty to interfere, and the prisoners were removed from their lodgings to jail." (Signed statement *Times and Seasons,* July 1, 1844, pp. 561-3.) Governor Ford himself referring to this matter of imprisonment, and excusing himself for not interfering says: "In all this matter the justice of the peace and constable, though humble in office, were acting in a high and independent capacity, far beyond any legal power in me to control." (Ford's *History of Illinois,* p. 338). It is unfortunate for the governor's standing in history that he could not have been impartial in his aloofness in meddling with the civil authority.

16. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star,* xxiv, p. 423; also statement of Mr. Reid, *Times and Seasons* impression of July 1st, 1844. The latter says: "The jailor could find no law authorizing a justice of the peace to demand prisoners committed to his charge, he refused to give them up, until discharged from

Meantime a mob had gathered at the door of the jail and seeing that things had assumed a threatening aspect, President Smith stepped into the crowd, locked arms with one of the worst mobocrats, and with his brother Hyrum on the other arm, and followed by his faithful friends, proceeded to the courthouse. He had been unlawfully thrust into prison, and as illegally dragged out of it, and exposed to imminent danger among his worst enemies.

The counsel for the Brothers Smith asked for a continuance until the next day as they were without witnesses, not having been notified when they would come to trial. A continuance was granted until noon the next day. A new mittimus was made out and the prisoners committed again to prison—their old quarters. But after the prisoners were again lodged in jail, and without consulting either them or their counsel, Justice Robert F. Smith changed the time of the trial from noon of the twenty-seventh until the twenty-ninth.[17]

This change was made, it is supposed—certainly there can be no other reason—in consequence of a decision reached by Governor Ford and his military council to march all his troops on the 27th to Nauvoo, except a company of fifty of the Carthage Greys that would be detailed to guard the prisoners. So Mr. Robert F. Smith, acting, it will be remembered, in the double capacity of a justice of the peace and captain of the Carthage Greys, as a *justice* altered the date of the return of the subpœnas without consultation with the defendants or their counsel, and excused the court until the twenty-ninth, that as a *captain* of a company of militia he

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his custody by due course of law. Upon refusal to give up the prisoners, the company of Carthage Greys marched to the jail, by whose orders I know not, and compelled the jailor against his will and conviction of duty to deliver the prisoners to the constable, who, forthwith took them before Justice Smith, the captain of the Carthage Greys." Mr. Woods corroborates the statement of Mr. Reid. (*Ibid*, pp. 563-4).

17. Statement of both Mr. Reid and Woods, *Times and Seasons* impression of July 1st, 1844, pp. 561-4.

might be free to accompany the military expedition designed to go to Nauvoo.[18]

Night of the 26th of June in Prison

The evening of the twenty-sixth was spent very pleasantly by the prisoners and their friends—John Taylor, Willard Richards, John S. Fullmer, Stephen Markham and Dan Jones. Hyrum occupied the principal part of the time in reading accounts from the *Book of Mormon* of the deliverance of God's servants from prison, and in commenting upon them, with a view, doubtless, of cheering his brother Joseph, since the Prophet had expressed himself as feeling an uneasiness as to his safety, that he had never before experienced when in the hands of his enemies.[19]

Willard Richards, President Smith's secretary and journalizer, worked on late into the night copying important documents by the flickering flame of a tallow candle. President Smith and his brother Hyrum occupied the only bedstead in the room, while their friends lay side by side on mattresses spread out on the floor. Sometime after midnight a single gun was fired near the prison. Richards was startled in his chair, and President Smith rose from the bed where he was and stretched himself upon a mattress between Fullmer and Jones. "Lay your head on my arm for a pillow, Brother John," said he to Fullmer, as he kindly placed his arm under that person's head. Soon all was quiet, except that in a low tone Fullmer and the Prophet continued to talk of presentiments the latter had received of approaching death. "I would like to see my family again," said he, "and would to God that I could preach to the saints in Nauvoo once more." Fullmer tried to cheer him by saying he thought that he would have that privilege many times.

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18. In the final disposition made of the forces, however, it so chanced that Captain Robert F. Smith was assigned to the command of two companies of the Carthage Greys detailed to remain at Carthage and "guard" the prisoners. (*History of Hancock County*, Gregg, p. 322.)

19. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 422.

CARTHAGE PRISON

Again all was silent, and everybody apparently asleep. But President Smith turned to Dan Jones and was heard to say, "Are you afraid to die?" To which the one addressed said: "Has that time come, think you? Engaged in such a cause, I do not think death would have many terrors." And then the Prophet said: "You will see Wales"—his native land—"and fill the mission appointed you, before you die."[20]

So passed the night preceding the day of the tragedy to be enacted at Carthage.

Early in the morning President Smith required Dan Jones to go downstairs and inquire of the guard about the gun that was fired in the night, what the meaning of it was, etc.

The answer Jones received to his inquiry from Frank Worrell, in command of the guard, was: "We have had too much trouble to get old Joe here to let him ever escape alive, and unless you want to die with him, you had better leave before sundown; and you are not a d—n bit better than him for taking his part; and you'll see that I can prophesy better than old Joe, for neither he nor his brother, nor anyone who will remain with them, will see the sun set today." This answer Jones related to President Smith who told him to go to Governor Ford at once and report the words of the guard. On his way to the governor's quarters at the Hamilton House, Jones passed a crowd of men who were being addressed by a person unknown to him. He paused long enough to hear these words:

> "Our troops will be discharged this morning in obedience to orders, and for a sham we will leave the town; but when the governor and the McDonough troops have left for Nauvoo this forenoon, we will return and kill those men if we have to tear the jail down," (applause).

Dan Jones and Governor Ford

These words and what the captain of the guard said were faithfully reported to Governor Ford, in reply to which

20. This prediction was fulfilled. Elder Dan Jones went on a mission to Wales on the 28th of August, 1844, in company with Wilford Woodruff, and performed a most wonderful mission in his native land.

his excellency said: "You are unnecessarily alarmed for the safety of your friends, sir, the people are not that cruel."

Angered at such an answer the following conversation occurred:

"*Jones*: The Messrs. Smith are American citizens, and have surrendered themselves to your excellency upon your pledging your honor for their safety; they are also master Masons, and as such I demand of you the protection of their lives. If you do not this, I have but one more desire, and that is, if you leave their lives in the hands of those men to be sacrificed—

Governor Ford: What is that, sir?

Jones: It is that the Almighty will preserve my life to a proper time and place, that I may testify that you have been timely warned of their danger."[21]

The governor manifested some excitement during this conversation, turning pale at the significant warning Jones gave him. The effect, however, was but momentary.

Jones returned to the jail after his conversation with the governor, but was denied admission. He returned to the governor to secure a pass. He found his excellency in front of the company of dragoons detailed to accompany him to Nauvoo, the rest of the troops had been disbanded, and as they retired they were shouting loudly their intentions only to go a short distance out of town—"when they would return and kill old Joe and Hyrum as soon as the governor was far enough out of town."[22] Jones called the attention

21. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 439; also *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 603.

22. There is no doubt but that Governor Ford erred greatly in the manner in which he disbanded the companies of militia at Carthage. It is customary when the militia has been called together to assist in execution of the laws or to suppress an insurrection, to dismiss the respective companies in charge of their several commanders to be marched home and there disbanded. But in this instance the governor disbanded all the troops, except the Carthage Greys, whom he selected to guard the jail, and Captain Dunn's Augusta dragoons who were to accompany him to Nauvoo. Governor Ford himself, in his *History of Illinois*, represents that there were about twelve or thirteen hundred of the militia at Carthage, and from four to five hundred at Warsaw. As the disbanded militia left the square, they acted in a boisterous manner and were saying the things reported by Jones in the text. I suppose these are the threats of which Governor Ford himself speaks in his history of these unfortunate events, when he says: "I had heard some threats being made, but none of an attack upon the prisoners whilst in jail. These threats seemed to be made by individuals not acting in concert. They were no more than the bluster which might have been expected, and furnished no indication of numbers combining for this or any other purpose." (*History of Illinois*, p. 345).

of the governor to these threats, but that functionary gave no heed to them, though he himself could not have failed to have heard them.

Later in the day Jones was intrusted with a written message from President Smith to lawyer O. H. Browning of Quincy, engaging that gentleman's professional services in the impending examination on the charge of "treason." The pass to the prison Jones applied for was denied to him; but the governor ordered General Deming to give one to Dr. Willard Richards, President Smith's secretary. While waiting for this pass to be made out Jones' life was threatened by the rabble in the street, and Chauncy L. Higbee, one of the seceders from the church, said to him: "We are determined to kill Joe and Hyrum, and you had better go away to save yourself."[23]

The guard at the jail having seen the written message handed to Jones, gave it out to the rabble now infesting Carthage that "Old Joe" was sending orders by Jones to raise the Nauvoo Legion to rescue the prisoners. Whereupon some were in favor of taking the message from Jones by force, others in favor of waylaying him in the woods, and started off with their rifles in hand. In the midst of the disagreement Jones mounted his horse and rode away to Quincy, avoiding, however, the Warsaw road.

Last Messages—Cyrus Wheelock

Early in the morning of the 27th, Cyrus Wheelock visited the prisoners. The morning was a little rainy and Wheelock wore an overcoat, in the inside pocket of which he carried a six-shooter. He passed the guard without close inspection and before leaving the prison handed the revolver to President Smith.[24] As the latter took it, he handed to his

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23. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 439; also *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 604.

24. "The pistol was a six-shooting revolver of Allen's patent (what was called the 'pepper-box' style of pistol); it belonged to me, and was one that I furnished

brother Hyrum a single-barreled pistol left with him earlier in the morning by John S. Fullmer, and remarked: "You may have use for this."

"I hate to use such things or to see them used," said Hyrum Smith. "So do I," replied Joseph, "but we may have to defend ourselves."

Upon this Hyrum took the Fullmer pistol. These were the only weapons the prisoners had, except a heavy hickory walking cane left by Stephen Markham when he took leave of the prisoners.

President Smith dictated the following letter to be sent, per hand of Brother Wheelock, to his wife:

"CARTHAGE JAIL, June 27th, 1844.
20 minutes past eight a. m.

DEAR EMMA:—The governor continues his courtesies, and permits us to see our friends. We hear this morning that the governor will not go down with his troops today to Nauvoo, as was anticipated last evening; but if he does come down with his troops you will be protected; and I want you to tell brother Dunham[25] to instruct the people to stay at home and attend to their own business, and let there be no groups gathering together, unless by permission of the governor they are called together to receive communications from the governor, which would please our people, but let the governor direct.

Brother Dunham, of course, will obey the orders of the government officers, and render them the assistance they require. There is no danger of any exterminating order. Should there be a mutiny among the troops, (which we do not anticipate, excitement is abating) a part will remain loyal and stand for the defense of the state and our rights.

There is one principle which is eternal: It is the duty of all men to protect their lives and the lives of their household, whenever necessity requires, and no power has a right to forbid it, should the last extreme arrive; but I anticipate no such extreme, but caution is the parent of safety.

[Signed] "JOSEPH SMITH."

"*P. S.* Dear Emma, I am very much resigned to my lot, knowing I am justified and have done the best that could be done. Give my love to the children and all my friends, Mr. Brewer, and all who inquire after me; and as for 'treason'—I know that I have not com-

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to Brother Wheelock when he talked of going with me to the east previous to our coming to Carthage. I have it now in my possession." (Statement of President John Taylor, Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, Introduction, p. 47.)

25. Dunham was then the commanding officer of the legion.

mitted any, and they cannot prove an appearance of anything of the kind, so you need not have any fears that any harm can happen to us on that score. May God bless you all. Amen."

To this the following was subsequently added:

"*P. S.*—20 minutes to 10. I just learn that the governor is about to disband his troops, all but a guard to protect us and the peace, and come himself to Nauvoo and deliver a speech to the people. This is right, as I suppose."

To this the Prophet added a few lines by his own hand which were not copied by his secretary.

To this written message were added many verbal ones, so numerous that Willard Richards feared that Wheelock would forget them, and proposed to write them down; but Hyrum Smith remarked: "Brother Wheelock will remember all we tell him, and he will never forget the occurrences of this day."[26]

Among the verbal messages intrusted to Wheelock was one to the commanders of the legion, instructing them to avoid all military display or any other movement likely to produce excitement during the governor's visit to the city. Another to the special friends of President Smith admonishing them to remain perfectly calm and quiet as they valued the feelings and welfare of "their Prophet and Patriarch."

When Wheelock left the jail, Governor Ford had not yet started on his proposed visit to Nauvoo. Wheelock called upon him and said:

"Sir, you must be aware by this time that the prisoners have no fears in relation to any lawful demands made against them, but you have heard sufficient to justify you in belief that their enemies would destroy them if they had them in their power; and now, sir, I am about to leave for Nauvoo, and I fear for those men; they are safe as regards the law, but they are not safe from the hands of traitors, and midnight assassins, who thirst for their blood, and have determined to spill it; and under these circumstances I leave with a heavy heart."[27]

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26. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 460.
27. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv. Governor Ford in effect says the same thing in his first proclamation announcing the murder of the Smiths to the people of Illinois.

To this Governor Ford replied:

"I was never in such a dilemma in my life; but your friends shall be protected, and have a fair trial by the law; in this pledge I am not alone; I have obtained the pledge of the whole of the army to sustain me."

Early in the afternoon—the governor had left Carthage for Nauvoo late in the forenoon—Stephen Markham was sent from the prison to obtain some tobacco for the relief of Dr. Richards who had been taken ill in the morning with stomach trouble. Returning to the jail he was accosted by a man of the name of Stewart who ordered him "to leave the town in five minutes." "I shall not do it," replied Markham. Whereupon he was surrounded by a number of the Carthage Greys, placed on his horse and forced out of town at the point of the bayonet.[28]

This left in Carthage of the prisoner's friends only John Taylor and Dr. Willard Richards.

Notes

1. Fulfillment of Joseph Smith's Prophecy to the Men of Western Illinois as to their Witnessing Scenes of Blood Until Satiated Therewith

In 1846, the president of the United States called upon Illinois to furnish four regiments of volunteers to engage in the war with Mexico, that number being Illinois' *quota* of the 50,000 troops authorized by congress for the war with that country. "This was no sooner known in the state," says Gregg, "than nine regiments, numbering 8,370 men answered the call, though only four of them, amounting to 3,720 men, could be taken." These served chiefly under General Taylor in northeastern and central Mexico, and the 1st and 2nd regiments, as stated in the footnote of the text of this *History*, took a prominent though disastrous part in the battle of Buena Vista, fought on the 22nd and 23rd of February, 1847. For the part taken in that battle by the two regiments named, and the overwhelming disaster which befell them, I give the narrative of Colton's *History of the Battle of Buena Vista*, quoted by Gregg in his History of Illinois, included in his *History of Hancock County*, pp. 120-124:

It will be remembered that the Mexican commander in this famous battle, General Santa Anna, confronted General Taylor's little

28. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 471.

army of less than five thousand men, with a force popularly held to be 20,000, and by Santa Anna's official report acknowledged to be 17,000.[29] "With this superior force Santa Anna poured into the valley of *Aqua Nuva* early on the morning of the 22nd of February, and there was intermittent fighting throughout the day, and both armies bivouacked on the field, resting their arms. Early the next morning the battle was resumed and raged through that day most fiercely." And now Colton's account of the disaster to the 1st and 2nd Illinois regiments:

"As the enemy on our left was moving in retreat along the head of the *plateau,* our artillery was advanced until within range, and opened a heavy fire upon him, while Colonels Hardin, Bissel, and McKee, with their Illinois and Kentucky troops, dashed gallantly forward in hot pursuit. A powerful reserve of the Mexican army was then just emerging from the ravine where it had been organized, and advanced on the plateau, opposite the head of the southernmost gorge. Those who were giving way rallied quickly upon it; when the whole force, thus increased to over 12,000 men, came forward in a perfect blaze of fire. It was a single column, composed of the best soldiers of the republic, having for its advanced battalions the veteran regiments. The Kentucky and Illinois troops were soon obliged to give ground before it and seek the shelter of the second gorge. The enemy pressed on, arriving opposite the head of the second gorge. One-half of the column suddenly enveloped it, while the other half pressed on across the plateau, having for the moment nothing to resist them but the three guns in their front. The portion that was immediately opposed to the Kentucky and Illinois troops, ran down along each side of the gorge, in which they had sought shelter, and also circled around its head, leaving no possible way of escape for them except by its mouth, which opened upon the road. Its sides, which were steep,—at least an angle of 45 degrees,—were covered with loose pebbles and stones, and converged to a point at the bottom. Down there were our poor fellows, nearly three regiments of them (1st and 2nd Illinois and 2nd Kentucky), with but little opportunity to load or fire a gun, being hardly able to keep their feet. Above the whole edge of the gorge, all the way around, was darkened by the serried masses of the enemy, and was bristling with muskets directed on the crowd beneath. It was no time to pause. Those who were not immediately shot down rushed on toward the road, their number growing less and less as they went, Kentuckians and Illinoisans, officers and men, all mixed up in confusion, and all pressing on over the loose pebbles and rolling stones of those shelving, precipitous banks, and having lines and lines of the enemy firing down from each side and rear as they went. Just then the enemy's cavalry, which had gone to the left of the reserve, had come over the spur that divides the mouth of the second gorge from that of the third, and were now closing up the only door through which there was the least shadow of a chance for their lives. Many of those ahead endeavored to force their

29. Marcus Wilson's *History of the United States,* subdivision, "Texas," Appendix, p. 684.

way out, but few succeeded. The lancers (Mexicans) were fully six to one, and their long weapons were already reeking with blood. It was at this time that those who were still back in that dreadful gorge heard, above the din of musketry and the shouts of the enemy around them, the roar of Washington's Battery. No music could have been more grateful to their ears. A moment only, and the whole opening, where the lancers were busy, rang with the repeated explosions of spherical-case shot. They gave way. The gate, as it were, was clear, and out upon the road a stream of our poor fellows issued. They ran panting down toward the battery, and directly under the flight of iron then passing over their heads, into the retreating cavalry. Hardin, McKee, Clay, Willis, Zabriskie, Houghton—but why go on? It would be a sad task indeed to name over all who fell during this twenty minutes' slaughter. The whole gorge, from the plateau to its mouth, was strewed with our dead. All dead! No wounded there—not a man; for the infantry had rushed down the sides and completed the work with the bayonet."

Surely those Illinoisans recruited chiefly from western Illinois, and among them doubtless a number of those who listened to Joseph Smith's prediction, were surfeited with scenes of blood, and faced the cannon's mouth from sources of which they had not thought. In proof that very many of the men of the 1st and 2nd Illinois regiments were from western Illinois and some of them active in the movement against the saints at Nauvoo, see footnote 39, chapter lvi of this *History*.

2. The Further Fulfillment of Joseph Smith's Prediction—The War Between the States

The following "summary" of the volunteer troops organized in Illinois for the war between the states is taken from the Adjutant-General's Report, quoted by Gregg in his History of Illinois, *History of Hancock County*, pp. 129-130.

"The number of the regiment, name of original colonel, call under which recruited, date of organization and muster into the United States' service, place of muster, and aggregate strength of each organization, from which we find that Illinois put into her one hundred and eighty regiments 256,000 men, and into the United States army, through other states, enough to swell the number to 290,000. This far exceeds all the soldiers of the federal government in all the War of the Revolution. Her total years of service were over 600,000. She enrolled men from eighteen to forty-five years of age when the law of congress in 1864—the test time—only asked for those from twenty to forty-five. Her enrollments were otherwise excessive. Her people wanted to go, and did not take the pains to correct the enrollment; thus the basis of fixing the quota was too great, and the quota itself, at least in the trying time, was far above any other state. The demand on some counties, as Monroe, (for example), took every able-bodied man in the county, and then did not have enough to fill the quota.

Moreover, Illinois sent 20,844 men for one hundred days, for whom no credit was asked. She gave to the country 73,000 years of service above all calls. With one-thirteenth of the population of the loyal states, she sent regularly one-tenth of all the soldiers, and in the perils of the closing calls, when patriots were few and weary, she sent one-eighth of all that were called for by her loved and honored son in the White House. Of the brave boys Illinois sent to the front, there were killed in action, 5,888; died of wounds, 3,032; of disease, 19,496; in prison, 967; lost at sea, 205; aggregate 29,588, as upon every field and upon every page of the history of this war, Illinois bore her part of the suffering in the prison-pens of the south. More than 800 names make up the awful column of Illinois' brave sons who died in the rebel prison of Andersonville, Georgia. Who can measure or imagine the atrocities which would be laid before the world were the panorama of sufferings and terrible trials of these gallant men but half unfolded to view? But this can never be done until new words of horror are invented, and new arts discovered by which demoniacal fiendishness can be portrayed, and the intensest anguish of the human soul in ten thousand forms be painted."

The conversation of Joseph Smith at Carthage to which these notes are related as fulfillment of prophecy, as stated in footnote 4, was first published in the *Deseret News* of November 4th, 1857, nearly four years before the first gun was fired in the "War Between the States" —April 12th, 1861.

CHAPTER LVII

The Martyrdom

FOR several days Governor Ford had been arranging for his visit to Nauvoo to make a military display and overawe the citizens of that place, though during the time he had many misgivings as to the wisdom of such a proceeding. On this head he himself has said:

The Governor's Attempt to Overawe Nauvoo

"The force assembled at Carthage amounted to about twelve or thirteen hundred men, and it was calculated that four or five hundred more were assembled at Warsaw. Nearly all that portion resident in Hancock were anxious to be marched into Nauvoo. This measure was supposed to be necessary to search for counterfeit money and the apparatus to make it, and also to strike a salutary terror into the Mormon people by an exhibition of the force of the state, and thereby prevent future outrages, murders, robberies, burnings, and the like, *apprehended* as the effect of Mormon vengeance, on those who had taken a part against them. On my part, at one time, this arrangement was agreed to. The morning of the 27th day of June was appointed for the march; and Golden's Point, near the Mississippi river, and about equi-distant from Nauvoo and Warsaw, was selected as the place of rendezvous. I had determined to prevail on the justice to bring out his prisoners, and take them along. A council of officers, however, determined that this would be highly inexpedient and dangerous, and offered such substantial reasons for their opinions as induced me to change my resolution.

Two or three days' preparations had been made for this expedition. I observed that some of the people became more and more excited and inflammatory the further the preparations were advanced. Occasional threats came to my ears of destroying the city [i. e. Nauvoo], and murdering or expelling the inhabitants.

I had no objection to ease the terrors of the people by such a display of force, and was most anxious also to search for the alleged apparatus for making counterfeit money; and, in fact, to inquire into all the charges against that people, if I could have been assured of my command against mutiny and insubordination. *But I gradually learned, to my entire satisfaction, that there was a plan to get the troops into Nauvoo, and there to begin the war, probably by some of our own party, or some of the seceding Mormons, taking advantage of the night, to fire on our own force, and then laying it on the Mormons. I was satisfied that there were those amongst us fully capable of such an act, hoping that in the alarm, bustle, and confusion of a militia camp,*

the truth could not be discovered, and that it might lead to the desired collision."[1]

The governor then proceeds to estimate the relative strength of the parties to the probable conflict; sums up the folly and wickedness of an attack upon the people of Nauvoo, and adds:

"All these considerations were duly urged by me upon the attention of a council of officers, convened on the morning of the 27th of June. I also urged upon the council, that such wanton and unprovoked barbarity on their part would turn the sympathy of the people in the surrounding counties in favor of the Mormons, and therefore it would be impossible to raise a volunteer militia force to protect such a people against them. Many of the officers admitted that there might be danger of collision. But such was the blind fury prevailing at the time, though not showing itself by much visible excitement, that a small majority of the council adhered to the first resolution of marching into Nauvoo; most of the officers of the Schuyler and McDonough militia voting against it, and most of those of the county of Hancock voting in its favor."[2]

Notwithstanding the majority of the officers still voted for the military display in Nauvoo, Governor Ford decided against making it, and ordered the troops disbanded both at Carthage and Warsaw, except two companies of the Carthage Greys, these to guard the prisoners; and Captain Dunn's company of dragoons, from Augusta, a town in the extreme southeast of Hancock county, the township cornering on Schuyler and Adams county[3]—to form his escort to Nauvoo, to search for counterfeit plant and to arrest such as might be found violating the law in this kind. This decision to

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1. Ford's *History of Illinois*, pp. 339, 340. *Italics* in above are mine—Author.
2. *Ibid.*
3. It is stated in several places in Mormon works (see Jensen's *Joseph Smith, the Prophet, Rise and Fall of Nauvoo*, Roberts; and even in the *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 603) that it was a company of McDonough county militia that formed the governor's escort to Nauvoo; but the statement is an error. (See Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 345; and also Gregg's *History of Hancock County*, p. 322). The last authority, quoting Ford, in part, says: "Having ordered the guard (the Greys) for the prisoners, and left General Deming in command in Carthage, and discharged the residue of the militia, Ford immediately departed for Nauvoo, eighteen miles distant, accompanied by Colonel Buckmaster, quartermaster general, and Captain Dunn's (Augusta) company of dragoons," (Gregg's *History of Hancock County*, p. 322, and Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 345.)

march into Nauvoo with Dunn's dragoons in search of counterfeit apparatus was a concession by Governor Ford to the desire among his officers that such a visit should be made to Nauvoo for those purposes; also, "and more particularly, to terrify the Mormons" from attempting any open or secret measures of vengeance against the citizens of the county who had taken part against them and their leaders.[4] The governor's expedition was provisioned for two days, and expected to spend that time in Nauvoo. Four miles out from Carthage, however, Colonel Buckmaster expressed his suspicion that an attack would be made upon the jail. According to Ford's account he based his "mere suspicion" upon having seen "two persons converse together at Carthage with some air of mystery!"[5] In view of the many evidences of deep hatred manifested in Carthage towards the prisoners during their incarceration, and the many warnings conveyed directly to Governor Ford as to the dangers threatening them, this statement of suspicion awakened by "two persons conversing together with some air of mystery" seems wonderfully like dealing with mere puerilities. "I myself," continues the governor at this point, "entertained no suspicion of such an attack; at any rate, none before the next day in the afternoon; because it was notorious that we had departed from Carthage with the declared intention of being absent at least two days."[6]

The governor's assurance that there would be no attack upon the prisoners rested upon the comfortable conviction that no person would attack the jail while he was in Nauvoo, and thereby expose his life and the lives of his companions "to the sudden vengeance of the Mormons upon hearing of the death of their leaders."[7] The precaution taken by the

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4. Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 342.
5. Ford's *History of Illinois*, pp. 241-2.
6. Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 346.
7. *Ibid.* Afterwards Governor Ford became fixed in the opinion that the plans of the anti-"Mormons" included the murdering of himself as well as of the Brothers Smith. He says: "As for myself, I was well convinced that those, whoever

governor to suppress the rising fears of himself and Colonel Buckmaster, and provide against even "mere possibilities," was to send one of his company back to Carthage with a special order to Captain Robert F. Smith "to guard the jail strictly, at the peril of his life" until the governor's return.[8]

This incident closed, the march Nauvoo-ward by the governor's troops was resumed. But after four miles more had been covered—making eight in all from Carthage—while the governor's reflections had convinced him that "no attack would be made upon the jail that day or night," he determined at this point to abandon all search for counterfeit apparatus at Nauvoo, as also to "defer an examination of all the other abominations charged on that people, in order to return to Carthage that same night, * * * to prevent an attack upon the jail, if any had been meditated." A halt of the troop was called; the baggage wagons ordered to stay where they were until towards evening and then return to Carthage; while the governor and the remainder of the expedition would hasten on to Nauvoo,[9] to reprimand the people for past conduct, inform them "what degree of excitement and hatred prevailed against them in the minds of the whole people," and "warn them against attempts at vengeance upon those who had taken part against them."

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they were, who assassinated the Smiths, meditated in turn my assassination by the Mormons. The very circumstances of the case fully corroborated the information which I afterwards received, that upon consultation of the assassins it was agreed amongst them that the murder must be committed whilst the governor was at Nauvoo; that the Mormons would naturally suppose that he had planned it; and that in the first outpouring of their indignation they would assassinate him, by way of retaliation. And that thus they would get clear of the Smiths and the governor all at once. They also supposed that if they could so contrive the matter as to have the governor of the state assassinated by the Mormons, the public excitement would be greatly increased against that people, and would result in their expulsion from the state at least." (Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 349.) Gregg ridicules this conclusion of the governor's and says that "for this suspicion he had not the shadow of evidence." (*History of Hancock County*, p. 323.)

8. *Ibid*, p. 346.

9. The vacillating course of Governor Ford in all this proceeding justly lays him open to the cutting remark of the late United States Secretary of State, John Hay, who says: "During this day or two the governor seemed plagued by the foul fiend Flibbertigibet. He changed his mind every hour, with the best intentions. When the troops had started for Golden's Point, he began to doubt, as well he might. They were going to Nauvoo to search for 'bogus' (a noun which in that day was

Governor Ford in Nauvoo

The governor arrived in Nauvoo about four o'clock in the afternoon and immediately the people assembled[10] to hear his address on the points above enumerated. "Some impatience and resentment," says the governor, "were manifested by the Mormons at the recital of the various reports enumerated concerning them; which they strenuously and indignantly denied to be true. They claimed to be a law-abiding people, and insisted that as they looked to the law alone for their protection, so were they careful themselves to observe its provisions."[11] The impatience and resentment at the governor's remarks were very natural; for he insulted the people by assuming that all their worst enemies had said against them was true; and he threatened them with dire calamities. He upbraided them for having so many firearms; and this after the experiences of the saints in Missouri, with which Governor Ford was familiar, and the constant menace of an attack upon the city by the Missourians! He also voiced the public fear that "these arms would be used against government!" "I know," he continued, "there is a great prejudice against you on account of your peculiar religion, but you ought to be praying saints, not military saints. Depend upon it, a little more misbehaviour from the citizens, and the torch, which is now already lighted, will be applied, the city may be reduced to ashes, and extermination would inevitably follow.[12]

In closing his address the governor took a vote of his

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used to denote an ingenious imitation of the current coin, manufactured in the "City of the Saints"), and to overawe the Mormons by a calm display of force. What if they searched for other things, and did not content themselves with a calm display? These thoughts so agitated Governor Ford, that he wrote an order on the 27th countermanding former orders, and disbanding the militia. He then mounted his horse and rode to Nauvoo to deliver a firm and paternal address to the Mormons. All this was done with the best intentions. (*Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869). Mr. Hay also speaks of Ford as 'a man of the best intentions, that accomplished nothing but patching the infernal pavement.'" (*Ibid*).

10. The number present according to Ford was variously estimated at from one to five thousand.

11. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 502.

12. *Ibid*, p. 502.

auditors on the question, "Whether they would strictly observe the laws, even in opposition to their Prophet and leaders;" and adds: "The vote was unanimous in favor of this proposition."[13]

Ford's party visited the temple while in Nauvoo. Alpheus Cuttler, one of the building committee sent William G. Sterrett to quietly watch them while in and about the building. Sterrett was close to the governor in the basement of the temple where the party was inspecting the baptismal font, which rested upon twelve oxen—four on each side and two at each end—when one of the governor's company called his attention to one of the oxen that had part of one horn broken off. The governor stepped up to it and laying his hand upon it said: " 'This is the cow with the crumply horn' that we read of." One of the staff continued: "That tossed the maiden all forlorn!" At which they all laughed. Several of the horns were broken off by the governor's attendants and one at least was carried away as a souvenir.[14]

The governor and his party were invited to stay over night at Nauvoo but the invitation was declined. On leaving the city Dunn's troop of dragoons were drawn up in military order and dashed down Main street, performing the sword exercise, giving all the passes, guards, cuts and thrusts, taking up the whole width of the street and making as great a display of skill as they could. "This was apparently done," says the chronicler, "to intimidate the people, as the governor had remarked in his speech that they need not expect to set themselves up against such 'well disciplined troops.' "

It was six-thirty p. m. when the governor and his escort left Nauvoo on their return to Carthage.

The Warsaw Contingent of Governor Ford's Force

The order of Governor Ford to disband the four or five hundred troops that had started from Warsaw to meet

13. Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 347.
14. Affidavit of Wm. G. Sterrett, published in Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, pp. 421-2.

him at Golden's Point (a point near the Mississippi river, seven or eight miles south of Nauvoo) met the Warsaw forces under command of Colonel Levi Williams on the prairie about seven miles from Warsaw. The courier bearing the order of disbandment was Mr. David Mathews, "a well known citizen of Warsaw" (Hay). This order was no pleasant news to Colonel Levi Williams' forces. According to Mr. Hay's *Atlantic Monthly* article (1869),[15] the several companies of militia under that officer's command began the march in "high glee, fully expecting to march to the 'City of the Saints';" and not doubting that before they left it some occasion would arise that would give pretext for an assault upon the city.[16] After Colonel Levi Williams, who was in command of the whole force, the principal officers were Captain Wm. N. Grover, who afterwards became United States attorney for Missouri; Thomas Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal;* Captain C. Davis, then a state senator, and later member of congress; and Captain Mark Aldrich. The last named captain made a speech after the governor's order disbanding the troop had been read, calling for volunteers to go to Carthage. He did not succeed well in awakening enthusiasm for the enterprise, according to the chronicle; but Captain Grover and Sharp, the latter being "a spirited and impressive talker," soon "had a respectable squad about him." The talk of

15. I am following Mr. Hay's December No., 1869, *Atlantic Monthly* account of the movement of these Warsaw militia companies because "Dr. Hay," "surgeon of the regiment," and spoken of as among the "cooler heads" of the Warsaw forces, and who denounced the proposed march to Carthage, and "went at once back to Warsaw," was the father of the late secretary of state, (see *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. xi, p. 12; cf. Gregg's *History of Hancock County*, p. 330), author of the article in question, and hence, doubtless, he received his information from his father who was on the ground and a reliable source of information upon the movement of the Warsaw division of the governor's troops, at least up to the time of his leaving them.

16. "There were none but words of law and order on their lips," says Mr. Hay, "but every man clearly understood that Nauvoo was to be destroyed before they returned. A public meeting in Warsaw had unanimously 'Resolved, that we will forthwith proceed to Nauvoo and exterminate the city and its people;' a manifesto which seemed too peppery even for the palate of Mr. Sharp, editor of the *Signal*, who, when he published it, added the saving clause, 'if necessary.' 'Of course it will be necessary,' said these law-abiding militia-men as they marched out of Warsaw on the Nauvoo road."

these men, it is said, was vague, and "the purpose of murder does not seem to have been hinted;" but they did not purpose being made "the tools and puppets of Tommy Ford. They were going to Carthage to see the boys about it, and talk things over." While they were deliberating over the matter on the prairie where they had been disbanded, a courier arrived from the Carthage Greys. "It is impossible to this day," remarks John Hay, "to declare exactly the purport of this message. It is usually reported and believed that he brought an assurance from the officers of this company that they would be found on guard at the jail where the Smiths were confined; that they would make no real resistance,—merely enough to save appearances," then follows this passage from Hay:

"This message was not communicated to the men. They followed their leaders off on the road to Carthage with rather vague intentions. They were annoyed at the prospect of their picnic coming so readily to a close, at losing the fun of sacking Nauvoo, [sic!] at having to go home without material for a single romance. Nearly one hundred and fifty started with their captains, but they gradually dwindled in number to seventy-five. These trudged along under the fierce summer sun of the prairies towards the town where the cause of all the trouble and confusion of the last few years awaited them. They sang on the way a rude parody of a camp-meeting hymn called in the west the 'Hebrew Children:'

'Where now is the Prophet Joseph?
Where now is the Prophet Joseph?
Where now is the Prophet Joseph?
Safe in Carthage jail!'

"The farther they walked the more the idea impressed itself upon them that now was the time to finish the matter totally. The unavowed design of the leaders communicated itself magnetically to the men, until the entire company became fused into one mass of bloodthirsty energy. By an excess of precaution, they did not go directly into the town, but made a long detour, so as to come in by the road leading from Nauvoo."[17]

Here we may leave the Warsaw mob for the moment,

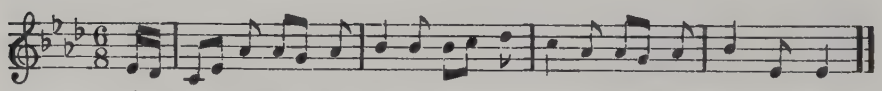
17. John Hay in *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869. Again I remind the reader that this *Atlantic Monthly* writer was John Hay who became secretary of state—member of the president's cabinet—1898-1905, and the biographer of Abraham Lincoln.

expressing the belief, however, that there was a better and more definite understanding between the leaders, and the body of this mob than comes from a "magnetically communicated design."

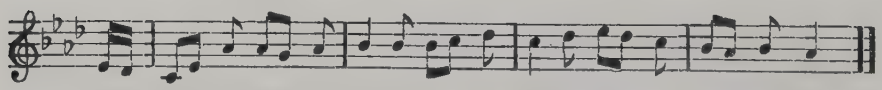
Within Prison Walls—Carthage Ground

Meantime the prisoners, after the governor with his troops of dragoons had departed, and their few personal friends—excepting John Taylor and Willard Richards, both of the quorum of the twelve—had either been dispatched on their several commissions, or hustled from Carthage by the soldiery and the rabble, experienced that depression of spirit that so often precedes calamitous events in the lives of men. Especially was this the case with the Prophet. Elder Taylor to cheer him sang the following sacred song, which had been recently introduced into Nauvoo. The tune given is the one to which Elder Taylor sang it on that melancholy occasion.

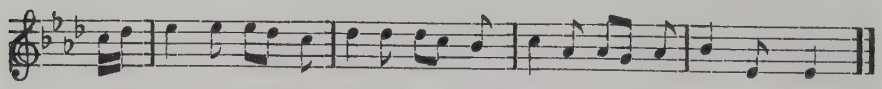
A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief



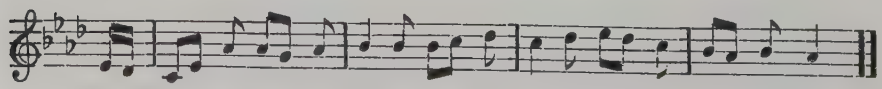
A poor, way - far - ing man of grief Hath often crossed me on my way;



Who sued so humbly for re - lief, That I could never answer "Nay."



I had not power to ask his name, Whither he went, or whence he came;



Yet there was something in his eye That won my love, I knew not why.

Once when my scanty meal was spread
He entered—not a word he spake!
Just perishing for want of bread;
I gave him all; he blessed it, brake,

* * * * * *

In prison I saw him next,—condemned
To meet a traitor's doom at morn;
The tide of lying tongues I stemmed,
And honored him 'mid shame and scorn.

My friendship's utmost zeal to try,
He asked if I for him would die;
The flesh was weak, my blood ran chill,
But the free spirit cried, 'I will.'

Then in a moment to my view,
The stranger started from disguise;
The tokens in his hands I knew;
The Savior stood before mine eyes.

He spake, and my poor name he named—
"Of me thou hast not been ashamed;
These deeds shall thy memorial be;
Fear not, thou didst them unto me."

The afternoon was sultry and hot. The four brethren sat listlessly about the room with their coats off; and the windows of the prison were open to receive such air as might be stirring. Late in the afternoon Mr. Stigall, the jailor, came in and suggested that they would be safer in the cells. Joseph told him that they would go in after supper. Turning to Elder Richards the Prophet said: "If we go into the cell will you go with us?"

Elder Richards: "Brother Joseph, you did not ask me to cross the river with you [referring to the time, when they crossed the Mississippi, *en route* for the Rocky Mountains]—you did not ask me to come to Carthage—you did not ask me to come to jail with you—and do you think I would forsake you now? But I will tell you what I will do; if you are condemned to be hung for 'treason,' I will be hung in your stead, and you shall go free.

Joseph: But you cannot.

Richards: I will."[18]

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18. See Church Historians' Compilation of Data, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 472. Elder John Taylor was of a different frame of mind. "Brother Joseph," said he, "if you will permit it, and say the word, I will have you out of this prison in five hours, if the jail has to come down to do it." "My idea," he said

Hyrum Smith asked Elder Taylor to sing again "The Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief."

Elder Taylor: "Brother Hyrum, I do not feel like singing.

Hyrum: Oh, never mind: commence singing and you will get the spirit of it."

The Assault Upon the Prison

Soon after finishing the song the second time, as he was sitting at one of the front windows, Elder Taylor saw a number of men, with painted faces, rushing round the corner of the jail towards the stairs. They were halted at the entrance but a moment. "The guards were hustled away from the door, good naturedly resisting until they were carefully disarmed" (Hay).

The brethren must have seen this mob simultaneously, for they all leaped to the door to secure it, as the lock and latch were of little use. The mob reaching the landing in front of the door fired a shot into the lock. Hyrum and Doctor Richards sprang back, when instantly another ball crashed through the panel of the door and struck Hyrum in the face; at the same instant a ball, evidently from the window facing the public square where the main body of the Carthage Greys was stationed, entered his back, and he fell, calmly exclaiming:

"I am a dead man!"

With an expression of deep sympathy in his face, Joseph bent over the prostrate body of the murdered man and exclaimed:—

"Oh, my poor, dear brother Hyrum!"

Then instantly rising to his feet he drew the pistol Cyrus Wheelock had left him, and with a quick, firm step, and a determined expression in his face he advanced to the door

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in explanation of this proposition, "was to go to Nauvoo, and collect a sufficient force [to do this], as I considered the whole affair a legal farce, and a flagrant outrage upon our liberty and rights. Brother Joseph refused." (See Taylor's Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, in Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, Introduction, pp. 46-47.)

and snapped the pistol six successive times; only three of the loads, however, were discharged.[19]

While Joseph was firing the pistol Elder Taylor stood close behind him, and as soon as he discharged it and stepped back, Elder Taylor took his place next to the door and with Markham's heavy walking stick parried the guns as they were thrust through the doorway and discharged.

The firing from within made the mob pause, but it was only for an instant, and then the attack was more furious than ever. The scene was terrible. Streams of fire belched forth from the ever increasing number of guns in the doorway, yet calm, and determined, Elder Taylor beat down the muzzles of those murderous guns.

"That's right, Brother Taylor, parry them off as well as you can," said the Prophet, as he stood behind him.

Meantime the crowd on the landing grew more dense and were forced to the door by the pressure of those below crowding their way up stairs. The guns of the assailants were pushed further and further into the room—the firing was more rapid and accompanied with demoniac yells and horrid oaths and execrations. Certain that they would be overpowered in a moment, Elder Taylor sprang for the open window directly in front of the prison door, and also ex-

19. Hay says four shots were fired—his information came, of course, from the mob side. He also says that Joseph Smith had "two loaded, six-barrelled revolvers," and hints at responsibility attaching to General Miner R. Deming, whom he calls the "Jack-Mormon sheriff of Hancock county," for the prisoners having arms. The statement is not accurate, either as to Deming's responsibility or the pistols, since Joseph had but one six-barrelled ("pepper-box" type) revolver, and Hyrum a single-barrelled pistol which was not used; and Fullmer and Cyrus Wheelock left the pistols with the prisoners. Hay refers to the resistance of the Prophet to the mob as a "handsome fight," and also refers to four being wounded: "Joe Smith died bravely. He stood by the jamb of the door and fired four shots, bringing his man down every time. He shot an Irishman named Wills, who was in the affair from his congenital love of a brawl, in the arm; Gallagher, a southerner from the Mississippi Bottom, in the face; Voorhees, a half grown, hobbledehoy from Bear Creek, in the shoulder; and another gentleman, whose name I will not mention, as he is prepared to prove an alibi, and besides stands six feet two in his moccasins." [Sic]! Parley Pratt gives an account of learning in California, 1856, from a Mrs. Lawn—widow of one of the captains of the McDonough militia—of a Mr. Townsend being among those who forced the jail door at Carthage, and was wounded in the arm near the shoulder, from the effects of which he died in about six months. (*Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, 475-6).

posed to the fire of the Carthage Greys from the public square. As he was in the act of leaping from the window, a ball fired from the doorway struck him about midway of his left thigh. He fell helplessly forward towards the open window, and would have dropped on the outside of the jail, but that another ball from the outside, striking the watch in his vest pocket,[20] threw him back into the room.

As Elder Taylor was thrown back from the window Joseph Smith attempted to leap out, but in doing so was instantly shot and fell to the ground with the martyr-cry upon his lips—

"O Lord, my God!"[21]

There seems to be conclusive evidence that the Prophet was fired upon as he lay on the ground beside the old well curb that stood under the window from which he leaped.[22]

"They were both shot after they were dead, in a brutal manner, and both received four balls. * * * [Joseph Smith] * * * lived great, and he died great in the eyes of God and his people; and like most of the Lord's Anointed, in ancient times, has sealed his mission and his works with his own blood."[23] "For where a Testament is, there must also be of necessity the death of the Testator: for a Testament is of force after men are dead; otherwise it is of no strength at all while the Testator liveth."[24]

How quickly disastrous things happened! Three minutes after the attack was commenced upon the jail, Hyrum Smith lay stretched upon the floor of the prison—dead; John Taylor lay not far from him savagely wounded: the Prophet

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20. The hands of the watch stood at five o'clock, sixteen minutes, and twenty-six seconds, thus marking the moment when its possessor stood on the line between time and eternity.

21. See *Note* end of chapter.

22. See *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxxv, the church's authorized account of the Martyrdom. So Hay: "Severely wounded as he was, he ran to the window * * * and half leaped, half fell into the jail yard below. With his last dying energies he gathered himself up, and leaned in a sitting posture against the rude stone well curb. His stricken condition excited no pity in the mob thirsting for his life. * * * A squad of Missourians who were standing by the fence leveled their pieces at him, and before they could see him again for the smoke they made, Joe Smith was dead." (*Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869.)

23. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxxv.

24. *Hebrews* ix:16, 17.

JOHN TAYLOR'S WATCH

On His Person at the Time He was Shot
in Carthage Prison.

was lying outside the jail by the old well curb—dead; the mob in consternation and disorder had fled in the direction of Warsaw; the plighted faith of a state was broken, its honor trailed in the dust, and a stain of innocent blood affixed to its escutcheon that will remain a blot which time cannot efface.

Note

Did Joseph Smith Make Masonic Appeal for Help

Were Joseph Smith's last words—*"O Lord My God"*—an interrupted Masonic cry of distress? The question has been somewhat widely debated. Of it the author of this *History* can form no adequate or positive opinion. In an editorial of the *Times and Seasons,* published soon after the murder (July 15th, 1844), the following passage occurs; referring to Joseph and Hyrum Smith:

"They were both Masons in good standing. Ye brethren of 'the mystic tie,' what think ye! Where is our good Master Joseph and Hyrum? Is there a pagan, heathen, or savage nation on the globe that would not be moved on this great occasion, as the trees of the forest are moved by a mighty wind? Joseph's last exclamation was, *'O Lord My God!'*

If one of these murderers, their abettors or accessories before or after the fact, are suffered to cumber the earth, without being dealt with according to law, what is life worth, and what is the benefit of laws? And more than all, what is the use of institutions which savages would honor, where civilized beings murder without cause or provocation?"

In the same editorial it is said: "With *uplifted hands* they gave such signs of distress as would have commanded the interposition and benevolence of savages or pagans."

Against this evident belief of his associates and companions in prison—the editorial was most likely written by John Taylor, W. W. Phelps, or Willard Richards, and may have been the result of consultation among them—there is nothing but the strange fact in human experience that when men are overtaken by sudden death, they so frequently die with some appeal to God upon their lips, especially if thoughts upon God have largely entered into their lives; and for one I can readily believe that not thoughts of deliverance from men and their violence was in the Prophet's mind, but thoughts of God and sacrifice blended in his *martyr-cry*—*"O Lord My God!"*

CHAPTER LVIII

Aftermath of the Carthage Tragedy

IT is a strong portrayal of conditions existing in Hancock county on the morning of the 28th of June, 1844, that Mr. Gregg, the historian, gives; and one which forever must vindicate the Latter-day Saints of Nauvoo as a law-abiding, peace-loving, unfanatical community. These are his words:

A Great Human Wonder in Hancock County

"The sun rose on as strange a scene as the broad Hancock prairies had ever witnessed. At the three corners of a triangle eighteen miles asunder, stood a smitten city [Nauvoo], and two almost deserted villages, [Warsaw and Carthage] with here and there a group of questioning men, anxious to hear the news of the night. Toward the two villages the more courageous ones were returning to find their several abodes unsacked and untouched. The wet and heavy roads leading to the county seat from the south and east were being traversed by the refugees of the night, now returning and wondering that they had homes to return to. All knew that a great crime had been committed, by whom they knew not; and they knew not how, upon whom, where, or in what manner retribution might fall."[1]

The marvel of that morning was—as it has been the marvel ever since, and will be in all the generations to come—that the "Mormons" at Nauvoo did not wreak vengeance upon the inhabitants of Carthage and Warsaw at least, if not upon all the people of Hancock county, as being involved in the responsibility, as the saints might well believe,[2] for the murder of their Prophet and Patriarch. The means of vengeance at their command was ample. There was in Nauvoo a body of the best trained militia in the state of Illinois

1. *History of Hancock County*, Gregg, p. 323.

2. The expression may seem harsh, but the facts warrant it; for though granting that some there were among the non-"Mormon" population of Hancock county, who, while anti-"Mormon" at heart, refused to countenance any but lawful measures "for redress of grievances" (*History of Hancock County*, Gregg, p. 320), yet they were so far apathetic that they took no positive stand in favor of law and order; and notwithstanding their "conservatism," they allowed mob lawlessness to assert itself and reap its harvests.

or in the United States, numbering about four thousand men.[3] And though the state arms had been surrendered by them a few days before, like all people in the western states of those days—and all the more so because of their late experiences in Missouri—the people of Nauvoo were well armed,[4] and could have swept Hancock county as with a besom of destruction. This, to their everlasting credit, they did not do; but remained true to their pledged word to Governor Ford, and to the instructions of their Prophet.[5]

Willard Richards was the only one who escaped death or wounding in that awful assault upon the prison. John Taylor was struck by four bullets,[6] but he survived and finally succeeded Brigham Young in the presidency of the church. By the aid of the few people who remained at Carthage—for most of them had fled in terror—the bodies of the Brothers Smith were removed to the Hamilton Hotel, as also Elder Taylor. Here a consultation between the two survivors was held and the following announcement made of the tragedy to the saints at Nauvoo:

"CARTHAGE JAIL.
8 o'clock, 5 min., p. m., June 27.

Joseph and Hyrum are dead. Taylor wounded, not badly. I am well. Our guard was forced as we believe, by a band of Missourians from 100 to 200. The job was done in an instant, and the party

3. Bancroft's *History of Utah*, pp. 146-7.

4. The truth of the statement is demonstrated by the fact that when Captain Singleton, on the morning of the 27th of June, called out the legion within the city limits for review, about two-thirds of the legion assembled, "nearly all of whom were well armed, although all the state arms had been taken away; which fact caused Captain Singleton and his company to express their astonishment. The captain made a remark to the effect that it would not do to come against such a force as this." (Church Historians' Compilation from *Journals* of Richards and Woodruff *et al.*, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, pp. 599, 600.) Singleton had been sent to Nauvoo by Governor Ford with about sixty militiamen to take charge of the city, lest a mob should attack it after learning that the legion had given up the state arms. (See also Governor Ford's *Message to Illinois Legislature*, Dec. 17, 1844. It is published *in extenso* in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Jan. 1, 1845).

5. See ch. lvi this *History*.

6. One struck him midway of the left thigh; another a little below the left knee, it was never extracted; another tore away the flesh to the size of a man's hand from his left hip and spattered the wall with blood and mangled fragments; another entered the fore part of the left arm, a little above the wrist, and, passing down the joint, lodged in the palm of the hand. (*Life of John Taylor*, 1892, p. 139.)

fled towards Nauvoo instantly. This is as I believe it. The citizens here are afraid of the 'Mormons' attacking them; I promise them no.

W. RICHARDS."

"N. B.—The citizens promise us protection. Alarm guns have been fired.[7]

JOHN TAYLOR."

BE STILL: GOD REIGNS

This note was addressed to Governor Ford, supposed to be in Nauvoo; General Dunham, Colonel Markham; or Emma Smith; in the hope that one or the other among these persons would be readily found at Nauvoo. It was not easy to find a messenger. The note was first entrusted to two men of the name of John and William Barnes; but these being afraid to go to Nauvoo carried it to Arza Adams, living about two miles north of Carthage, who piloted by Benjamin Leyland over a blind road—for they feared to travel the main one—arrived in Nauvoo a little after sunrise. Varying reports of the tragedy had preceded them, and a dozen men were discussing the rumored event when Adams delivered the official announcement from Richards and Taylor.

The evening before, George D. Grant, whose home was

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7. It is alleged that these alarm guns—cannons—were the signal agreed upon to announce the death of the prisoners. Upon hearing a cannon fired a merchant of Warsaw rode direct to Quincy and reported that Joseph and Hyrum Smith and those who were with them in jail were killed; that they were attempting to break jail and were all killed by the guard. It is also charged that hearing a cannon fired was what hastened Ford's departure from Nauvoo. (The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, John Taylor, published in Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, Introduction, pp. 58, 59. "The Martyrdom" is also published in Burton's *City of the Saints*, Appendix III, Littlefield also alludes to the signal cannon as above. *The Martyrs*, p. 90.)

Among other false reports circulated at the time is one mentioned by Josiah B. Conyers, M. D., author of a *Brief History of the Leading Causes of the Hancock Mob*, 1846, to the effect that at the time the two Smiths were murdered "certain individuals were dispatched from Carthage and Warsaw to Quincy, in order to make a false report, *viz.*, that the attack had been made by the "Mormons," and they expected that these two places were then burnt to ashes, and Governor Ford and his detachment murdered. Yet they must have known, at the same time, that the Smiths had been murdered by a base and treacherous mob of anti-"Mormons." "These reports," he continued, "wrought our citizens up to the highest degree of excitement, and three hundred armed men were on board of a steamboat in the short space of a few hours. * * * Who does not know that, when our men arrived at Warsaw, and learned the true state of the facts in the case, and when they were urged by the people of Warsaw, and of Hancock county, to join them in a war of extermination of the Mormons that they sternly refused, and returned to their homes in disgust, and for which they received the curses of hundreds of the people of Hancock county?"

about a mile and a half east of Carthage, and Constable David Bettisworth, had arrived within three miles of Nauvoo with the news of the death of the Brothers Smith, when they met Governor Ford and his escort *en route* for Carthage. The governor, fearing the immediate vengeance of the citizens of Nauvoo upon the other inhabitants of Hancock county, compelled these men to return with him to Carthage where he held them until the county records and other public documents were removed from the courthouse, and the people of Carthage given a chance to flee for their lives. As soon as released Grant again rode to Nauvoo with the sad intelligence of the murder, and most probably was the bearer of a second note from Richards and Taylor, and Samuel H. Smith,[8] a brother of the martyrs; and also an order from Governor Ford suggesting self-defense on the part of the citizens, and a word of caution and assurance from their friend General Miner R. Deming, all of which follow:

"12 o'clock at night, 27th of June,
Carthage, Hamilton's Tavern.

To Mrs. Emma Smith and Major-General Dunham, &c.

The governor has just arrived; says all things shall be inquired into, and right measures taken.

I say to all the citizens of Nauvoo, my brethren, be still, and know that God reigns. Don't rush out of the city—don't rush to Carthage—stay at home, and be prepared for an attack from Missouri mobbers. The governor will render every assistance possible—has sent out orders for troops. Joseph and Hyrum are dead. We will prepare to move the bodies as soon as possible.

The people of the county are greatly excited, and fear the 'Mormons' will come out and take vengeance. I have pledged my word the 'Mormons' will stay home as soon as they are informed, and no violence will be on their part, and say to my brethren in Nauvoo, in the name of the Lord, be still, be patient; only let such friends as choose come here to see the bodies. Mr. Taylor's wounds are dressed, and not serious. I am sound.

WILLARD RICHARDS,
JOHN TAYLOR,
SAMUEL H. SMITH."

8. In *The Life of John Taylor*, p. 145, it is erroneously stated that Grant was the bearer of the first Richards-Taylor note making official announcement of the death of the Prophet. He doubtless was the bearer of the second note given in the text above.

"Defend yourselves until protection can be furnished necessary. June 27th, 1844.

Signed, THOMAS FORD,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief."[9]

To which was appended this note:

"*Mr. Orson Spencer.*

DEAR SIR:—Please deliberate on this matter—prudence may obviate material destruction. I was at my residence when this horrible crime was committed. It will be condemned by three-fourths of the citizens of the county. Be quiet, or you will be attacked from Missouri.

M. R. DEMING."[10]

Governor Ford, having written the above message within the Richards-Taylor-Smith note, and having given assurances to Elders Taylor and Richards that the murder of the Brothers Smith should be investigated, and expressing his sense of responsibility in the matter, rode out to the public square of Carthage and advised all present to disperse, as he expected the "Mormons" to come and take summary vengeance upon the people of Carthage. Upon this announcement the people fled in every direction; and the governor himself made a hasty flight to Quincy.

A CITY IN MOURNING

On the day following the martyrdom the bodies of the Brothers Smith were taken to Nauvoo, where they were met by a sorrow-smitten throng of several thousand people on Mullholland street, about a mile east of the temple, headed by the city council, Major General Jonathan Dunham and staff, and other officers of the legion. The procession moved slowly into the city, amid the lamentations of the people, to the Nauvoo Mansion where the bodies were given into the care of their families and other immediate kindred.

In the streets about the Mansion ten thousand sorrowing ing people were assembled, and these were addressed by several leading citizens, among whom were the counsel for the mur-

9. *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, no. 12, July 1st, 1844, p. 560-1.
10. *Ibid*, p. 561.

dered men, Messrs, Reid and Wood; also W. W. Phelps, Stephen Markham and Dr. Willard Richards. The latter admonished the people "to keep peace, stating that he had pledged his honor and his life for their good conduct." The people then "with one united voice resolved to trust to the law for a remedy of such a high-handed assassination, and when that failed, to call upon God to avenge them of their wrongs."[11]

Burial of the Martyrs

On the 29th of June the bodies of the two martyrs laid in state in the Nauvoo Mansion where they were viewed by a constant throng of people who filed in and out of the Mansion rooms from eight o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon. At that time the doors were closed, the coffins with the bodies were removed from the outer boxes which were then filled with bags of sand and taken to the cemetery where they were deposited with the usual burial ceremonies. About midnight the bodies were taken by a few trusted friends[12] and buried in the basement of the then building Nauvoo House. They remained there until the fall when they were removed at the request of Emma Smith, the Prophet's wife, to a spot near the Nauvoo Mansion overlooking the Mississippi; and there, side by side, lie the martyred brothers.[13] "In life they were not divided; in death they were not separated."

The Saints Leave Retribution to the State

The murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith were never punished. The law outraged by the "deep damnation of their

11. Church Historians' Compilation of Facts of the Martyrdom, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 503.

12. These were Demick B. Huntington, Edward Hunter, William D. Huntington, William Marks, Jonathan H. Holmes, Gilbert Goldsmith, Alpheus Cutler, Lorenzo D. Wasson, Philip B. Lewis and James Emmet, the last named acting as guard. As to the final resting place of the Smith brothers, a grandson of Joseph Smith says: "It is a short distance from the Nauvoo House [which is near the 'Mansion'] on the banks of the Mississippi." (Frederick M. Smith in a communication to W. A. Linn. *Story of the Mormons*, p. 308.)

13. This will be treated in a later chapter.

taking off," was never vindicated. The honor of the state of Illinois pledged by the executive of the state and the officers of the state militia under his command at Carthage,[14] was neither redeemed by fulfillment nor by making retribution fall upon those guilty of the murder which broke the pledge.

The governor on arriving in Carthage from Nauvoo, about midnight of the day of the murder, urged upon the two survivors of the tragedy, Elders Taylor and Richards, the importance of keeping the people of Nauvoo quiet, to persuade them to forego all thoughts of revenge or retaliation. Before the arrival of the governor, however, the two brethren in their first note announcing the death of the martyrs had said— "The citizens here [i. e. in Carthage] are afraid of the 'Mormons' attacking them: *I promise them no.*" [Signed] "W. Richards;" Elder Taylor, wounded as he was, also signed this note. On his part Governor Ford gave such pledges to vindicate the law by bringing the murderers to justice as to enable the two surviving brethren to give assurances in their second communication to their people that the governor would see to it that all things would be inquired into, "and all right measures taken." Two days later, as we have already seen, the proposition to leave retribution and the execution of the law to the constituted authorities of the state was presented to and unanimously adopted by the multitude of ten thousand that thronged the streets about the Nauvoo Man-

14. Governor Ford admits having given this pledge in the following passages: "If these men [the Smith brothers] had been the incarnation of satan himself, as was believed by many, their murder was a foul and treacherous action, alike disgraceful to those who perpetrated the crime, to the state, and to the governor, *whose word had been pledged for the protection of the prisoners in jail*, and which had been so shamefully violated; and required that the most vigorous means should be used to bring the assassins to punishment." (Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 367). Again he said: *"I pledged myself for their safety, and upon the assurance of that pledge they surrendered as prisoners.* * * * The pledge of the security to the Smiths was not given upon my individual responsibility. Before I gave it I obtained a pledge of honor by a unanimous vote from the officers and men under my command to sustain me in performing it. If the assassination of the Smiths was committed by any portion of these, they have added treachery to murder, and have done all they could to disgrace the state and sully the public honor." (Proclamation of Governor Ford to the People of the State of Illinois, published in *Nauvoo Neighbor*, extra, of June 30th, 1844.)

sion, while the bodies of the martyrs were being prepared for burial. In writing to Brigham Young, president of the apostles' quorum, on the 30th of June, Elder Willard Richards said:

"The saints have entered into covenants of peace with the governor and government officers not to avenge the blood of the martyrs, but to leave it with the executive, who had pledged the faith of the state for their safekeeping. * * * The governor appeared to act with honest intentions, we bring no charge against him—will wait patiently his proceedings in the matter."[15]

In a letter to A. Jonas, Esq., ten days later, the same writer reporting the status of things in Nauvoo, said:

"Can still give you the fullest assurance that all is perfect peace, at Nauvoo, calmly waiting the fulfillment of Governor Ford's pledge to redeem the land from blood by legal process."[16]

Naturally, however, some of the saints in Nauvoo, grew somewhat restive under the law's delay. In the latter part of July, Bishop Geo. Miller called on some of the twelve and requested the privilege of passing some resolutions against the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum. "The brethren told him to be quiet and see what the governor and state authorities would do; that Dr. Richards had pledged himself that the brethren would be quiet, and the Lord had said: 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay.' Miller left the council saying: *'Fat men for patience!'* "[17]

Leonora Taylor, wife of Elder John Taylor, who was savagely wounded in the attack upon the Smith brothers, and now lying wounded at his home, she, on the 22nd of July, evidently growing impatient of the very deliberate actions of Governor Ford, in the matter of bringing the murderers to trial, and meantime permitting the mob forces about Warsaw to continue in hostile attitude and in armed resistance to the legal authorities, wrote a very vigorous letter to the governor

15. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 649.
16. *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 775. See also Richards' letter to Mr. Tho. H. Owens, July 16th, 1844, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 40.
17. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 136.

reminding him of his pledges to vindicate the law. A few excerpts will disclose the spirit of this very forceful letter, and also exhibit how strong were the feelings suppressed by the people of Nauvoo, in order to follow the pacific instructions of their leaders:

Leonora Taylor's Letter to Governor Ford

"Sir, I am sorry to say the murderers and mobbers are still at large in our neighborhood; as there have been no steps taken to bring them to justice, they have taken fresh courage and held meetings to carry out their work of destruction. I have been told they have sent messengers to Missouri to collect all the force they can to come and exterminate the 'Mormons' after the harvest. * * *

Mr. Taylor does not know of my writing this letter. Nothing but the urgency of the case could have induced me to remind your excellency of your promise to bring the murderers to justice. If a step of that kind is not taken soon I much fear that it cannot benefit us as a people. * * *

My feelings as a wife and mother of helpless children, together with the afflictions of an injured people, all constrain me to beseech of you to exert the power and authority which the people and God have given you in the cause of the oppressed. You shall have our prayers that wisdom may be given you from on high to act in this case to the glory of God, your own honor, and that of the state we live in.

Your excellency was warned of our brethren's danger, who were murdered, but could not believe that men were so base and degraded. The same men are now plotting our destruction.

As an individual who feels herself injured, and also in behalf of an oppressed, injured and persecuted people, I again beg your official interference. Your excellency cannot now be mistaken in the men nor their designs; I beseech you then, for the honor of our bleeding country, for the sake of the suffering innocence and the cause of humanity, by the wounds of my husband and the blood of those murdered victims, to use prompt measures for our protection and the bringing to justice of those murderers."[18]

Agents of the Governor in Nauvoo—Warsaw—Carthage: Reception of

On the 1st of July Governor Ford sent two special commissioners to Nauvoo, Colonel Hart Fellows and Captain A. Jonas to ascertain what were the "feeling, disposition, and determination of the people there, in reference to the late dis-

18. The letter in full is printed in *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 87.

turbances;" and to "ascertain whether any of them proposed in any manner to revenge themselves, whether any threats had been used, and what was proposed generally to be done by them." These questions were propounded to the city council as the only authority of the city now known to the country that would pacify the public mind and satisfy the governor of the determination of the citizens of Nauvoo to sustain the supremacy of the laws. In response to these inquiries the city council in a formal series of resolutions unanimously adopted said, that for the purpose of insuring peace and promoting the welfare of Hancock county and the surrounding country, they would rigidly sustain the laws, and the governor of the state as long as he sustained them in their constitutional rights; for the greater assurance of peace, they suggested that as the governor had taken away from the people of Nauvoo the public arms, so should he also take the public arms from the mob party; to further secure peace, friendship, happiness, and to allay the excitement they announced their determination to reprobate private revenge on the assassinators of Joseph and Hyrum Smith; the city council pledged itself for the city of Nauvoo, that no aggressions would be made upon the citizens of the surrounding country, and invited them as friends and neighbors to the practice of the "golden rule," at the same time pledging themselves to observe it. Lastly they highly approved the pacific course of Governor Ford in his efforts to allay excitement and restore peace; "and while he does so," concludes the resolution, "and will use his influence to stop all vexatious proceedings in law until confidence is restored, so that the citizens of Nauvoo can go to Carthage or any other place for trial, without exposing themselves to the violence of assassins, we will uphold him and the law by all honorable means."[19] A public meeting of the citizens was called which

19. The resolutions are published at length, as also the communications of Messrs. Fellows and Jonas to the city council, and the commissions and instructions of Governor Ford to them in *Times and Seasons* for July 1st, 1844.

was addressed by Mr. Jonas and others, among them a Mr. Chambers, editor of the *Missouri Republic,* and Mr. Field, editor of the *Reveille,* St. Louis. The resolutions adopted by the city council were read and endorsed by a hearty "amen" at the public meeting. A vote of thanks was given to all who had in any way given their influence for peace and good order; and afterwards a communication signed by Messrs. W. W. Phelps, Richards, and Taylor was addressed to the church at large "beseeching the saints everywhere to hold fast to the faith," and to be "quiet, peaceable citizens, doing the works of righteousness."[20]

No more complete surrender of the case into the hands of the constituted officers of the state for vindication of the law could have been conceived or made by any people. No more complete or intelligently pledged support to the law and officers charged with the duty of administering it could have been given. The saints of Nauvoo did all—as was abundantly acknowledged by the officers of the state at the time[21]—that they could be asked to do. Let us see how well the state through its officers discharged its obligation to its "Mormon" citizens.

The governor's representatives, Messrs. Fellows and Jonas, were not only commissioned to make inquiries at Nauvoo, already considered, but they were authorized to "make similar inquiries" at Warsaw. Also "ascertain how far false rumors have been put afloat for the purpose of raising military forces; what is the purpose of the militia assembled,

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20. *Times and Seasons,* July 1st, 1844, p. 568.

21. Governor Ford, in his proclamation of the 29th of June, says: "The Mormons surrendered the public arms in their possession, and the Nauvoo Legion submitted to the command of Captain Singleton, of Brown county, deputed for that purpose by me. All these things were required to satisfy the old citizens of Hancock that the Mormons were peaceably disposed; and to allay jealousy and excitement in their minds. It appears, however, that the compliance of the Mormons with every requisition made upon them failed of that purpose. * * * The Mormons had done everything required, or which ought to have been required of them." (*Times and Seasons,* July 1st, 1844, p. 564-5). And as up to the point indicated by the governor they "had done everything required, or which ought to have been required of them," so they continued throughout the proceedings arising from the Carthage tragedy.

whether any attack is intended on Nauvoo. Ascertain also, whether any persons from Missouri or Iowa intend to take part in the matter;"[22] if so they were to be forbidden to take such part in the name of the governor of Illinois.

The governor's commissioners, accompanied by Messrs. Wood and Conyers, mayor and ex-mayor of Quincy, and other gentlemen, visited both Carthage and Warsaw in the interest of peace. At Warsaw, when Captain Jonas in a public address called upon the people to say if they would support the governor in enforcing the law, and in upholding the Constitution, "unanimously refused to give the pledge." The same evening a Mr. Skinner of Carthage, who professed to speak in the name of the citizens of Hancock county, expressed the same sentiment. He deprecated as impossible the idea of a settlement if the "Mormons" were to remain. A committee of the citizens of Warsaw waited upon Governor Ford, informing him of their fixed conviction that it was necessary one of the parties should leave the county, and desiring him to decide which should go. The governor replied that it was not for him to decide such a question, or to "order any body of citizens, whether Mormons or anti-Mormons, out of the county or state."[23]

The Warsaw committee referred to above left with the governor a written communication on behalf of the citizens they represented, expressing their determination to compel the "Mormons" to leave the state or otherwise abandon their own homes and evacuate the county. The communication also dealt with the "history, character and offenses of the Mormons," from the Warsaw, that is to say, the mob viewpoint. To this communication the governor, under date of July 3rd, 1844, made a written answer in a somewhat caustic

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22. See Messrs. Fellows and Jonas' letter of appointment from Governor Ford. (*Times and Seasons*, July 1st, 1844, p. 565.)

23. The statements are condensed from an article in the *St. Louis Transcript*, written by Mr. Chambers, editor of the *Missouri Republican*, and copied into the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of July 17, 1844. See also Ford's Message to Legislature, published in *Nauvoo Neighbor* for Jan. 1st, 1845.

but complaining tone. A few excerpts will exhibit the spirit of the letter, as well as confirm some statements heretofore made in this *History*. After refusing to exercise his influence to assist the Warsaw people to procure the removal of the "Mormons;" or to make a reply to that part of the Warsaw letter treating of the "history, character, and offenses of the Mormons," he says:

"When I came to your country I announced the policy by which I intended to be governed. The law was to be my guide; and this you well understand. I announced this determination in numerous public addresses, and uniformly in my private conversations. I successively obtained a vote to sustain me in this course from every troop stationed at Carthage, or who was visiting there.

From the detachment of your town and vicinity, who visited Carthage the day before the surrender of the Smiths, I obtained a similar pledge. * * * All the other portion of the Hancock forces under my command were repeatedly and deeply pledged to sustain me in the same course. Under the firm and confident assurance of support thus obtained, I demanded the surrender of the Smiths, and promised them security.

In doing so, I now acknowledge that I erred, and erred grievously, in relying with too much confidence upon men with whom I was but little acquainted. The idea that men could be treacherous under such circumstances was abhorrent to my nature, and rejected with indignation.

Whatever your hatred of the Smiths might be, I was too confident you would respect your honor—the honor of your country and your state, and the rights of defenseless prisoners. I could not believe that so much stupidity and baseness as was necessary for such an enterprise as the murder of defenseless prisoners in jail would be, could be mustered in Hancock county. * * * Upon the whole I cannot too strongly express my indignation and abhorrence of the base and profligate act which has disgraced the state and raised suspicions in the minds of many in regard to my conduct in the matter of the most painful character to my feelings."

Then coming to the matter of influencing the "Mormons" to remove from the state, he says:

"I am in but a poor situation to use influence with the Mormons, to procure their removal. Your own people have destroyed whatever influence I might otherwise have possessed in that quarter to serve you.

Your own conduct has placed me in a suspicious attitude; and I have no hopes that I could now have a more persuasive influence

with the Mormons than I had with the perpetrators of the horrid deed which I sought to prevent. Under the circumstances I cannot ask the Mormons to confide in me.

It must appear to them that they have been betrayed by somebody, and they do not know whom.

If you mean to request me to exercise a forcible influence to expel them from the state, I answer you now, as I have uniformly done that the law is my guide, and that I know of no law authorizing their expulsion. From this determination I have not swerved for an instant from the beginning until this time.

I see nothing now requiring any deviation, and besides, if I were ever so much determined to drive them out, I believe such is the abhorrence against the base deed which some of you have committed, that I could not obtain voluntary aid from the people."

Coming to the vindication of the law by the punishment of the perpetrators of the crime, Governor Ford said:

"An inquiry must be made concerning the murderers; they must for the honor and credit of the state be dealt with according to law."[24]

Under date of July 12th, our church annalists record that Messrs. Bedell and Backenstos, the latter then clerk of Hancock county, arrived in Nauvoo and reported that Governor Ford had demanded the public arms at Warsaw, and the people there refused to give them up;[25] which action was in harmony with the whole course of conduct on the part of that people.

Generalization of Conditions in Hancock and Surrounding Counties Following the Martyrdom

At this point I introduce a letter of Governor Ford's which sets forth the conditions prevailing in Hancock and surrounding counties, in the weeks immediately following the martyrdom. The governor's communication is too important a document to be omitted from this *History* or presented in any other form than the complete copy, though some of his strictures are scarcely just to the people of Nauvoo. It will be observed that notwithstanding his prejudices against the Latter-day Saints, he has to give the mead of praise to

24. The governor's reply to the Warsaw Committee is published at length in the Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 693-5.

25. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 8.

them over their adversaries for preserving law and order, and they had behaved much better than could have been expected under the circumstances. The letter was addressed from Quincy, Ill., to W. W. Phelps, who at the time was acting editor of the *Times and Seasons,* Elder John Taylor, the chief editor, still being unable to leave his room on account of his wounds received at Carthage.

Governor Ford's Letter

"Quincy, July 22, 1844.

Sir:—On Thursday last I wrote to Dr. Richards and yourself, requesting you to come or send some person to me at this place, to confer with me in relation to the time and mode of proceeding against the murderers of the Messrs. Smith; and I therein stated that I would have come to Nauvoo for that purpose were it not for the certainty that my motives and objects for so doing would be misinterpreted. As none of you have come, and have probably not received my letter, I have concluded to write you again and send this letter by special messenger.

In this letter I will say to you what I intended to say in a personal conference. In the beginning, then, you must allow me to say that my position forbids that I should be a partisan on either side of your unhappy controversy.

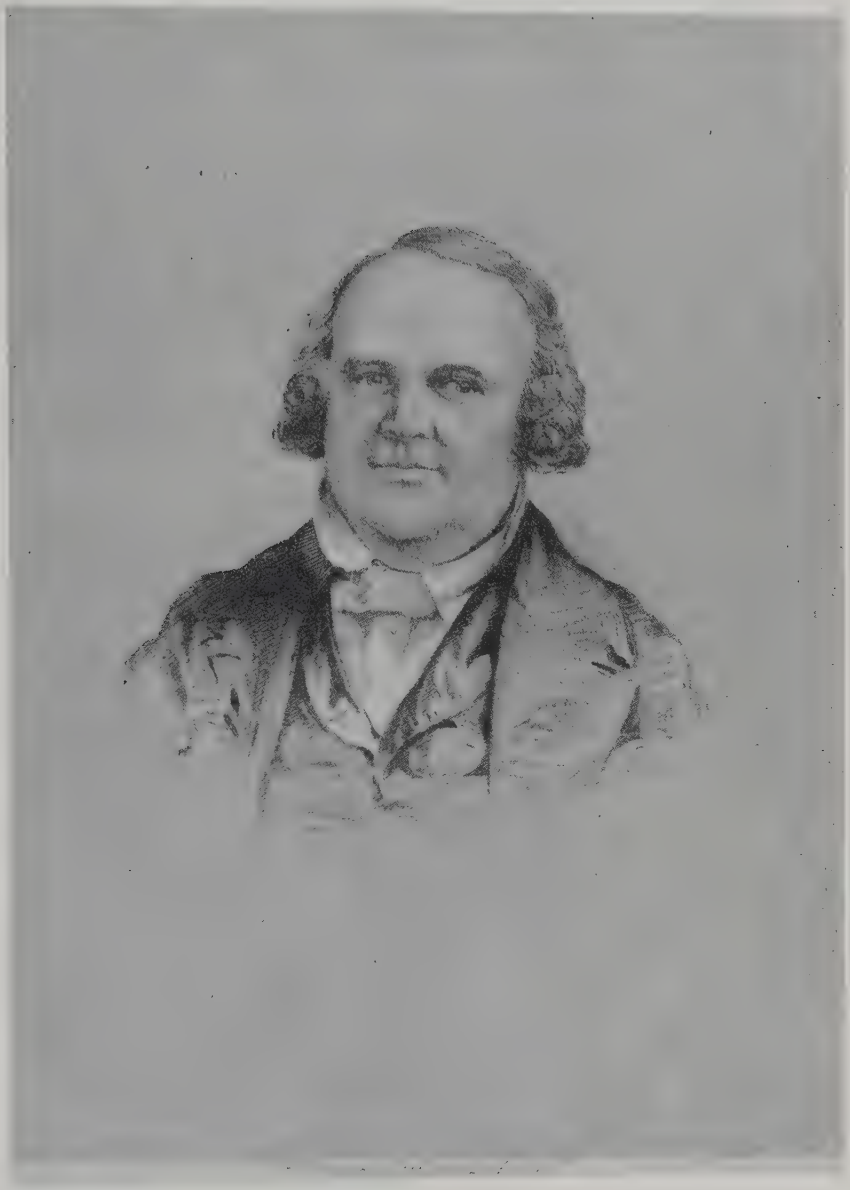
I may, for aught I know, have stern duties to perform in relation to both parties. This, however, will depend on which side may be the aggressor. Thus far, since the death of the Smiths, your people have behaved well; much better than could have been expected under the circumstances, and much better than the opposite party. I anxiously hope that they may have the grace to continue in the same line of conduct.

An unresisting, passive, peaceable, but defensive course on your parts, will do much to disarm prejudices in the surrounding country. That such prejudices do exist in the minds of the people you know as well as I, though you may not be fully aware of their extent, or the ferocity which they engender.

If I speak of those prejudices and the causes of them, I do not wish you to misunderstand me, as some of you did on a former occasion, and suppose that I am speaking my own opinions and feelings.

I say now, once for all, that I have nothing to do with those prejudices further than as a practical man; they obtrude themselves on my consideration, as presenting obstacles to me in the discharge of my official duty. The more prejudice and bad feeling which is gotten up against your people, whether by their own imprudence or the malice of their enemies, the more difficult it is for me to do anything effectually to protect either party according to law.

There are, I am informed, some few inflammatory and hot-



DR. WILLARD RICHARDS
Present at the Martyrdom

blooded individuals amongst you, who, by their imprudence and rashness, continue to give cause for those prejudices, and, of course, by so doing, continue to involve you all in a common danger; I speak of the danger of a mob.

I am also informed that most of you entertain the opinion that there has been a great and universal reaction in the public mind since the death of the Smiths.

On this subject I desire to tell you the naked truth. I am aware that you scarcely ever hear the truth, as to public sentiment abroad, from those who visit you in your city. The complaisance of such persons, and their desire to please, will induce them to omit the statement of disagreeable truths, and to say such things only as are pleasing and complimentary. You are bound, as men of sense, to receive all such statements with a great deal of allowance.

On my part, without desiring to please any of you, or to conciliate your favor, but certainly without any design to insult your misfortunes, and in a pure spirit of friendly concern for the peace and safety of all who repose under the shade of our political fig tree, I desire to state to you frankly, candidly and thoroughly, what I do know on this subject.

The naked truth, then, is, that most well informed persons condemn in the most unqualified manner the mode in which the Smiths were put to death, but nine out of every ten of such accompany the expression of their disapprobation by a manifestation of their pleasure that they are dead.

The disapproval is most unusually cold and without feeling. It is a disapproval which appears to be called for, on their part, by decency, by a respect for the laws and a horror of mobs, but does not flow warm from the heart.

The unfortunate victims of this assassination were generally and thoroughly hated throughout the country, and it is not reasonable to suppose that their death has produced any reaction in the public mind resulting in active sympathy; if you think so, you are mistaken.

Most that is said on the subject is merely from the teeth out; and your people may depend on the fact, that public feeling is now, at this time, as thoroughly against them as it has ever been.

I mention this, not for the purpose of insulting your feelings, but to show you clearly how careful your people ought to be in future to avoid all causes of quarrel and excitement, and what little reliance could be placed on any militia force which I could send in your favor.

I ought, perhaps, to qualify what I have said, by remarking that but few persons from the surrounding counties could now be procured to join a mob force against you, without further cause of excitement to be ministered by some misguided imprudence of your people. But what I mean to say, and to say truly, is, that in the present temper of the public mind I am positively certain that I cannot raise a militia force in the state who would be willing to fight on your side, or to hazard their lives to protect you from an attack of your enemies.

The same state of things exists in relation to any force which

might be ordered to arrest the murderers. If troops should be ordered for that purpose, I would expect that they would behave as the militia did in the late Philadelphia riots. The militia in that case sympathized with the native party and against their opponents. It was an unpopular service, and rather than fight they suffered themselves to be defeated and driven from the field.

It is true that I might call upon the Mormons themselves, and then I would have a reliable force. This, however, would be a dangerous experiment, and would, in my mind, inevitably lead to civil war, the result of which no man can foresee.

I think I may safely say, that if the Nauvoo Legion should be called out against the old citizens, the crimes which are sought to be punished would be instantly forgotten in the general and burning indignation which would be kindled.

Men would rally to their assistance who would otherwise be neutral. Your legion has ever been regarded with a jealous eye; the arming and drilling of your people, with such exceeding industry, in a season of peace, (not wrong in itself) has been looked upon by the great body of the people with suspicion, and as intended in due time for the subversion of the public liberty: in the beginning you would have been much better without it. If your people had never made any military pretensions, no military feeling would ever have been aroused against you.

This much I hope you will consider has been said from a friendly motive, and for the further purpose of showing you what a dangerous experiment it would be, and how well calculated to excite a civil war, in which your city might be utterly destroyed, if I should attempt to call out the hated legion against the old citizens.

You may be disposed to ask, What use is there for law and government if these things be so? I answer you, that cases like the present do not seem to be fully provided for by our Constitutions; they were not anticipated to occur.

Upon the first institution of our governments, it was a season of internal peace and union among our people. The population was homogeneous, and all agreed together as brothers. It was supposed that the great body of the people would be always willingly submissive to the laws which they themselves had made. It was not foreseen that great and hostile parties would soon spring up and combine in large numbers to set the law at defiance.

A voluntary submission and obedience was supposed as the basis of government, for this reason no adequate provision was made in our state Constitutions for coercing this submission, when the laws were to be trampled upon by the concerted action of large numbers.

The states are prohibited from maintaining standing armies; the only military force at their command, without aid from the general government, is the militia; and, as I have already shown you, this force can only be relied on to do effectual service where that service is popular and jumps with their inclinations.

For this same reason, I must beg leave to say that a party, as in your case, which is the object of popular odium, cannot be too circumspect in their behavior, so as to give no color to the hatred of your enemies, 'Truth is great and will prevail.'

From this you may be assured that if the conduct of your people shall be uniformly, peaceably, honest and submissive to the laws, even if they have to bear persecution for a season, such conduct must result in dissipating the unhappy prejudices which exist against you.

Truth and candor, however, compel me to say that the Mormons have not always acted in such a manner as if they intended to avoid the creation of prejudices.

The pretensions of your municipal court, the unheard of description of ordinances passed by your city council, the assault on Mr. Bagby, the attempt to kidnap persons from Missouri, the formal destruction of the printing office and the general tone of arrogance and defiance of some of your leaders, were well calculated to inflame the public mind against you.

I think that I have considered this difficult subject in every possible point of view. I am afraid to rely on the militia in the present temper of the public mind. To call on the Nauvoo Legion would be suicidal to any effort as pacification of existing troubles, and for that reason would fail to bring about an enforcement of the laws.

If the laws are to be enforced at all in your county, out of the ordinary way by courts alone, it must be done by a force which is indifferent as to both parties.

To call in one party to put down and subdue the other, would lead to the most disastrous consequences; all the pride of conquest and victory; all the shame of defeat by, and submission to, an adversary; all the fury of unconquerable hate and exasperated feeling would necessarily be mingled with the contest, and render it bloody and bitter beyond anything we know of in this country.

For these reasons I have called upon the officers now in command, in the absence of General Gains, of the 3rd military department of the United States, for five hundred men of the regular army to be stationed in Hancock county, with whose aid I hope to be able to preserve order and proceed against all criminals whomsoever they may be. The following is a copy of the answer to the application:"

Colonel S. W. Kearney's (U. S. A.) Letter

'Head Quarters, 3rd Mil. Dept.,
St. Louis, Mo., July 11, 1844.

Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's communication of this date, relating to the difficulties which have occurred between the Mormons and the people of Hancock county, Illinois, and the further difficulties apprehended by you, and requesting of me a force of some five hundred men from the regular army of the United States to be stationed for a time in Hancock county, and

to act in conjunction with such forces as may be ordered on the part of the state of Illinois.

I have not the power of complying with your request, but will forward by tomorrow's mail a copy of your communication to be laid before the authorities in Washington city, and will advise your excellency of the result as soon as ascertained.

With great respect,
Your most obedient servant,
S. W. KEARNEY, Col. 1st Drags.

His Excellency, Thomas Ford,
" 'Governor of Illinois, St. Louis, Mo.'

By the above letter you will perceive that I cannot yet be enabled to say with certainty whether the application will be successful. We will know in two weeks, I think, at most.[26]

The anti-Mormon party intend to renew the war this fall, and if it were known with certainty that the troops of the regular army would be obtained to prevent their operations, they would, most likely, hasten their plans and do all the mischief in their power before the force arrives. They are not afraid of the state militia, and would give themselves but little concern in fear of such opposition.

I therefore caution you not to let it be known beyond your most trusted men that a regular force is expected. I have, myself, not informed any one who would make the matter public, and yet, most unaccountably, the fact has got into the newspapers.

Another caution I would give you, your people cannot pay too much attention to it. It is very natural and probable to suppose that with the prospect of such a force, and the increased security it may give, some of your people may be prompted to such audacity and imprudence as will tend to prolong angry feelings. They may thus be induced to do and say foolish and wicked things, uselessly vexatious and mortifying to the opposing party.

There are no doubt wicked people in Nauvoo, ready for the commission of crime, as well as in every other city of the same number of inhabitants. The well disposed amongst you must restrain those persons, and, if need be, bring them to punishment. The public at large will not distinguish among you, but will involve you all in a common obloquy.

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26. This application to Colonel S. W. Kearney for five hundred troops must have been mere feigning on the part of Governor Ford. He was too good a lawyer not to know that in his capacity as governor he could make a direct demand upon the president of the United States—the Illinois legislature not being in session—for such troops as he might have thought necessary to cope with the Illinois situation. (See *Constitution of the United States*, Article V, sec. 4). "The United States shall protect each of them [the states] against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive—when the legislature cannot be convened—against domestic violence." But it was mere pettifogging for him to communicate with the military authorities at St. Louis, and not with the chief executive of the nation. He evidently wanted to represent himself to the brethren at Nauvoo as doing something looking to the safety of the community there, when in reality he was doing nothing, and meant to do nothing.

I have dwelt more, perhaps, than may be agreeable to you on this point; but I have done so in my anxiety that the Mormons demonstrate to the world that they are no[27] more deserving than their enemies.

Three or four of your people are reported to me as having already been threatening life, and publicly following men about the city with clubs, and that no effort was made to restrain them. An effectual stop must be put to all such vaporings, if you expect it to stop on the other side. You are interested in bringing all such men to immediate justice, if you can. If pacification is what you ask, you must restrain your own hostility.

It may be thought that there has already been too much delay in proceeding against the murderers, that a further delay will give an opportunity for many of the guilty to escape, and that the apparent impunity for the present will greatly encourage further outrages against you.

This last consideration is one of considerable force, and on that account I could wish to proceed without delay, if it could be done without exciting further troubles, or if I had a force at my command on which I could rely to suppress them.

I do not fear that any of the leaders will escape or flee from justice; they are determined to remain and brave it out to the end.

In my humble opinion there is no utility in proceeding against any but the leaders.

As to the misguided multitude who were the mere followers of others and the instruments of mischief, it has never been the practice of civilized states to proceed against them with rigor.

The punishment of some of the principal offenders has always been looked upon as sufficient to vindicate the majesty of the law and to deter others from the commission of like offenses, and this is the whole object of human punishment.

I do not apprehend that anything requiring my further stay here will happen immediately, and will return home tomorrow.

I am, most respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
[Signed] "THOMAS FORD."

"William W. Phelps, Esq.,
Nauvoo, Illinois."[28]

THE PATIENCE OF THE SAINTS

So much is here set forth in order to exhibit the spirit of the "Mormons" and anti-"Mormons" respectively, with reference to their regard for law and order, and their desire

27. This not clear, but I follow copy of the letter. Does the Governor mean they are more deserving? etc.

28. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, pp. 103-105, and 119-121.

for peace. In addition to the facts which indicate that the greater loyalty to law and order, and the greater desire for peace to be on the side of the saints, in any judgment to be formed of the parties it should always be remembered that it was the Latter-day Saints who were the injured party. It was their leaders who had been murdered while under guarantee of protection from the state, both upon the general principle that a state under all circumstances, and constantly, will give protection to its citizens—and more especially those whom it takes into its custody charged with crime—and besides there was the specific pledge of protection on the part of the governor and his militia officers and men; some of whom, however, afterwards, beyond doubt, were parties to the murder. It was the Latter-day Saints who restrained themselves while laboring under a sense of outraged justice, and yet with ample means at hand in the Nauvoo Legion for taking a terrible vengeance, and breaking up the lawless gangs assembling at various points and threatening the people of Nauvoo as a community with extermination from the state.

CHAPTER LIX

The Hancock County "Wolf Hunt"—Preliminary Steps to "Trial" of Mob Leaders—Joseph Smith, Martyr—Responsibility of False Brethren

IN the month of September[1] there was planned on the part of the people of Hancock county what was undoubtedly intended to be an extensive military movement against the saints at Nauvoo, and throughout Hancock county. The historian of the county (Gregg), refers to it as "a Grand Military Encampment," called by "Colonel Levi Williams, Major Aldrich [both charged with the murder of the Brothers Smith], and a number of the officers of the independent companies in the neighborhood of Warsaw." Gregg accepts the assurance that "this movement actually intended nothing beyond what was expressed in the call"—*viz.*, "a peaceful military display." "But," he adds, "it gave great uneasiness to the Mormons and their friends."[2] Gregg fails, however, to note that the invitations extended to the captains of the military and their companies in all the neighboring counties

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1. There is some confusion of dates in relation to this projected military movement. Gregg, in the *History of Hancock County*, says that the "Grand Military Encampment" at Warsaw was appointed for "the 2nd of October," the call having been issued and "circulated by means of hand bills dated Sept. 27th." Yet he chronicles the appearance of Governor Ford on the scene with a military force to disband the "encampment" as taking place from the 27th to the 29th of October. In his *Prophet of Palmyra*, published ten years later than his *History of Hancock County*—the History was published in 1880—he omits these exact dates, but still places the event in October (p. 293). Governor Ford also places the time of his visit to Hancock county to disperse this "encampment" or "wolf hunt," as being on "October 25th." This, however, is an error. The *Nauvoo Neighbor* of the 2nd of October editorially notes the arrival of two independent companies of militia in Nauvoo, "as directed by the governor." On the 27th of September, Governor Ford and staff, General John J. Hardin and staff, and between 400 and 500 men arrived. "They were all cordially received and showed a decorum highly praiseworthy. The 28th, being the time of the Nauvoo Legion muster, the governor and General Hardin reviewed that body, and the governor's troops being in the city too, gave Nauvoo quite a martial appearance. In the evening at the camp, about two miles from the city, one of the soldiers was mortally wounded in a false alarm, and died before morning. The troops left for Warsaw on Sunday morning, the 29th." This was the counter military display on the part of the state to disperse the "encampment" or "wolf hunt" of the text.

2. *History of Hancock County*, pp. 326-7.

to Hancock in Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri; that according to Governor Ford the purpose was to attend "a great wolf hunt in Hancock;"[3] and further, according to the same authority, "it was privately announced that the 'wolves' to be hunted were the Mormons and Jack-Mormons;" also that preparations were made for the assembling of several thousand men with provisions for six days; that the anti-"Mormon" newspapers, "in aid of the movement," commenced anew the publication of awful accounts of thefts and robberies and "meditated" "Mormon" outrages.[4]

The "Wolf Hunt" Thwarted

To counteract this movement and prevent the mischief it threatened, Governor Ford issued a proclamation calling for 2,500 volunteers. After an embarrassing delay of several days,[5] and after great exertion on the part of the governor,[6] he succeeded in raising about five hundred volunteers. With this force, under the immediate command of General John J. Hardin, the governor on the 25th of September, marched

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3. The nature of a "wolf hunt" is described in footnote 16 of ch. liii, this *History*.

4. Governor Ford's statement is of sufficient importance for reproduction: "In the course of the fall of 1844 the anti-Mormon leaders sent printed invitations to all the militia captains in Hancock, and to the captains of militia in all the neighboring counties in Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, to be present with their companies at a great wolf hunt in Hancock; and it was privately announced that the wolves to be hunted were the Mormons and Jack-Mormons. Preparations were made for assembling several thousand men, with provisions for six days; and the anti-Mormon newspapers, in aid of the movement, commenced anew the most awful accounts of thefts and robberies, and meditated outrages by the Mormons. The Whig press in every part of the United States came to their assistance. The democratic newspapers and leading Democrats, who had received the benefit of the Mormon votes to their party, quailed under the tempest, leaving no organ for the correction of public opinion, either at home or abroad, except the discredited Mormon newspapers at Nauvoo. But very few of my prominent Democratic friends would dare to come up to the assistance of their governor, and but few dared openly to vindicate his motives in endeavoring to keep peace. They were willing and anxious for Mormon votes at elections, but they were unwilling to risk their popularity with the people by taking a part in their favor, even when law and justice, and the Constitution were all on their side. Such being the odious character of the Mormons, the hatred of the common people against them, and such being the pusillanimity of leading men, in fearing to encounter it." (*History of Illinois*, p. 364).

5. Gregg says, "People were reluctant to volunteer, believing that the governor was engaged in an unnecessary and uncalled for enterprise" (*History of Hancock County*, p. 327).

6. After speaking of the difficulties he encountered in his efforts "to keep

into Hancock county. "The malcontents," as Ford calls the movers of this "wolf hunt," "abandoned their design, and all the leaders of it fled to Missouri."[7] "The Carthage Greys," continues Ford's account, "fled almost in a body, carrying their arms with them."[8]

Nauvoo was included in the governor's visit to Hancock county, as already detailed.

Preparation for the "Trial" of the Mob Leaders

The first attempt to arrest those who were supposed to be implicated in the crime at Carthage was made sometime previous to this "wolf hunt" episode. Murray McConnel, Esq., a somewhat noted lawyer of Jacksonville, Morgan county, was employed by Governor Ford to assist the prosecuting attorney, William Elliot, in gathering evidence and getting the supposed guilty parties arrested; for "from the first," according to his own statement, the governor "had determined that some of the ring leaders in the foul murder of the Smiths should be brought to trial."[9] The result of McConnel's visit to Carthage and Nauvoo was that warrants were issued by Aaron Johnson, a Nauvoo justice of the peace, for the arrest of Colonel Levi Williams, Joseph H. Jackson, the two Laws, Wilson and William, the two Fosters, Dr. Robert D. and Charles A.—the last four were living at Hampton, near Rock Island, about eighty miles north of Nauvoo, to which place they had moved after the destruction of the *Expositor* press. "These writs, excepting as to Colonel Williams, were all served," says Gregg, "but all refused to go

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peace" (note 4) he states that he "applied to General John J. Hardin of the state militia, and to Colonels Baker and Merriman, all Whigs, but all of them men of military ambition; and they, together with Colonel Weatherford, a Democrat, with my own exertions, succeeded in raising about 500 volunteers" (*History of Illinois*, pp. 364-5).

7. Why this flight of the leaders into Missouri if the purpose of this "encampment" was the peaceful military display accepted by Gregg as its sole purpose?

8. Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 365.

9. *History of Illinois*, p. 367.

to Nauvoo for a hearing, and no attempt was made to take them there."[10]

When the writ was served upon Thomas C. Sharp at Warsaw he cooly refused service. The following is his own account of the treatment of the officers, published in his own paper:

"Just as our paper was going to press this morning, a man came in and said that he had a writ for me.

'Well, sir, let me see it.' He produced the paper which proved to be a warrant for the murder of Joe and Hyrum Smith, issued by Aaron Johnson, justice of the peace in Nauvoo. After reading, I told Mr. Officer, that if my friends said 'go,' I would go—if not I would stand fast. Accordingly I went out and conversed with the citizens and unanimously they said, 'don't go.' I then told the officer that he could return and report progress, but I could not go with him, for I had no security for my safety, and, moreover, I was not to be singled out as the sole object of Mormon vengeance."[11]

Accused Mob Leaders Fix Own Terms of Surrender

A second attempt to arrest some of the leaders of the Carthage mob was made in connection with the advent of Governor Ford and his military escort into Hancock county to break up the "wolf hunt" movement. Before arriving at Warsaw on the 29th of September, Governor Ford learned that Colonel Levi Williams, Thomas C. Sharp, and Joseph H. Jackson had crossed the Mississippi into Missouri; going into camp with some of their friends at the settlement called

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10. *History of Hancock County*, p. 327. An interesting episode is related in connection with serving the writs upon the Laws and the Fosters. It is detailed in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of the 9th of October, 1844. It appears that John C. Bennett was in Hampton at the time the deputy sheriff of Hancock county was serving the writs upon the Laws and the Fosters, and now the *Neighbor*: "The deputy sheriff of Hancock county last week went to Hampton to arrest the Laws and Fosters for the crime of murder as charged in the writ. R. D. Foster made a fuss about a 'Danite' come to kill him. The deputy called on Dr. John C. Bennett for his book and read the story of Dr. Foster's following Dr. Bennett to New York to kill him. Says he, Doctor, is that the truth?' 'I then thought it was true, but I was mistaken.' 'O, yes,' says the deputy, 'perhaps Foster is mistaken too.' He then took out the *Neighbor* and read Wm. Law's affidavit of Dr. Bennett's rascality, and asked Wm. Law if it was true? He replied, 'Yes!' Bennett then tapped the deputy on his shoulder, took him aside, and said, 'I would not have you think I associate with the Laws and Fosters!'" "When rogues fall out," etc.

11. Reproduced in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Oct. 2nd, 1844, from the *Warsaw Signal*.

Churchville, opposite Warsaw. Three of Ford's officers, *viz.*, Colonels Baker, Merriman and Weatherford, volunteered their services, if the governor would go with them, to cross into Missouri with a force and capture these leaders for whose arrest writs had been issued; and also for whose arrest the governor had made a proclamation—though it had not then been published[12]—offering a reward of two hundred dollars for the apprehension of each of the aforesaid persons. In the afternoon preceding the night arranged for the attempt to make the capture, Colonel Baker, it seems, visited the encampment of the refugees, and on his return refused to join in the expedition, and advised his friends against participating in it; "and as there was no authority," Governor Ford remarks, "for compelling men to invade a neighboring state," the enterprise was abandoned, much to the vexation of the governor and several others according to the latter's account of the incident.[13] It was this same Colonel Baker, according to Governor Ford, who arranged the terms on which the accused consented to surrender, *viz.*,[14] they were to be taken to Quincy for examination under a military guard; the prosecuting attorney was to be advised to admit them to bail; they were to be granted a continuance of their trial at the next court at Carthage. Upon this arrangement being agreed upon two of the accused men, Williams and Sharp, surrendered and crossed the Mississippi to Warsaw; Jackson was sick and refused to surrender.[15]

Governor Ford announced this action to the people at Nauvoo in the following note:

"WARSAW, Sept. 30, 1844.

SIR:—I write to inform you that Williams and Sharp have surrendered and will be sent to Quincy for trial. Jackson has not

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12. The Proclamation bears date of September 27th, and is published in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Oct. 2nd, 1844.

13. *History of Illinois*, p. 366.

14. Late Secretary Hay credits the arrangement to McConnel, the governor's representative in the prosecution. (*Atlantic Monthly*, Dec. 1869).

15. Nothing further for some time was heard of this desperate character, after his refusal to return to Illinois for trial. It appears, however, that he joined the

come over and is so very sick that we could do nothing with him if we had him. It will be necessary to get all the witnesses down as soon as possible."[16]

As the governor on his arrival at Warsaw, the day before, had also demanded the surrender of the state arms, and two cannons and about sixty stands of small arms had been given up,[17] it appeared at last as if some progress towards vindicating the law and keeping the peace was really to be made; and in an editorial of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of October 2nd, these signs of progress were applauded in the following passage:

"Thus far the proceedings show a desire to retrieve the broken faith and laws of the state, as well as a firm determination to put a 'veto' on mobbing whether it comes creeping among the people as a 'grand encampment' for a *wolf hunt*, or springs up blacked as *passant* negroes, for cold blooded murder. Our voice is and ever has been, 'magnify the law and make it honorable.' "[18]

Here, and pending the opening of the "trial" of the murderers of the Carthage victims may fittingly be discussed the question—

May Joseph Smith and his Brother Hyrum be Classed as Martyrs

Whenever the terms "martyr" or "martyrdom" as connected with the name of Joseph Smith are used, they are placed within quotation marks by nearly all non-"Mormon" writers, and certainly so placed by all anti-"Mormon" writers. The claim of "martyrdom" for the Prophet is quite generally

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United States army invading Mexico during the war with that country—1846-7, and died in Mexico with the "black vomit." See Elder William I. Appleby's report at a conference with the twelve on the east side of the Missouri river, Oct. 3rd, 1847. Following is the excerpt from Wilford Woodruff's *Journal*, in which the item occurs. After referring to the twelve meeting with brother Appleby on his return from Philadelphia, the *Journal* proceeds: "We also learned that many who had been enemies to the church were dead. Jackson [Joseph H.] who had a hand in the death of the Prophet, died in Mexico with the black vomit. Mr. Eagle [editor of a paper in Nauvoo at the time the last remnant of the saints were driven from that city] is also dead. We were informed that General Hardin, Major Warren and Captain Morgan, with half of the Quincy Grey's were killed in the Mexican war." (Woodruff's *Journal, Ms.*, entry for Oct. 3rd, 1847. See also *Note* 1 at the end of chapter lvi).

16. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Oct. 2nd, 1844.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*

denied; and even in the few cases where admitted it is usually with some modifications that detract from its value; as, for instance, when the gentle Quaker poet, Whittier, commenting on the death of the Prophet, says—"He died by the hands of wicked and barbarous men, a martyr—unwilling doubtless, but still a martyr—of his faith."[19] Two reasons can perhaps be assigned for this denial of the title of "martyr" to the Prophet of the New Dispensation, though I have never heard any given. Writers, so far as I know, depending upon the force and authority of a sneer to justify the denial, as when a German writer, says, in speaking of the Prophet's death, "that revolver in the hand of the 'lamb that goes to the slaughter' is highly characteristic."[20] Of the two reasons to which I refer as ground for denying Joseph Smith the title of "martyr," the first is an exaggerated idea of what constitutes martyrdom; and second, the fact that Joseph Smith offered resistance to his murderers.

The conception of martyrdom has been unduly influenced by the martyrdoms of the early Christian centuries, where the witnesses to the Christian verities sought and even provoked martyrdom beyond all prudence, because of the air of sanctity it gave and the fame it promised by the inordinate esteem and veneration in which the martyrs were held. And hence it comes that the idea of a martyr is one who not only suffers death rather than deny his faith, but one who seeks such a death and meets it unresistingly. There is, however, another and equally as true a conception of martyrdom; and that is where in the persistence in, and the maintenance of a cause, one suffers toil and danger and finally death because of adherence to this cause, though using all the means that prudence would suggest to avoid danger and death—these are martyrs, no less than those who clamor for death in attestation of their sincerity—or is it the building up of a fame? The avoidance

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19. Little's *Living Age*, 1848.
20. *Mormon Portraits*, Wyl. 1886.

of danger and death for some time by both the celebrated Christian martyrs Polycarp and Cyprian, by no means detracted from their character as real martyrs for the cause of Christianity, when finally they yielded to the sentence passed upon them by their Roman judges.[21]

Joseph Smith's Self-Surrender to Certain Death

It was self-surrender that Joseph Smith made to certain death. He was clean escaped out of the hands of his enemies. He had crossed the Mississippi from Nauvoo and was surrounded by trusted men who were aiding his departure for the west. One more day would have seen him at the head of a small company of men in the wilderness of Iowa *en route* for the Rocky Mountains. Then came the pleading of some mistaken and some false friends that he submit to the demands of Governor Ford and trust to his promises of protection, and not play the part of the false shepherd who leaves the flock when attacked by wolves. This was more than Joseph's spirit could endure, and hence he recrossed the river, against his better judgment, and with absolute conviction that he would be killed, went to Carthage and among a host of publicly and repeatedly avowed enemies, pledged to encompass his death, surrendered to the requirements of the officers of the law. At Nauvoo, eighteen miles away, he had left a body of between three and four thousand men, the best body of militia in the state of Illinois, with arms and other equipments for war. And yet the Smith brothers voluntarily placed themselves in the hands of the officers. No self-sur-

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21. Polycarp made several flights from the minions of the law who sought him; his hiding place was several times betrayed, until on the last occasion of such betrayal, he yielded himself to the officers of the law. (See Neander's *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. i, pp. 110-11.) Cyprian acted in much the same manner. On one occasion when the clamor of the multitude demanded that Cyprian, the leader of the Christians, should be thrown to the lions, "prudence suggested the necessity of a temporary retreat, and the voice of prudence was obeyed." On another occasion, when it was evident that he would be singled out as one of the first victims of the imperial edict, "the frailty of human nature tempted him to withdraw himself by a secret flight from the danger and the honor of martyrdom." (Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. ii, pp. 248-9).

render, with every means for successful resistance, could have been more complete; and in fulfillment of the requirements of the governor, the Brothers Smith went to Carthage unarmed. The matter of their having one six-barrelled and one single-barrelled pistol with them when assailed was because friends on parting from them left these fire arms with them as stated in a former chapter, under circumstances alike honorable and justifiable. These arms offered but a meager defense against the overwhelming odds of the assailants; nor did the Prophet use the pistol left with him until he had seen his brother shot to death from his side—not until he had looked into the dead face of that brother, calm but bullet-torn, did the war spirit native to his race—his revolutionary ancestry—rise within him and impel him to the conflict at the door where muskets were belching fire and death, where he stood for one splendid moment as some avenging spirit returning the fire of the mob. Much less or far more than mortal man must he have been not to have done what he did. And what he did in that supreme moment of trial and death, does not depreciate him in the esteem of Christian men, nor make him less a martyr to the mission given him of God. President McKinley's and Roosevelt's United States secretary of state, John Hay, was right when he said Joseph Smith put up a "handsome fight" in the prison; but it in no way detracts from the solemn fact of his martyrdom, and emphasizes the glory of his manhood.

Equally important to the question of the martyrdom is the question—

Were the Brothers Smith Killed by Apostate Mormons

It is fairly clear from the text of this chapter who were the parties immediately responsible for the killing of the Smith brothers. Yet it is a question discussed in some quarters of late as to whether, after all, it was not apostate "Mormons" who killed them, the evident intention being not so much to ascertain the truth as to cast the odium for the Carthage

murder upon former members of the church; and of course, by so much, relieve non-"Mormons" from such odium. The chief seceders from the church at Nauvoo who, with any color of reason could be charged with complicity in the affair would be the Brothers Law, William and Wilson; the two Higbee brothers, Francis M. and Chauncy L.; the two Fosters, Dr. Robert D. and Charles A. It is evident form our church annals and from this *History*,[22] that these men were in a conspiracy against the lives of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. And it is also true that they were among those who were charged with the crime, soon after it was committed, and for whom warrants of arrest were issued by Justice Aaron Johnson, of Nauvoo, and upon whom service was made as already detailed in this chapter. But they were never indicted, and it is doubtful if more could be charged against them than being accessories before the fact to the crime. It is true, however, that some of them were in and about Carthage during the days immediately preceding the tragedy. On the 25th of June, about midday, word was brought to President Joseph Smith that the Laws, Fosters, Higbees, and others were leaving Carthage for Nauvoo to plunder. This information the Prophet conveyed to Governor Ford, who, within the hour communicated to his informant that he had ordered Captain Singleton with a company of men from McDonough county to march to Nauvoo to cooperate with the police in keeping the peace; and he would call out the legion if necessary.[23]

Later in the afternoon—about four o'clock—report was brought to the Prophet that William and Wilson Law, Robert D. Foster and the two Higbees "had said that there was nothing against these men [the Smith brothers]; the law could not reach them, *but powder and ball would, and they should not go out of Carthage alive.*"[24]

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22. See ch. liv.
23. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, p. 358.
24. *Ibid*, pp. 358-9.

Chauncy L. Higbee was one of the prosecutors in the *Expositor* press case and as counsel moved the adjournment of that case. He was also counsel for the state in connection with Sylvester Emmonds, editor of the *Expositor,* Thomas C. Sharp *et al.,* in the trumped up charge of "treason" against the Smiths, and appeared in that case late in the afternoon of the 26th.[25] On the morning of the 27th of June, the same Higbee was in Carthage, and on meeting Dan Jones in the street said: "We are determined to kill Joe and Hyrum, and you had better go away to save yourself." Closer to the murder than this it is impossible to trace him from any evidence of history. According to Mr. Hay, he later became "a distinguished legislator and judge in southern Illinois."[26]

In a list of the leaders of the Hancock county mob, "and those who took an active part in the massacre of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," the list being furnished by J. B. Backenstos, sheriff of Hancock county, Francis M. Higbee is the only name among the seceders given by the sheriff.[27] When a coroner's jury assembled in the prison and were holding an inquest over the body of Hyrum Smith, Captain Robert R. Smith being among the jurors, the name of Francis M. Higbee was mentioned, whereon John Taylor, present, though savagely wounded, arose and said: "Captain Smith you are a justice of the peace; I have heard his (Higbee's) name mentioned. I want to swear my life against him."[28] Word was immediately sent to Higbee and he left the place. In a list of the names of those whom he considered active in taking part in the massacre Willard Richards names the two Laws, the two Fosters, the two Higbees, Joseph H. Jackson, Sylvester Emmons, Henry C. Norton, and Augustine Spencer. Unfortunately, however, he does not make it clear whether

25. *Ibid,* pp. 323-4, p. 439, and p. 359.
26. *Atlantic Monthly,* December, 1869.
27. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star,* vol. xxiv, pp. 632-3.
28. Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, Taylor, in Tyler's *Mormon Battalion,* p. 53.

their "activity" extend to their being in the mob that made the assault upon the jail, or only to their being accessories before the fact, of which there can be no question, and hence "active" in the matter, and equally responsible with those who did the physical deed.

In a communication to the *Upper Mississippian,* from Hampton, near Rock Island—under date of "August, 1844," in denying the charge that the "Laws and Fosters were engaged in the assassination of the Smiths at Carthage, William Law said: "The statement is false; for Dr. R. D. Foster, Wilson Law and myself were in Fort Madison, Iowa territory, at the time of the murder—which fact can be proved by Dr. Bostwick, General Brown, Mr. Bullard, Mr. Reid, and the Hon. John C. Calhoun's two sons with whom we were conversing at the very hour. Chas. C. Foster was then in Burlington, Iowa territory."[29]

All that can now be said is that no positive proof exists that any of these Nauvoo seceders were actually with the mob that made the assault upon the jail and killed the Smith brothers. The mob that did that physical crime was made up from the disbanded Warsaw militia—officers and men—aided and abetted by unknown parties already in Carthage, and they may even have joined in the assault upon the jail; and surely the Carthage Greys, officers and men, were directly implicated in the awful tragedy. The names of those immediately on duty at the jail as a guard, and who "good naturedly resisted until they were carefully disarmed" (Hay), are given by Sheriff Backenstos as follows: F. A. Worrell, officer of the guard. Franklin Rhodes, William Baldwin, Levi Street, lives near Mendon, Adams county, Illinois; Joseph Hawley, lives in Carthage, Illinois; Anthony Barkman, and Clabourn Wilson."[30]

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29. Copied into the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of September 25th, 1844.
30. Church Historians' Compilation, *Millennial Star,* vol. xxiv, p. 632.

CHAPTER LX

"Trial" and Acquittal of the Murderers of the Prophet

AT the October term of the state circuit court in which Hancock county was included, a grand jury was impaneled, and the Carthage murder case investigated. Great anxiety was felt as it was widely rumored that the old citizens intended to interpose obstacles to the court's procedure. A number of people from Nauvoo came to Carthage to attend court, and to avoid hotel expenses encamped in their wagons in the outskirts of the town. A number of Indians *en route* for Iowa—for what purpose is not known—passed through the county, and rumor soon had it that the "Mormons" and Indians were camped near Carthage which "occasioned considerable uneasiness," says the chronicle. An investigation was ordered that resulted in the report that the "Mormon camp at Carthage and the passage of Indians through the county "had no connection with each other."[1]

Opening of the "Trial" of the Murderers

The court session began on Monday, the 21st of October. In his charge to the grand jury the judge, Jesse B. Thomas,[2] urged the jurors "to do their duty in the case likely to come before them, and leave the consequences." His charge is said to have given general satisfaction. The grand jury

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1. Gregg's *History of Illinois*, pp. 328-9.
2. The complete list of the officers of the court at this time was as follows: Jesse B. Thomas, judge; William Elliot, prosecuting attorney; Jacob B. Backenstos, clerk; and General Miner R. Deming, sheriff. The following composed the grand jury:

Abram Lincoln,	Thomas Gilmore,
James Reynolds,	Benj. Warrington,
Thomas J. Graham,	Reuben H. Loomis,
Wm. M. Owens,	Samuel Scott,
Ebenezer Rand,	James Ward,
Thomas Brawner,	Samuel Ramsey,
Ralph Gorrell,	Thomas H. Owen,
Brant Agnert,	David Thompson,
Martin Yetter,	John J. Hickok.
William Smith.	

(*History of Hancock County*, p. 328.)

began its sessions on Tuesday, 22nd, and on the following Saturday brought in two bills of indictments against nine individuals; one for the murder of Joseph Smith, and the other for the murder of Hyrum Smith. The indicted were Colonel Levi Williams, of Green Plains, a Baptist minister. Thomas C. Sharp, of Warsaw, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*.[3] Mark Aldrich, captain of a company of Hancock county militia. Jacob C. Davis, then state senator, and afterwards member of congress for that district.[4] William N. Grover, captain of a company of Warsaw militia under Colonel Williams. Hay speaks of Grover as afterwards becoming a distinguished lawyer in Missouri, and "an eminently respectable and conservative man."[5] John Allen, William Voras,[6] John Wills, William Gallaher. Of the last four nothing is known except their connection with this Carthage mob, and their trial for the murder of the Brothers Smith.[7]

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3. Sharp was once an anti-Masonic editor of western New York. He invented the name "Jack-Mason," for all such persons as refused to take part in the anti-Masonic movement of that day and neighborhood, according to a correspondent to the Illinois *State Register*, writing under date of November 1st, 1844. He it was, also, according to this same authority, who coined the phrase "Jack-Mormon," an opprobrious epithet applied to such non-"Mormons" of Illinois who did not favor the illegal procedure and mob violence of Sharp and his associates against the "Mormons." He is also described as having made himself the "organ of a gang of town lot speculators at Warsaw, who are afraid that Nauvoo is about to kill off their town and render speculations abortive." (The *State Register* article is copied into the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Nov. 13th, 1844.)

4. John Hay, in *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869. Davis is described as a professional politician by Hay, who "dearly loved both Mormon and anti-Mormon votes." He is represented by the same writer as being sorely perplexed on the question of going to Carthage with the mob, at the time some of the Warsaw militia were converted into the mob that marched to Carthage. "It was heavy weather for him. * * * He was so backward in coming forward that his company left him in disgust, and followed the fiery Grover, whose company had gone home to dinner. Davis still could not make up his mind to go home, but got into Calvin Cole's wagon and followed the boys at a distance; so that at last he had the luck [Sic!] to be in at the closing scene, and the honor to be indicted with the rest."

5. "It seemed fated," says Hay, in referring to another of the prominent actors in the martyrdom, "that every one connected with this affair should have greatness thrust upon him."

6. I follow the historian of Hancock county, Gregg, in the spelling of this name. Hay gives it "Voorhees."

7. According to Mr. Gregg, the historian of Hancock county, the names of about sixty persons were presented to the Grand Jury for indictment, which list included the Laws, the Fosters, the Higbees, and John Elliot—the last concerned in the kidnapping of the Averys, see *ante*. Gregg says that the evidence was so inconclusive that the jury voted on the whole sixty; but failing to indict they struck off ten and voted again, and so on to the last nine, when the indictment carried.

On the announcement of the indictments most of the defendants appeared and demanded immediate trial. To this Mr. McConnel, Governor Ford's appointee to assist the prosecuting attorney of the circuit court, objected on the ground of not being ready; his witnesses before the grand jury had departed without being recognized; and Mr. Elliot, the chief prosecuting attorney was absent. The cause was postponed until the next term of court, and it was agreed that no *capias* should issue in the interim,[8] if the defendants would pledge themselves to appear at the time agreed upon.

The next term of the court convened on the 19th of May, 1845. By that time the *personnel* of the court was changed by the new officers taking the places to which they had been elected in the fall of 1844.[9]

Court Procedure

On motion of the defense the array of jurors chosen in the first week of the trial was set aside because of alleged

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He also says that even these indictments were found chiefly upon the testimony of the three witnesses—Daniels, Brackenbury and Miss Graham—whose evidence on the trial the court instructed the petit jury to disregard (*History of Hancock County*, Gregg, p. 330). Our church annals are practically silent upon the matter of these court proceedings, doubtless for the reason that the court was in possession of and dominated by the mob forces, while by threats of violence the saints were kept away.

8. It is held by Gregg that this agreement was violated by the prosecution "by frequent attempts made by the sheriff and his deputies to arrest some of them during the winter." And especially was it violated in respect of Jacob C. Davis, state senator. "At the opening of the legislature he took his seat in that body. During the winter he was arrested at Springfield by an officer from Hancock county, but was ordered released by resolution of the senate." (*History of Hancock County*, pp. 329, 336). The violation of the agreement can only be accounted for on the ground of a change in the personnel of the county and circuit court officers, and the very likely belief in the unusual if not utter illegality of the agreement *ab initio*.

9. The personnel of the court officers at the time of the trial were: Richard M. Young, judge; Jas. H. Ralston, prosecuting attorney; David E. Head, clerk; Miner R. Deming, sheriff; Josiah Lamborn, of Jackson, was appointed assistant prosecutor; and William A. Richardson, O. H. Browning, Calvin A. Warsaw, Archibald Williams, O. C. Skinner and Thomas Morrison were counsel for defendants. The trial jury was as follows:

Jesse Griffitts,	Jonathan Foy,
Joseph Jones,	Solomon J. Hill,
Wm. Robertson,	James Gittings,
Wm. Smith,	F. M. Walton,
Joseph Massey,	Jabez A. Beebe,
Silas Griffitts,	Gilmore Callison.

(*History of Hancock County*, Gregg, p. 329.)

prejudice of the county commission and the county sheriff and deputies who selected them.[10] Thomas Owen and Wm. D. Abernethy were appointed elisors for the case. Neither of these elisors was a "Mormon." The first was regarded as a "Jack-Mormon," the second was known as an anti-"Mormon." Ninety-six men were summoned and brought before the court before the requisite panel of twelve men could be filled—"Before twelve were found ignorant enough and indifferent enough to act as jurors," is Hay's summing up of the jury selection.[11] That is not the view of Governor Ford, however. According to him it was not a question of ignorance or indifference as to the trial jury, but one of corruption and intimidation. He says: "One friend of the Mormons and one anti-Mormon were appointed for this purpose; [i. e. to choose the jury] but as more than a thousand men had assembled under arms at the court to keep away the Mormons and their friends, the jury was made up of these military followers of the court, who all swore that they had never formed or expressed any opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the accused."[12]

The Witnesses for the State

The trial lasted from the 19th of May to the 30th. The principal witnesses on the part of the state were two young men who accompanied the Warsaw mob to Carthage, and claimed to have witnessed the whole affair, from the organization of the Warsaw mob out of the disbanded militiamen of that place, to the attack upon the jail and the shooting of Joseph Smith by order of Colonel Levi Williams. The names of these witnesses were Wm. M. Daniels and Benjamin Brackenbury. To these should be added a Miss Eliza Jane Graham, a waitress at the Warsaw House, who served supper

10. The county commissioners were George Caulson and Andrew H. Perkins, both "Mormons;" and the sheriff, Miner R. Deming, was known as a "Jack-Mormon." (Gregg's *Prophet of Palmyra*, p. 299).

11. *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869.

12. *History of Illinois*, p. 367.

to a number of the mobbers as "they came straggling in from Carthage." She claimed to have heard their conversation, and to have learned from this the connection of many with the tragedy at Carthage. "She could remember where every man sat, and what he said, and how he said it," says John Hay. "Unfortunately she remembered too much," he continues; "a few alibis so discredited her evidence that it was held to prove nothing but her own honest and half insane zeal."[13] The alibis under all the circumstances developed in the trial would be easily obtained.

The testimony of Daniels was spectacular and dealt somewhat with the miraculous, which of course discredited it with the court. Daniels collaborated with Lyman O. Littlefield, then a young man working in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* and *Times and Seasons* office, and published in a pamphlet the story of Daniels' experience with the Warsaw mob, and their murderous assault upon the prisoners, wherein he describes an alleged attempt of a ruffian,—supposedly a Missourian, and impliedly a bastard son of ex-Governor Boggs—to decapitate the Prophet after he was dead, and his being prevented by a sudden flash of light from out of heaven, passing its vivid chain between Joseph and his murderers, which paralyzed the would-be mutilator of the dead, and also the four men whom Daniels avers shot the Prophet, so that they all stood like marble statues, not having power to move a single limb of their bodies.[14] Having published this

13. *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1869. "No one accused her of wilful perjury," says Mr. Hay, "but her nervous and sensitive character had been powerfully impressed by the influence of Smith and brooding constantly upon his death, she came at last to regard her own fancies and suspicions as positive occurrences." Not having Miss Graham's testimony in hand, how far this characterization of it is just, we have no means of determining.

14. The story of Daniels is incredible, not because it involves incidents that would be set down as "miraculous," but because the story is all out of harmony with what in the nature of things would happen under the circumstances, and the incidents he details are too numerous, too complicated, too deliberate, and would have occupied too much time to be crowded into the space within which necessarily they must have happened, if they happened at all. No copy of the Littlefield-Daniels pamphlet, as published at Nauvoo, has been preserved in the church collection of books and documents, but the story of Daniels as then published was reproduced by Mr. Littlefield in 1882; and, in connection with some additional matter, was published in a booklet under the title, *The Martyrs*.

story before the trial, when brought into court he was confronted with it, swore to its truth, which destroyed the credit of his evidence; and in the court's instruction, the jury was told to exclude from their consideration all that was said by the three witnesses, Daniels, Brackenbury and Miss Graham.[15]

The spirit of the testimony on the part of the defendants, and, indeed, the nature of the whole trial may be fairly judged by the testimony of Frank Worrell, as given by Mr. Hay, in his *Atlantic Monthly* article, "which," he remarks, "we copy for its curious and cynical *bonhomie.*" (!) He represents Worrell as testifying:

" 'I was one of the guards at the jail. Saw Smith when he was killed. Saw none of the defendants at the jail! Suppose there were one or two hundred there. They stayed three or four minutes. They formed in front of the jail and made a rush. Knew none that came up. * * * Heard nothing that was said. * * * Saw Smith die,—was within ten feet of him. * * * Perhaps a minute after he fell I saw him die. * * * I was pushed and shoved some fifty feet. * * * Did not see Sharp, Grover, or Davis. It was so crowded I could not see much. I know about one-third of the men in the county; but none at the jail. I might have been some scared.'

It would be difficult to imagine anything cooler than this quiet perjury to screen a murder. Yet the strangest part of this strange story is that Frank Worrell was a generous young fellow, and the men with whom he carried on the ghastly comedy of attack and resistance at the door of the prison—Sharp and Grover—were good citizens, educated and irreproachable, who still live to enjoy the respect and esteem of all who know them."

When conceded murderers and perjurers can be character-

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15. "Instructions to the jury had been asked by both parties. The following, among a list of nine asked by defendants' counsel, were given, and probably had most influence on the verdict.

That where the evidence is circumstantial, admitting all to be proven which the evidence tends to prove, if then the jury can make any supposition consistent with the facts, by which the murder might have been committed without the agency of the defendants, it will be their duty to make that supposition, and find defendants not guilty.

That in making up their verdict, they will exclude from their consideration all that was said by Daniels, Brackenbury and Miss Graham (witnesses).

That whenever the probability is of a definite and limited nature, whether in the proportion of 100 to 1 or of 1,000 to 1, or any ratio, is immaterial, it cannot be safely made the ground of conviction; for to act upon it in any case would be to decide that for the sake of convicting many criminals, the life of one innocent man might be sacrificed. (Starkie, p. 508; *History of Hancock County*, Gregg, p. 330.)

ized by a man of the standing of Mr. Hay, as "good citizens," Latter-day Saints have a right to feel that all moral values are confounded when the events which comprise their history are up for consideration by Gentiles.

Verdict: "Not Guilty"—of Course!

"Many other witnesses," says Governor Ford—that is, others than Daniels, Brackenbury and Miss Graham—"were examined, who knew the facts, but under the demoralization of faction denied all knowledge of them."[16] The jury after a deliberation of several hours returned a verdict of *"not guilty."* This was the close of the trial of the defendants for the murder of Joseph Smith. "The same defendants, for the murder of Hyrum Smith, were required to enter into recognizance of $5,000 each (with 14 sureties) to the June term, 1845. At said term case was called, and Elliot and Lamborn not answering, the case was dismissed for want of prosecution, and defendants were discharged."[17]

"The case was closed," says Mr. Hay, in his account of the trial. "There was not a man on the jury, in the court, in the county, that did not know the defendants had done murder. But it was not proven, and the verdict of 'not guilty' was right in law." "And," he adds, "you cannot find in this generation [he wrote in December, 1869] an original inhabitant of Hancock county who will not stoutly sustain the verdict."

Mr. Gregg both in his *History of Hancock County* and in his *Prophet of Palmyra,* takes exception to what he calls Mr. Hay's "fling at the jury, the judge, and people." "And," he remarks, "we venture to characterize it as extremely unjust." Mr. Gregg declares that from personal knowledge of some of the trial jury he knew that instead of being either "ignorant or indifferent," as intimated by Mr. Hay, "they were men of intelligence, and probity, and worth." "It

16. *History of Illinois,* p. 368.
17. *History of Hancock County,* p. 330.

is very easy to say," Gregg concludes, on this head. "that a murder had been committed; that somebody had done the deed; but to say that among the Elliots, Laws, Fosters, and Higbees, and a long list of men charged, those five or six who were on trial had done it, *is saying a great deal.*"[18] All which will be conceded; but it is somewhat unfortunate for Mr. Gregg when he undertakes to defend this trial of the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, he himself suppresses, by failing to mention, some facts in connection with this trial that are emphasized by Governor Ford, namely: the fact that "more than a thousand men had assembled under arms at court to keep away the "Mormons" and their friends; that the jury, for some of whom Mr. Gregg stands sponsor as to their "intelligence, probity and worth," were chosen from these "military followers of the court," and who all swore they had never formed, or expressed any opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the accused; that, as Governor Ford further declares:—

> "During the progress of these trials, the judge was compelled to permit the courthouse to be filled and surrounded by armed bands, who attended court to browbeat and overawe the administration of justice. The judge himself was in duress, and informed me that he did not consider his life secure any part of the time. The consequence was that the crowd had everything their own way; the lawyers for the defense defended their clients by a long and elaborate attack on the governor; the armed mob stamped with their feet and yelled their approbation at every sarcastic and smart thing that was said; and the judge was not only forced to hear it, but to lend it a kind of approval."[19]

Acquittal of the Carthage Murderers According to Form

"Not guitly!" was the verdict, and undoubtedly the murderers on trial, and many others not on trial in Hancock county, Illinois, went unwhipped of justice at that time. And it is a singular thing that in all cases of persecution and mob violence, where Latter-day Saints have been shot down,

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18. *History of Hancock County*, pp. 330, 331.

19. *History of Illinois*, p. 368. For consideration of Governor Ford's relationship to the Carthage tragedy and "Mormonism," see later remarks, this chapter.

or murdered in other ways—and there have been many such cases; or where they have died from the effects of exposure, as direct and palpable results of persecutions endured—and there have been hundreds of such cases—*in no instance has there been a vindication of the law by the legal punishment of those who have assailed them!* Perhaps it is more fitting that it should be so. In the *Book of Mormon*[20] is a description of conditions that would prevail when that record should come forth to the world; and also a prophecy concerning some who "shall seek deep to hide their counsels from the Lord; and their works shall be in the dark, *and the blood of the saints shall cry from the ground against them;*"[21] a prophecy of martyrdom in the New Dispensation notwithstanding 19th and 20th century enlightenment, civilization, and constitutional guarantees of religious freedom! Hence, I say, it is more fitting that for the martyrdom of the Brothers Smith, as for all others who have fallen in our religious persecutions, and who have been murdered while proclaiming the new message to the world as missionaries, it is more fitting that there should be no legal punishment for their assailants and murderers. It seems to render the martyrdoms more complete; and more fully meets the terms of the prophecy that the blood of the saints, "in the day" [i. e. period of time] when the *Book of Mormon* should be brought forth, should cry unto the Lord from the ground for vengeance, clearly foreshadowing the fact that man would not avenge it.

"And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellowservants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled."[22]

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20. *II Nephi* xxviii:2-14.
21. For a detailed exposition of the prophecy see the writer's work, *New Witnesses for God*, vol. iii, pp. 249-253.
22. *Rev.* vi, 9-11.

Here I consider it fitting that several important matters closely associated with this "trial," should be set forth.

"GREATNESS" "THRUST UPON" JOSEPH SMITH'S MURDERERS

I have already quoted in a footnote (5) of this chapter the statement of Mr. John Hay, that it seemed fated that every one connected with the murder of the Brothers Smith should have greatness thrust upon him. In justification of this statement there may be cited from Mr. Hay's *Atlantic Monthly* article the fact that Wm. N. Grover subsequently became "a distinguished lawyer of St. Louis, and United States attorney for Missouri—an eminently respectable and conservative man"—if we accept as final the judgment of Mr. Hay. Mark Aldrich, described by his biographer—Gregg—as a man of great enterprise, went to California in 1850; thence, a few years later, to Arizona, where for five years he was a member of the Arizona legislature "and held other important offices in the territory," dying in 1874. Thomas C. Sharp "afterwards became principal of the public schools [of Hancock] and greatly esteemed as county judge." He was also a member of the state constitutional convention of 1847. Jacob C. Davis, state senator at the time of the murder, was afterwards elected to congress from the district where he lived. Colonel Levi Williams, the remaining prominent one of the group indicted, and the leader of the mob, had no "greatness" "thrust upon him," but lived quietly at "Green Plains"—no longer in existence on the map, not even as a postoffice—where he died about the year 1858.[23] Captain Robert F. Smith, of the Carthage Greys, though not among the indicted murderers was nevertheless an undoubted accomplice in the crime; for with the means at his command to have prevented it, he stopped his company half a dozen times, according to Mr. Hay, in its march from the courthouse to the jail—a distance of only several hundred yards—*"to remonstrate against de-*

23. Jenson's letter from Carthage, Oct. 8, 1888, published in *Infancy of the Church*, 1889, p. 55.

fects in their alignment; and it was owing to this extreme conscientiousness about discipline that they arrived at the jail when all was over!" This captain of the Carthage Greys "became the great war general, Robert F. Smith," says Mr. Hay, "and marched his troops from Hancock county to the Atlantic with more speed if less science, than he displayed in leading his squad that day from the courthouse to the jail."[24] When reading of these characters thus veneered by the record of the "greatness thrust upon them," one may not forget that four of them, Aldrich, Grover, Sharp and Davis, were of the number of whom Mr. Hay said—when he records that the jury pronounced them "not guilty"—there was not a man on the jury, in the county, that did not know the defendants had done murder." And as to Robert F. Smith, no war record he made, and no promotion to military honors he received can ever efface the deep disgrace his conduct brought upon himself and the state of Illinois when he betrayed the trust of an officer by conniving at the murder of men placed under his protection!. Special pleaders will try in vain to make the world believe that murderers and their accomplices are satisfactory or worthy citizens, and deserve the honors to which "in the corrupted currents of this world" they may attain or even have "thrust upon them." Nor need those who look for retribution to follow evil deeds feel disappointment because justice seems to halt, and even known murderers seemingly go unwhipped of justice. Judgment does not always overtake evil deeds in this world. "Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after"[25] but all may be assured that Justice does not sleep nor can he be thwarted—Justice

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24. Robert F. Smith was made colonel of the 16th Illinois Regiment at the time of its organization at Quincy, in May, 1861. At the expiration of its term the 16th with its colonel veteranized, participated in the siege of Atlanta, Ga., and thence marched with Sharman to the sea. Upon the occupation of Savannah, Colonel Smith was made military governor, and was brevetted brigadier general on the 13th of March, 1865.

25. *I Tim.* v:24.

will yet claim his own against the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

Alleged Miracles at the Martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith

It was inevitable, perhaps, that something miraculous should be alleged as connected with the death of Joseph Smith; that both myth and legend, those parasites of truth, should attach themselves to the Prophet's career. His character was too extraordinary, his mission too great, and his achievements too splendid to escape such a fate; and therefore both myth and legend are supplied in the stories detailing the scenes attendant upon the Prophet's death. Hence we have the legend of the body dragged to a sitting posture by the old well curb by the Missouri ruffian—the alleged bastard son of ex-Governor Boggs; the effort to behead the Prophet by the same person; the flash of heavenly light from the clear sky that paralyzed the arm of the would-be mutilator of the dead; and also paralyzing four other persons detailed by Captain Levi Williams to shoot the Prophet after he was set up by the well curb—paralyzed so that they stood like marble statues having no power to move a single limb and had to be carried away in their helpless condition by their companions! The imagination of the person detailing these incidents adds the delicate suggestion that while the deliberate preparations were being made to shoot him, President Smith's eyes rested upon his murderers "with a calm and quiet resignation; * * * his countenance seemed to betoken his only prayer to be, 'O Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!' " And thus would men fain by forced imaginings link together the tragedy of Carthage with that at Golgotha. The fancy of an "artist," in a painting has added to the foregoing scene the detail of a supposed angel in modern clothing with raised hand forbidding the mutilating of the Prophet! Of course this whole fabric of myth and legend comes from the story of Daniels and Brackenbury, and has, unfortunately, found its way into

some of our otherwise acceptable church works, and still more unfortunately has entered into the beliefs of many Latter-day Saints.

This William M. Daniels after the tragedy at Carthage joined the church, but soon after the trial dropped out of sight. Mr. Littlefield, who published at Nauvoo in pamphlet form Daniels' account of the murder of the Brothers Smith, says that his whereabouts has been unknown to him since 1846; and then offers the wholly gratuitous suggestion that it was not at all unlikely that "some of the parties implicated in the tragedy at Carthage assassinated him for exposing them."[26] Ford says that Daniels was "afterwards expelled from the Mormons, but no doubt they will cling to his evidence in favor of the divine mission of the Prophet." It was for the refutation of the governor's supposition that this paragraph, in part, is written. Our church annals, except for the Littlefield writings, are singularly silent respecting Daniels; also as to Brackenbury, of whom less is known. It was supposed that Brackenbury's testimony would corroborate Daniels', but Hay represents their testimony as conflicting, and because of jealousy Brackenbury contradicted "in his evidence all that Daniels had sworn to."[27] Hay also represents that Brackenbury brought out the story of the martyrdom in a series of paintings, that were badly executed.

Littlefield also published a letter in his *Martyrs,* from one Wm. Web that corroborates some points in the Daniels story. The letter appears to be addressed to some newspaper (name and place of publication unknown) within some district of Illinois, where Thomas C. Sharp is running for office, and the purpose of this letter is to damage his political prospects, and hence pretends to detail Sharp's connection with the murder at Carthage. The writer of it claims to be the one who set the body of the Prophet against the well curb, and was posing as the son of ex-Governor Boggs, etc., etc.,—

26. *The Martyrs,* Littlefield, p. 71.
27. *Atlantic Monthly,* 1869.

"corroborating" Daniels. The letter is dated at "Carthage, October 14, 1844." It was not published by the unknown paper to which ostensibly it was sent; but it is alleged to have remained in the office of said paper until a change of owners was effected. The purchaser of the unknown paper, and himself unknown, found the letter among the rejected papers of his predecessor—handed it to a friend (name not given) with permission to keep it over night. The borrower happened to be friendly towards the "Mormons" and allowed two visiting "Mormon" elders, McEwen and Wareham, to copy it, and they certify on their copy that it is a true copy of the original. This copy comes to the hands of one C. C. A. Christiensen who furnishes Littlefield with a copy of it, and so it gets into our literature to appear and reappear *ad nauseam.*[28] It is wholly apocryphal, and the great, determining facts of "Mormonism" rest on no such questionable witnesses as Daniels and Brackenbury to alleged miraculous displays of divine power connected with the Prophet's death; nor upon any such documents as this very questionable "Web" letter.

The Official Statement of Joseph and Hyrum Smith's Martyrdom

Fortunately for the church; fortunately for the truth of history, the church placed on record at an early date, following the event, an official declaration of the accepted facts and incidents attending upon the martyrdom of her two chiefest men and prophets: and it is with a deep satisfaction that one can note the absence of the myths and legends that ignorance and superstition would all too willingly attach to the tragedy of their martyrdom.

Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and his Brother Hyrum:[29]

28. Its latest appearance was in the *Deseret News* of March 5th, 1905, with a lot of inaccuracies of detail!

29. *Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. cxxxv. This in the 2nd Nauvoo edition of 1844; also Liverpool (English) edition of June 14, 1845, and in all subsequent editions.

"To seal the testimony of this book and the *Book of Mormon,* we announce the Martyrdom of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and Hyrum Smith the Patriarch. They were shot in Carthage jail, on the 27th of June, 1844, about five o'clock p. m., by an armed mob, painted black—of from 150 to 200 persons. Hyrum was shot first and fell calmly, exclaiming, *'I am a dead man!'* Joseph leaped from the window, and was shot dead in the attempt, exclaiming, *'O Lord my God!'* They were both shot after they were dead in a brutal manner, and both received four balls.

John Taylor and Willard Richards, two of the twelve, were the only persons in the room at the time; the former was wounded in a savage manner with four balls, but has since recovered; the latter, through the providence of God, escaped, 'without even a hole in his robe.'

Joseph Smith, the Prophet and Seer of the Lord, has done more (save Jesus only) for the salvation of men in this world, than any other man that ever lived in it. In the short space of twenty years, he has brought forth the *Book of Mormon,* which he translated by the gift and power of God, and has been the means of publishing it on two continents; has sent the fulness of the everlasting gospel which it contained to the four quarters of the earth; has brought forth the revelations and commandments which compose this book of *Doctrine and Covenants,* and many other wise documents and instructions for the benefit of the children of men; gathered many thousands of the Latter-day Saints, founded a great city; and left a fame and name that cannot be slain. He lived great, and he died great in the eyes of God and his people, and like most of the Lord's anointed in ancient times, has sealed his mission and his works with his own blood; and so has his brother Hyrum. In life they were not divided, and in death they were not separated!

When Joseph went to Carthage to deliver himself up to the pretended requirements of the law, two or three days

previous to his assassination, he said, *'I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offense towards God, and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall yet be said of me—he was murdered in cold blood.'* The same morning, after Hyrum had made ready to go—shall it be said to the slaughter? Yes, for so it was,—he read the following paragraph, near the close of the fifth chapter of *Ether*, in the *Book of Mormon* and turned down the leaf upon it:[30]

> 'And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord that he would give unto the Gentiles grace, that they might have charity. And it came to pass that the Lord said unto me, if they have not charity, it mattereth not unto thee, thou hast been faithful; wherefore thy garments are clean. And because thou hast seen thy weakness, thou shalt be made strong, even unto the sitting down in the place which I have prepared in the mansions of my Father. And now I * * * bid farewell unto the Gentiles; yea and also unto my brethren whom I love, until we shall meet before the judgment-seat of Christ, where all men shall know that my garments are not spotted with your blood.'

The testators are now dead, and their testament is in force.

Hyrum Smith was 44 years old in February, 1844, and Joseph Smith was 38 in December, 1843; and henceforward their names will be classed among the martyrs of religion; and the reader in every nation will be reminded that the *Book of Mormon*, and this book of *Doctrine and Covenants* of the church, cost the best blood of the nineteenth century to bring them forth for the salvation of a ruined world; and that if the fire can scathe a green tree for the glory of God, how easy it will burn up the 'dry trees' to purify the vineyard of corruption. They lived for glory, they died for glory; and glory is their eternal reward. From age to age shall their names go down to posterity as gems for the sanctified.

They were innocent of any crime, as they had often

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30. This citation is from the Nauvoo edition of the *Book of Mormon*. In the current Salt Lake edition the passage appears in *Ether* chapter xii, vs. 36-38, the chapters and paragraphs of the *Book of Mormon* having been differently divided in the later editions.

HYRUM SMITH
Brother of the Prophet

been proved before, and were only confined in jail by the conspiracy of traitors and wicked men; and their innocent blood on the floor of Carthage jail, is a broad seal affixed to 'Mormonism' that cannot be rejected by any court on earth; and their innocent blood on the escutcheon of the state of Illinois, with the broken faith of the state as pledged by the governor, is a witness to the truth of the everlasting gospel, that all the world cannot impeach; and their innocent blood on the banner of liberty, and on the *magna charta* of the United States, is an ambassador for the religion of Jesus Christ, that will touch the hearts of honest men among all nations; and their innocent blood, with the innocent blood of all the martyrs under the altar that John saw, will cry unto the Lord of Hosts, till he avenges that blood on the earth. Amen."[31]

Governor Ford

(*a*) *Personal Appearance and Character*: "Thomas Ford, governor of Illinois, was a man rather above the average politician usually chosen [at the time] among these Amercian states to fill that position. Not specially clear-headed, and having no brain power to spare, he was quite respectable and had some conscience, as is frequently the case with mediocre men. He had a good heart, too, was in no wise vindictive, and though he was in no sense a strong man, his sense of right and equity could be stubborn upon occasion. Small in body, he was likewise small in mind; indeed, there was a song current at the time that there was no room in his diminutive organism for such a thing as a soul. Nevertheless, though bitterly censured by some of the Mormons, I do not think Ford intended to do them wrong."[32]

(*b*) *Was there Complicity on the part of Ford in the Murder of the Smiths?* This question is ably discussed by

31. *Doctrine and Covenants* sec. cxxxv.
32. Bancroft's *History of Utah*, pp. 172-3.

President John Taylor in his *Martyrdom of Joseph Smith;*[33] and for a participant in the scenes of the tragedy, and one who suffered greatly because of the governor's inability to cope with a situation, if not because of his complicity in the plans of the murderers, President Taylor presents the subject in a commendably dispassionate manner:

"There had been various opinions about the complicity of the governor in the murder, some supposing that he knew all about it, and assisted or winked at its execution. It is somewhat difficult to form a correct opinion; from the facts presented it is very certain that things looked more than suspicious against him.

Firstly: He positively knew that we had broken no law.

Secondly: He knew that the mob had not only passed inflammatory resolutions, threatening extermination to the 'Mormons,' but that they had actually assembled armed mobs and commenced hostilities against us.

Thirdly: He took those very mobs that had been arrayed against us, and enrolled them as his troops, thus legalizing their acts.

Fourthly: He disbanded the Nauvoo Legion, which had never violated the law, and disarmed them, and had about his person in the shape of militia known mobocrats and violators of the law.

Fifthly: He requested us to come to Carthage without arms, promising protection, and then refused to interfere in delivering us from prison, although Joseph and Hyrum were put there contrary to law.

Sixthly: Although he refused to interfere in our behalf, yet, when Captain Smith went to him and informed him that the prisoners refused to come out, he told him that he had a command and knew what to do, thus sanctioning the

33. Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, in Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, Introduction, pp. 57-60.

use of force in the violation of law when opposed to us, whereas he would not for us interpose his executive authority to free us from being incarcerated contrary to law, although he was fully informed of all the facts of the case, as we kept him posted in the affairs all the time.

Seventhly: He left the prisoners in Carthage jail contrary to his plighted faith.

Eighthly: Before he went he dismissed all the troops that could be relied upon, as well as many of the mob, and left us in charge of the 'Carthage Greys,' a company that he knew were mobocratic, our most bitter enemies, and who had passed resolutions to exterminate us, and who had been placed under guard by General Deming only the day before.

Ninthly: He was informed of the intended murder both before he left and while on the road, by several different parties.

Tenthly: When the cannon was fired in Carthage, signifying that the deed was done, he immediately took up his line of march and fled [i. e. from Nauvoo]. How did he know that this signal portended their death if he was not in the secret? It may be said some of the party told him. How could he believe what the party said about the gun signal if he could not believe the testimony of several individuals who told him in positive terms about the contemplated murder?

He has, I believe, stated that he left the 'Carthage Greys' there because he considered that, as their town was contiguous to ours, and as the responsibility of our safety rested solely upon them, they would not dare suffer any indignity to befall us. This very admission shows that he did really expect danger; and then he knew that these people had published to the world that they would exterminate us, and his leaving us in their hands and talking of their responsibilities was like leaving a lamb in charge of a wolf, and trusting to its humanity and honor for safe keeping.

It is said, again, that he would not have gone to Nau-

voo, and thus placed himself in the hands of the 'Mormons' if he had anticipated any such event, as he would be exposed to their wrath. To this it may be answered that the 'Mormons' did not know their signals, while he did; and they were also known in Warsaw, as well as in other places; and as soon as the gun was fired, a merchant of Warsaw jumped upon his horse and rode directly to Quincy, and reported 'Joseph and Hyrum killed, and those who were with them in jail.' He reported further that 'they were attempting to break jail and were all killed by the guard.' This was their story; it was anticipated to kill all, and the gun was to be the signal that the deed was accomplished. This was known in Warsaw. The governor also knew it and fled; and he could really be in no danger in Nauvoo, for the 'Mormons' did not know it, and he had plenty of time to escape, which he did.

It is said that he made all his officers promise solemnly that they would help him to protect the Smiths; this may or may not be. At any rate, some of these same officers helped to murder them.

The strongest argument in the governor's favor, and one that would bear more weight with us than all the rest put together, would be that he could not believe them capable of such atrocity; and, thinking that their talk and threatenings were a mere ebullition of feeling, a kind of braggadocia, and that there was enough of good moral feeling to control the more violent passions, he trusted to their faith. There is, indeed, a degree of plausibility about this, but when we put it in juxtaposition to the amount of evidence that he was in possession of it weighs very little. He had nothing to inspire confidence in them, and everything to make him mistrust them. Besides, why this broken faith? Why this disregard of what was told him by several parties? Again, if he knew not the plan, how did he understand the signal? Why so oblivious to everything pertaining to the 'Mormon' interest, and so alive and interested about the mobocrats?

At any rate, be this as it may, he stands responsible for their blood, and it is dripping on his garments. If it had not been for his promises of protection, they would have protected themselves; it was plighted faith that led them to the slaughter; and, to make the best of, it was a breach of that faith and a non-fulfillment of that promise, after repeated warning that led to their death.

Having said so much, I must leave the governor with my readers and with God. Justice, I conceive, demanded this much, and truth could not be told with less; as I have said before, my opinion is that the governor would not have planned this murder, but he had not sufficient energy to resist popular opinion, even if that opinion led to blood and death."[34]

(*c*) *The Place in History that Ford Assigns Himself*: "The Christian world, which has hitherto regarded Mormonism with silent contempt, unhappily may yet have cause to fear its rapid increase. Modern society is full of material for such a religion. * * * It is to be feared that, in course of a century, some gifted man like Paul, some splendid orator, who will be able by his eloquence to attract crowds of the thousands who are ever ready to hear, and be carried away by the sounding brass and tinkling cymbal of sparkling oratory, may command a hearing, may succeed in breathing a new life into this modern Mohammedanism, and make the name of the martyred Joseph ring as loud, and stir the souls of men as much as the mighty name of Christ itself. Sharon, Palmyra, Manchester, Kirtland, Far West, Adam-ondi-Ahman, Ramus, Nauvoo, and the Carthage jail, may become holy and venerable names, places of classic interest, in another age; like Jerusalem, the Garden of Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives, and Mount Calvary to the Christian, and Mecca and Medina to the Turk. And in that event, the author of this History feels degraded by the reflection that the humble

34. Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, Taylor, in Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, Introduction, pp. 51-60.

governor of an obscure state, who would otherwise be forgotten in a few years, stands a fair chance like Pilate and Herod, and by their official connection with the true religion, of being dragged down to posterity with an immortal name, hitched onto the memory of a miserable impostor. There may be those whose ambition would lead them to desire an immortal name in history, even in those humbling terms. I am not one of that number."[35]

(*d*) *The Fate of the Ford Family*: The office of governor was the last public trust held by Thomas Ford. At the close of his term in 1846, he retired to private life and obscurity, in which he died penniless, at Peoria, Ill., on the 3rd of Nov., 1850, "leaving his orphan children in a destitute condition," says the Introduction to his *History of Illinois.* It was during this four years of his retirement that he wrote his *History,* strongly tinged not only with severity but with bitterness, which is deplored by his literary executor in the Introduction. This executor, General James Shields, for four years sought for a publisher for Ford's *History* upon such terms as would secure some percentage of the profits to the destitute orphans of its author, and finally succeeded in placing it on such terms with S. C. Grigg and Co., of Chicago. The *Mss.* had been placed in the hands of General Shields while Ford was on his death bed, and he did not feel at liberty to alter its text. "I therefore give it to the public," he says in his brief Introduction of it, "just as I received it from the hands of the author, and with the sincere hope, for the sake of his destitute children, that it may meet with an indulgent and generous reception." It seems like the irony of fate, that the governor of Illinois, who, whatever other failures may have attended upon his administration, has to his credit the raising of Illinois from bankruptcy, and paying off its three million dollar debt (a very great sum for Illinois in 1842-46)

35. *History of Illinois,* Ford, pp. 359-60.

should himself die penniless, and, it is said, filled a pauper's grave!

Misfortune seems to have followed the family after the death of the father. Two of the sons were associated with gangs of "Prairie Riders"—the picturesque name for horse thieves—in southwestern Kansas, where they were lynched by vigilantes for their crimes. One, the elder brother, Thomas, in 1871; the other Sewell Ford, in 1874.[36]

Misfortune followed the female branch of the family as well as the males. In a special dispatch to the *Los Angeles Times* of March 21, 1910, the following sad story of the last daughter of Governor Ford is told:

"Peoria, (Ill.) March 20, 1910.—With but four mourners the body of Mrs. Anna Davis, last daughter of the late Governor Thomas Ford, was interred beside her mother, father and sister, as darkness settled over Springdale cemetery this evening. No word of eulogy was spoken, no minister read a prayer!"

Note

Death of Governor Ford: A Fulfilled Prophecy

We read in an exchange some particulars relating to Thomas Ford, the governor of Illinois, who pledged his protection to Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and then left them exposed to the murderous attack of a mob with their faces blackened. A lady was invited to attend a Methodist church at Peoria, Illinois, and noticing a rough box or coffin resting under the pulpit, inquired concerning it, and was informed that it enclosed the remains of the wife of ex-Governor Ford, and was supplied at the public expense. Ford was present, and he looked gaunt and miserable, and his bones appeared ready to pierce through the skin. Two weeks later the lady attended again and was astonished to see a similar coffin in the same place. It contained all that was left of Governor Ford, who had for some time lived, and had now died a pauper. The lady who saw this, though she had left the "Mormon" church, remembered hearing Elder John Taylor say in Nauvoo, that "Governor Ford would live until the flesh would wither from his bones and he would die a pauper."[37]

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36. *Kansas City Star* of Oct. 16th, 1910, where the story of the lynching and the facts of identification are told in detail; also copied into *Improvement Era*, Utah, for February, 1911.

37. *Ogden Junction;* copied into *Millennial Star*, vol. xxxvii, p. 15.

CHAPTER LXI

Joseph Smith: Personal Appearance and Character

IT will be well to pause now and contemplate the central figure of our *History* and what he accomplished—Joseph Smith and his work. Eighty-six years have passed since his death; one hundred years since he organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; one hundred and seven years since the *Book of Mormon* was revealed to him; one hundred and ten years since he received and proclaimed his first vision; one hundred and twenty-five years since he was born. Sufficient time therefore has elapsed in reference to all these several events in which "Mormonism" had its origin to apply somewhat the test of time to this man and his work. And first I speak of the man himself.

Varied Estimates of Joseph Smith Classified

During his lifetime, and since, a great diversity of opinion has obtained concerning Joseph Smith, even as to his personal appearance and bearing, as well as to his character. These diverse opinions, however, may be classified, and naturally they fall under three general divisions: first, his enemies who hated him cordially and unreasonably—their views are wholly unfavorable; second, those to whom he was an enigma that eluded analysis and defied classification; these have sought to balance the account of strength and weakness; of honesty and fraud; of charlatan and honest fanatic, but without achieving any marked success in satisfactory results—their analysis and speculations leave him still an enigma; third, his immediate and enthusiastic disciples—their views of him are wholly favorable, and tinged perhaps in some instances with something akin to superstitious reverence, that magnifies every virtue and blinds them to every fault. Men

still say of the beloved—"Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee!"[1]

The Voice of Enemies

The first class report that "from the age of twelve to twenty years he is distinctly remembered as a dull-eyed, flaxen-haired prevaricating boy—noted only for his indolent and vagabondish character, and his habits of exaggeration and untruthfulness. A person of questionable character, of intemperate habits, and latterly a money-digger."[2] Again his enemy: "The extreme ignorance and apparent stupidity of this modern Prophet, were by his early followers, looked upon as his greatest merit, and as furnishing the most incontestable proof of his divine mission—these have ever been the wardrobe of impostors." And yet this same enemy in the same paragraph says:

> "But it is obvious that all those deficiencies [i. e., lack of opportunities for education, etc.] are fully supplied by a natural genius, strong inventive powers of mind, a deep study, and an unusually correct estimate of the human passions and feelings. In short, he is now endowed with all the requisite traits of character to pursue most successfully the humbug which he has introduced. His address is easy, rather fascinating and winning, of a mild and sober deportment, when not irritated. But he frequently becomes boisterous by the impertinence or curiosity of the skeptical, and assumes the bravado, instead of adhering to the meekness which he professes. His followers, of course, can discover in his very countenance all the certain indications of a divine mission."[3]

Another enemy describes him as "wild and intemperate, even dishonest and tricky in his youth." And again the same author: "That he was an immense imposition upon the credulity of man, and knew himself to be such can hardly be questioned."[4] "Smith is a coarse plebeian person in aspect,"

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1. *Solomon's Songs* iv:7.
2. *Origin and Progress of Mormonism*, Tucker, 1867, p. 16; also p. 288. The latter from a letter of Rev. Jesse Townsend, Palmyra, Dec. 24, 1833.
3. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled*, pp. 12, 13. Edition of 1834. Hunt in his *Mormonism*, 1844, paraphrases Howe's description. See pp. 6, 7.
4. Kennedy's *Early Days of Mormonism*, 1888, see pp. 12-16. Kennedy admits that some of the things said of the Prophet and his family may have been dictated by envy or malice (p. 17). Charges of this kind made against the Prophet and his family, when living in New York, were considered and refuted in chapter iv of this *History*.

says the Rev. Henry Caswall, writing of the Prophet in 1843; "and his countenance exhibits a curious mixture of the knave and the clown. His hands are over-large and awkward, and on one of his fingers he wears a massive gold ring. He has a downcast look, and possesses none of that open and straightforward expression which generally characterizes an honest man."[5] Stephen S. Harding, who knew the Smith family in Palmyra, and later by the fortunes of American politics was for a brief period governor of Utah during her territorial days (from July, 1862 to June, 1863) wrote, in 1882, the following description of the Prophet:

> "He was about six feet high, what might be termed long legged, and with big feet. His hair had turned from tow-colored to light auburn, [Harding was describing the Prophet after several years of his own absence from Palmyra] large eyes of bluish gray, a prominent nose, and a mouth that of itself was a study. His face seemed almost colorless, and with little or no beard. * * * At that time his weight was about one hundred and fifty pounds, he had not a dollar in the world, and his character was such that credit was impossible."[6]

Gregg in referring to the Prophet, says, "His motives were not honest, nor was he prompted by either revenge or ambition." He ascribes to him in youth "an untutored and feeble intellect" that had grasped at nothing beyond "mere toying with mysterious things;"[7] and indeed holds that the Prophet's intellectual force had always been overrated.[8] Yet, even Gregg makes a remark that leads one to believe that the Prophet was an enigma to him. He says: "That such a career as was his, with such results following, could be run in that enlightened nineteenth century, and in a land where

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5. *Prophet of the Nineteenth Century*, Caswall, 1845, p. 223.

6. Harding's letter is given *in extenso* in Gregg's *Prophet of Palmyra*, pp. 34-56. That Harding's letter was written in a spirit of malice cannot be doubted; both from the spirit of the writing itself, and by recollection of the fact that Harding was engaged in a bitter controversy with the people of Utah when he was governor of the territory, 1862-3; and that on the petition of the people of Utah—chiefly "Mormons"—he was removed from office by President Lincoln. His letter to Gregg twenty years later on *The Early Days of Mormonism* was the opportunity of a small soul "to get even" with a people who had caused his dismissal from public office.

7. Gregg's *Prophet of Palmyra*, p. 4.

8. *Ibid*, 56, note.

christianity and civilization have shed their benign rays, is a mystery which the writer prefers to leave his readers to solve."[9]

It was to be expected that Governor Ford of Illinois would give a description of the Prophet, and naturally one as unfavorable as his prejudice could draw. He refers to him as the most successful impostor of modern times. "A man who, though ignorant and coarse, had some great natural parts which fitted him for temporary success, but which were so obscured and counteracted by the inherent corruption and vices of his nature, that he never could succeed in establishing a system of policy which looked to permanent success in the future."[10] It is here where time and the survival of the system of religion and philosophy founded by Joseph Smith, comes to the rescue of the Prophet, and vindicates him from all such estimates of his character and work as are portrayed by Governor Ford. The governor-author continues:

> "It must not be supposed that the pretended prophet practiced the tricks of a common imposter; that he was a dark and gloomy person, with a long beard, a grave and severe aspect, and a reserved and saintly carriage of his person; on the contrary, he was full of levity, even to boyish romping; dressed like a dandy, and at times drank like a sailor and swore like a pirate. He could, as occasion required, be exceedingly meek in his deportment; and then again rough and boisterous as a highway robber; being always able to satisfy his followers of the propriety of his conduct. He always quailed before power, and was arrogant to weakness. At times he could put on the air of a penitent, as if feeling the deepest humiliation of his sin, and suffering unutterable anguish, and indulging in the most gloomy foreboding of eternal woe. At such times he would call for the prayers of the brethren in his behalf, with a wild and fearful energy and earnestness. He was full six feet high, strongly built, and uncommonly well muscled. No doubt he was as much indebted for his influence over an ignorant people, to the superiority of his physical vigor, as to his greater cunning and intellect."[11]

Linn contents himself with quoting some of these alledged descriptions of the Prophet in his youth; and for pen

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9. *The Prophet of Palmyra*, Gregg, p. 2.
10. *History of Illinois*, p. 354-355.
11. *History of Illinois*, p. 355.

pictures of him later in life uses Josiah Quincy and Rev. Henry Caswall.[12]

The Voice of the Mystified

This brings us to the second class who have described Joseph Smith and attempted some estimate of his character, but find him an unsolvable riddle. A writer in the *Christian Reflector*, referring to his life and character speaks of the Prophet as having been "born in the very lowest walks of life, reared in poverty, educated in vice, having no claims to even common intelligence, coarse and vulgar in deportment." And yet this writer is compelled to admit, for he does admit, that this man to whom he ascribes these defects of character, nevertheless—

> "Succeeded in establishing a religious creed, the tenets of which have been taught throughout the length and breadth of America. The Prophet's virtues have been rehearsed and admired in Europe; the ministers of Nauvoo have found a welcome in Asia; and Africa has listened to the grave sayings of the seer of Palmyra. The standard of the Latter-day Saints has been reared on the banks of the Nile, and even the Holy Land has been entered by the emissaries of this wicked imposter. * * * He founded a city in one of the most beautiful situations in the world, in a beautiful curve of the 'father of waters,' of no mean pretensions, and in it he has collected a population of twenty-five thousand, from every part of the world. He planned the architecture of a magnificent temple, and reared its walls nearly fifty feet high, which, if completed, will be the most beautiful, most costly, and the most noble building in America."[13]

Remarkable achievements these for one "reared in poverty," "educated in vice," having no "claims even to common intelligence, coarse and vulgar in deportment!"

Smucker, one of the fairest of all non-"Mormon" writers, says:

> "Joseph Smith was indeed a remarkable man; and, in summing up his character, it is extremely difficult to decide, whether he were indeed the vulgar imposter which it has become the fashion to consider him, or whether he was a sincere fanatic who believed what he

12. *Story of the Mormons*, pp. 12, 13, and 311.
13. The article from the *Christian Reflector* is quoted in Smucker's *History of the Mormons*, pp. 180-1.

taught. But whether an imposter, who for the purposes of his ambition, concocted the fraud of the *Book of Mormon*, or a fanatic who believed and promulgated a fraud originally concocted by some other person, it must be admitted that he displayed no little zeal and courage; that his tact was great, that his talents for governing men were of no mean order, and that however glaring his deficiencies in early life may have been, he manifested, as he grew older, an ability both as an orator and writer, which showed that he possessed strong natural gifts, only requiring cultivation to have raised him to a high reputation among better educated men. * * * But whether knave or lunatic, whether a liar or a true man, it cannot be denied that he was one of the most extraordinary persons of his time, a man of rude genius, who accomplished a much greater work than he knew; and whose name, whatever he may have been whilst living, will take its place among the notabilities of the world."[14]

Josiah Quincy's Pen Portrait

The most noted of this second group of commentators upon Joseph Smith, however, is Josiah Quincy, a member of the famous Quincy family of Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard, 1821: mayor of Boston from 1845-1849. Mr. Quincy visited Nauvoo in May, 1844, forty-three days previous to the Prophet's martyrdom, and though his *Figures of the Past* was not published until 1882, the year of his death, yet his recollections of the Prophet and his impressions of Nauvoo were drawn from his journal, written at the time of that visit, and from numerous letters written to his friends about that same period. Mr. Quincy places his pen portrait of "Joseph Smith at Nauvoo" with similar portraits of such eminent Americans as John Adams, Daniel Webster, John Randolph, Andrew Jackson and the French soldier and statesman, Lafayette.

Mr. Quincy opens his article on Joseph Smith at Nauvoo in the following remarkable passage:

"It is by no means improbable that some future textbook for the use of generations yet unborn, will contain a question something like this: What historical American of the nineteenth century has exerted the most powerful influence upon the destinies of his countrymen? And it is by no means impossible that the answer to that interrogatory may

14. Smucker's *History of the Mormons*, pp. 181-3.

be thus written: Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet. And the reply, absurd as it doubtless seems to most men now living, may be an obvious commonplace to their descendants. History deals in surprises and paradoxes quite as startling as this. The man who established a religion in this age of free debate, who was and is today accepted by hundreds of thousands as a direct emissary from the Most High,—such a rare human being is not to be disposed of by pelting his memory with unsavory epithets. Fanatic, impostor, charlatan, he may have been; but these hard names furnish no solution to the problem he presents to us."[15]

After giving an account of his arrival at the "Mansion" early in the morning, and in a rainstorm, and getting his first view of the Prophet under not very favorable conditions, he says:

"Pre-eminent among the stragglers by the door stood a man of commanding appearance, clad in the costume of a journeyman carpenter when about his work. He was a hearty, athletic fellow, with blue eyes standing prominently out upon his light complexion, a long nose, and a retreating forehead. He wore striped pantaloons, a linen jacket, which had not lately seen the washtub, and a beard of some three days growth. This was the founder of the religion which had been preached in every quarter of the earth. * * * A fine looking man is what the passer-by would instinctively have murmured upon meeting the remarkable individual who had fashioned the mould which was to shape the feelings of so many thousands of his fellow-mortals. But Smith was more than this, and one could not resist the impression that capacity and resource were natural to his stalwart person. I have already mentioned the resemblance he bore to Elisha R. Potter, of Rhode Island, whom I met in Washington in 1826. The likeness was not such as would be recognized in a picture, but rather one that would be felt in a grave emergency. *Of all men I have met, these two seemed best endowed with that kingly faculty which directs, as by intrinsic right, the feeble or confused souls who are looking for guidance.* This it is just to say with emphasis; for the reader will find so much that is puerile and even shocking in my report of the Prophet's conversation that he might never suspect the impression of rugged power that was given by the man."

Mr. Quincy spent the day in Nauvoo, chiefly in the company and in constant conversation with the Prophet. Of Nauvoo itself he said:

"General Smith ordered a capacious carriage, and we drove to that beautiful eminence, bounded on three sides by the Mississippi,

15. *Figures of the Past*, 9th edition, p. 376.

which was covered by the holy city of Nauvoo. The curve in the river enclosed a position lovely enough to furnish a site for the Utopian communities of Plato or Sir Thomas More; and here was an orderly city, magnificently laid out, and teeming with activity and enterprise."

Mr. Quincy presents no solution to the riddle that Joseph Smith's character presented to him. "I have no theory to advance respecting this extraordinary man," he tells us early in his chapter on the Prophet; and in closing it he says:

"Born in the lowest ranks of poverty, without book-learning, and with the homliest of all human names, he had made himself at the age of thirty-nine a power upon earth. Of the multitudinous family of Smith, from Adam down (Adam of the 'Wealth of Nations,' I mean), none had won the hearts and shaped human lives as this Joseph. His influence, whether for good or for evil, is potent today, and the end is not yet. * * * If the reader does not know just what to make of Joseph Smith, I cannot help him out of the difficulty. I myself stand helpless before the puzzle."[16]

The Testimonies of Friends—"Interested Parties"

We come now to the third class who have left on record their report of Joseph Smith, his appearance and his character, *viz.*, his immediate friends and disciples. I know it behooves one to be guarded both in setting down and in accepting the report of a great character from his disciples who come under the magic spell of his personality. These are as apt to magnify his virtues and overlook his defects as his opponents are to magnify his defects and overlook or deny the existence of his virtues. Both love and hate can be blind, but to opposite things, one to faults, the other to virtues. On the whole, however, love can be trusted to be truer than hate, since to the latter malice lends its venom, and recognizes no limits in its desire to destroy that which it has marked for destruction.[17]

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16. *Figures of the Past*, p. 376.

17. Elsewhere, upon the relative value of the testimony of disciples and enemies of Joseph Smith, I have said: If of these testimonies it shall be said they are borne by men who were Joseph Smith's friends and followers—interested parties, bent on perpetuating the frauds he inaugurated—I would reply by asking: Whose testimony do Christians accept as representing the true character of Jesus Christ? Certainly *not* the testimony of the Sadducees and Pharisees; but the testimony of St. Matthew, of St. Peter, of St. James and St. John—"his friends and followers," the infidel exclaims—"interested parties, bent on perpetuating the frauds he inaugurated!" Will the Christian world because of that preposterous claim that Christ's friends and

John Taylor

What Joseph Smith was to his immediate disciples may be gathered somewhat from the reflections of Elder John Taylor, who was with the Prophet in his martyrdom; who also succeeded Brigham Young in the presidency of the church and who himself was a strong character. When lying wounded in Carthage jail and Willard Richards brought to him the final word which confirmed his worst fears—Joseph Smith was dead—he experienced the following sensations and indulged in these reflections:

"I felt a dull, lonely, sickening sensation at the news. When I reflected that our noble chieftain, the Prophet of the living God, had fallen, and that I had seen his brother in the cold embrace of death, it seemed as though there was a void, a vacuum in the great field of human existence to me, and a dark, gloomy, chasm in the kingdom, and that we were left alone. Oh, how lonely was that feeling! How cold, barren and desolate! In the midst of difficulties he was always the first in motion; in critical positions his counsel was always sought. As our Prophet he approached our God, and obtained for us his will: but now our Prophet, our counselor, our general, our leader was gone, and amid the fiery ordeal that we then had to pass through, we were left alone without his aid, and as our future guide for things spiritual or temporal, and for all things pertaining to this world or the next, he had spoken for the last time on earth!"[18]

Later, when on a mission in France, 1850, in a public discussion with ministers of different denominations, who assailed the character of the Prophet, Elder Taylor said:

"I was acquainted with Joseph Smith for years. I have traveled with him; I have been with him in private and in public; I have associated with him in councils of all kinds; I have listened hundreds of times to his public teachings, and his advice to his friends and associates of a more private nature. I have been at his house and seen

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followers are not proper witnesses of his life and character, give up the evidence supplied in the testimonies of his friends to the uprightness and purity of his life, and the divinity of himself and his mission? Ah, no! They will ask rather, who so competent to bear testimony of his life and the divinity of his character as those who intimately knew him, who lived with him, who shared his joys and his sorrows; who were in sympathy with his life's mission and could enter into its spirit? I only ask that the same reasoning be applied to the testimony of the friends of Joseph Smith. (*New Witnesses for God*, vol. i, p. 218.)

18. The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, Taylor, in Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*. Introduction, pp. 51-2.

his deportment in his family. I have seen him arraigned before the courts of his country, and seen him honorably acquitted, and delivered from the pernicious breath of slander, and the machinations and falsehoods of wicked and corrupt men. I was with him living, and with him when he died; when he was murdered in Carthage jail by a ruthless mob with their faces painted, and headed by a Methodist minister named Williams—I was there and was myself wounded in my body. I have seen him under all these various circumstances, and I testify before God, angels and men that he was a good, honorable, virtuous man—that his doctrines were good, scriptural and wholesome—that his precepts were such as became a man of God—that his private and public character was unimpeachable—and that he lived and died as a man of God, and a gentleman."[19]

Brigham Young

Brigham Young, the successor of Joseph Smith in the presidency of the church, said of the Prophet:

"From the first day I knew Brother Joseph to the time of his death, a better man never lived upon the face of the earth. * * * Joseph Smith was not killed because he was deserving it, nor because he was a wicked man. I know that to be so, as well as I know that the sun shines. * * * I know for myself that Joseph Smith was the subject of forty-eight lawsuits, and the most of them I witnessed with my own eyes. But not one action could ever be made to bear against him. He was innocent and virtuous; he kept the laws of his country and lived above them; out of the forty-eight law suits, not one charge could be substantiated against him. He was pure, just and holy as to the keeping of the law."[20]

Of the immediate disciples of Joseph Smith who have left pen portraits of him, and estimates of his character, Parley P. Pratt, one of the earliest converts to "Mormonism"—joining the church when it had been organized less than six months—is, perhaps, the most conspicuous. In his *Autobiography* occurs the following:

Parley P. Pratt's Pen Pictures of Joseph Smith

"President Smith was in person tall and well built, strong and active; of a light complexion, light hair, blue eyes, very little beard, and of an expression peculiar to himself, on which the eye naturally rested with interest, and was never weary of beholding. His counten-

19. Public Discussion in France, published in *Orson Pratt's Works*, 1851, pp. 23, 24.
20. *Journal of Discourses*, vol. i, pp. 40, 41.

ance was ever mild, affable, beaming with intelligence and benevolence; mingled with a look of interest and an unconscious smile, or cheerfulness, and entirely free from all restraint or affectation of gravity; and there was something connected with the serene and steady penetrating glance of his eye, as if he would penetrate the deepest abyss of the human heart, gaze into eternity, penetrate the heavens, and comprehend all worlds.

He possessed a noble boldness and independence of character; his manner was easy and familiar; his rebuke terrible as the lion; his benevolence unbounded as the ocean; his intelligence universal, and his language abounding in original eloquence peculiar to himself—not polished—not studied—not smoothed and softened by education and refined by art; but flowing forth in its own native simplicity, and profusely abounding in variety of subject and manner. He interested and edified, while, at the same time, he amused and entertained his audience; and none listened to him that were ever weary of his discourse. I have even known him to retain a congregation of willing and anxious listeners for many hours together, in the midst of cold or sunshine, rain or wind, while they were laughing at one moment and weeping the next. Even his most bitter enemies were generally overcome, if he could once get their ears.

I have known him when chained and surrounded with armed murderers and assassins who were heaping upon him every possible insult and abuse, rise up in the majesty of a son of God and rebuke them, in the name of Jesus Christ, till they quailed before him, dropped their weapons, and, on their knees, begged his pardon, and ceased their abuse.[21]

In short, in him the character of a Daniel and a Cyrus were wonderfully blended. The gifts, wisdom and devotion of a Daniel were united to the boldness, courage, temperance, perseverance and generosity of a Cyrus. And had he been spared a martyr's fate till mature manhood and age, he was certainly endowed with powers and ability to have revolutionized the world in many respects, and to have transmitted to posterity a name associated with more brilliant and glorious acts than has yet fallen to the lot of mortal. As it is his works will live to an endless age, and unnumbered millions yet unborn will mention his name with honor, as a noble instrument in the hands of God, who, during his short and youthful career, laid the foundation of that kingdom spoken of by Daniel, the prophet, which should break in pieces all other kingdoms and stand forever."[22]

This, of course is the language of eulogy, but one feels that it is honest eulogy; for Parley P. Pratt was intimately associated with Joseph Smith for fourteen years; he shared his toils, labors, persecutions, and imprisonment while the Proph-

21. See ch. xxxvi, this *History*.
22. *Autobiography*, Parley P. Pratt, pp. 47, 48.

et lived, and afterwards continued to preach the gospel taught by that Prophet until the close of his own sad, toilsome, and eventful life. Parley P. Pratt's pen portrait of Joseph Smith, more than any other passage in "Mormon" literature, represents what Joseph Smith was and is to his people, no matter what the world may think him to be; and in their abiding affection for him is seen the fulfillment of one of the promises he received of God, namely: *"Thy people shall never be turned against thee by the testimony of traitors."*[23] This was given out from Liberty prison in March, 1839, while the saints were being expelled in a body from Missouri. And the singular fulfillment of it up to the present, and the absolute certainty of its fulfillment in the future justifies belief in the inspiration of that prediction.

The Prophet's Self-Revealment to the Intelligent Disciple

There is, however, a view of the Prophet that may be taken other than that of the uncritical and perhaps fanatical personal disciples who knew him, and saw and felt only his virtues and his strength in those virtues. A view that would in itself be truer and even more just to the Prophet than unreasoning adulation; and that is the view of the intelligent believer in the Prophet and his mission. Such a view would exclude the report of the Prophet's enemies since it would recognize the fact that they spoke from malice and are unworthy of belief. But such a view would also modify the mere adulation of the enthusiasts among the disciples who see only the perfection of the object they adore. This last view would keep in mind that it is not given to mortal man to

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23. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxii:3, 4. The context of the passage in which the sentence occurs is worthy of reproduction: "The ends of the earth shall inquire after thy name, and fools shall have thee in derision, and hell shall rage against thee. While the pure in heart, and the wise, and the noble, and the virtuous, shall seek counsel, and authority, and blessings constantly from under thy hand, *And thy people shall never turn against thee by the testimony of traitors;* And although their influence shall cast thee into trouble, and into bars and walls, thou shalt be had in honor, and but for a small moment and thy voice shall be more terrible in the midst of thine enemies, than the fierce lion, because of thy righteousness; and thy God shall stand by thee forever and forever."

live an utterly blameless life nor stand forth before his fellows a character perfect throughout. It would hold in constant remembrance that it had been given to the Christ alone to present to the world the one perfect character, and live the one sinless, and perfect life; and that the Christ was not merely man but was *super-man;* he was not only divine but Deity; and one great purpose of his earth-mission was to reveal Deity to the world, and hence, indeed, through him, "God was manifested in the flesh."[24]

It is but just also to the Prophet to say that he made no claim for himself of either impeccability or infallibility. "Where is the man that is free from vanity?" he asked on one occasion. "None ever was perfect but Jesus," he continued; "and why was he perfect? Because he was the Son of God, and had the fulness of the Spirit, and was greater than any man."[25]

Referring to this subject upon another occasion he said:

"I do not think there have been many good men on the earth since the days of Adam; but there was one good man, and his name was Jesus. Many persons think a prophet must be a great deal better than any one else. Suppose I would condescend—yes, I will call it condescend!—to be a great deal better than any one of you, I would be raised up to the highest heaven; and who should I have to accompany me?[26] I love that man better who swears a stream as long as my arm yet deals justice to his neighbors, and mercifully deals his substance to the poor, than the long, smooth-faced hypocrite. I do not want you to think that I am very righteous, for I am not."[27]

The sentence "many persons think a prophet must be a great deal better than anybody else," will bear further

24. *I Tim.* ii:6, marginal reading.

25. From a discourse at Nauvoo on the 6th of May, 1841. (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iv, pp. 358-360).

26. Of course this remark was in humorous vein, though humor is a quality quite generally, but erroneously, denied the Prophet. The above is closely akin to the remark he made to Josiah Quincy on the occasion of that gentleman's visit with him at Nauvoo. They had been discussing the concentration of power in the hands of the Prophet—by far too much power, in Mr. Quincy's view, to be entrusted to one man. " 'In your hands or that of any other person's,' was the reply, 'so much power would no doubt be dangerous. I am the only man in the world whom it would be safe to trust it with. Remember, I am a Prophet!' The last in a rich, comical aside, as if in recognition of the ridiculous sound they might have in the ears of a Gentile" (*Figures of the Past,* p. 397).

27. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, p. 401.

consideration. President Smith relates that once when he was in conversation with a brother and sister from Michigan, who thought that "a prophet is always a prophet," he told them to the contrary. "But I told them," are his words, "that a prophet was only a prophet *when acting as such.*"[28]

These two remarks linked together, disclaim for the Prophet impeccability; and limit his words and actions to which sanctity and inerrancy are to be attributed, to his official or *ex cathedra* actions and utterances.

Again in disclaiming perfection for himself, the Prophet said:

> "Although I was called of my Heavenly Father to lay the foundation of this great work and kingdom in this dispensation, and testify of his revealed will to scattered Israel, I am subject to like passions as other men, like the prophets of olden times."[29]

Not only in these personal disclaimers of perfection, and of unusual sanctity or inerrancy may we see the admitted defects of deportment and character in the Prophet, but in the revelations he proclaimed are frequent reproofs of the Prophet. In these revelations he is never shielded, never justified when he steps aside from the path direct; reproof, chastisement, and warnings are administered to him. God in these revelations deals with him indeed as with a son whom he loves, if it be true—and we have warrant of holy writ that it is—that "God chasteneth whom he loveth, and scourgeth every son he receiveth."[30]

Because of these reproofs and corrections of the Prophet in the revelations, however, or because of the disclaimers of unusual sanctity made by himself, it must not be thought that there was any act of great unrighteousness, or deed outrageously wicked in his life; much less that any habit of sinfulness is here admitted. None of these things can be

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28. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, p. 265.
29. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, p. 516.
30. *Heb.* xii:6-8. The reproofs and corrections of the Prophet from the revelations are collected and published in the Introduction of the *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, pp. 36 and 37.

successfully maintained against him. His defects, such as they were, may be gathered from the reproving revelations themselves, and from the facts set forth in this *History*.[31]

The Limitations of a Prophet

In brief these may be set down as a disposition to be over persuaded by men, as against the strict requirements of the commandments of God; the dangerous weakness of too readily accepting men at their own valuation; a too implicit trust in their protestations of repentance when overtaken in their sins; a too great tenacity in friendship for men he had once taken into his confidence after they had been proven unworthy of that friendship, and by which taint of their sins, in hypercritical minds, attached somewhat to him; and, perhaps, a too fierce disposition to give way to reckless denunciation when once he really broke the ties of friendship—his anger was terrible, all agree upon that. There was also at times, perhaps, a too great inclination to levity, the intellectual playfulness natural to him not always remaining within proper bounds. It arose from the abounding fulness and perfection of physical life which so wonderfully sustained him in the trying ordeals of his career, and from his youthfulness. Men called him "Old Joe Smith," yet he was but a young man at the time of his death, thirty-eight years old—still a youth. Then it must be borne in mind that some things which the sectarian world had denominated as sin by their creeds, or their ethical systems, the Prophet did not recognize as sins at all. "What many people call sin," he remarked, on one occasion, "is not sin. I do many things to break down superstition, and I will break it down."[32] Again, in complaining of those who judged of his acts he said: "The only principle upon which they judge me is by comparing my acts with the foolish traditions of their fathers and the nonsensical teachings of hireling priests."[33]

31. See especially this *History*, ch. vii.
32. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. iv, p. 445.
33. *Ibid*, vol. v, p. 517.

The result of these views of the Prophet has been to enlarge the liberty of the saints in many respects; to remove the somber hues supposed to be essential to a religious life; and more especially in the matter of innocent amusements. In things not harmful or sinful in themselves, but only in their abuse, the ban was by him largely removed, leading to a wider social life, and greater freedom of enjoyment. Until the violin is not regarded by the saints as an instrument of satan; nor the ball room, when properly safeguarded, as the antechamber of hades; nor the theater as the broad highway to damnation; hence the enjoyment of these innocent amusements and pleasures was allowed to the saints by the Prophet —and by the church since his day—to the scandal, perhaps, of some sections of orthodox christendom.

The Tendency to Autocracy

There remains one other characteristic of the Prophet's to be noticed, and one which was the cause of some of his troubles—of most of his troubles, in fact, so far as they were self-induced. This was a tendency in him to autocracy, the natural tendency of nearly all strong characters. This tendency, of course, was as much due to the conditions in the midst of which he labored, as to any inherent disposition of his own. The revelations he had received made him prophet, seer, and revelator, or lawgiver, to the church; also he was president of the high priesthood, which carried with it also presidency of the church; in him centered law-making, law-determining, and executive authority. The church was admonished from the beginning to give heed unto all his words and commandments which he should give, as he received them, walking in all holiness before the Lord. "For his word ye shall receive as if from mine own mouth," said the Lord, "in all patience and faith." The very safety and progress of the church was made to depend upon her obedience to this law. "For thus saith the Lord God, him have I inspired to

move the cause of Zion, in mighty power for good."[34] These powers, however, relate to the church and her affairs; not to the affairs of civil government. *"Behold, the laws ye have received from my hand,"* said the Lord, subsequently—and the fact declared existed before and holds universally as to the revelations given—*"are the laws of the church, and in this light ye shall hold them forth. Behold, here is wisdom."*[35] But the position he held in the church, naturally begot in him the tendency to autocracy to which reference is made. Moreover the Prophet, possessed as he was of a strong sense of natural justice, and conscious of no limits to his own strength when standing for what he conceived to be truth and justice, was impatient of the law's delays, and would fain by short cuts and disregard of formalities execute justice as he conceived it, regardless of consequences. This tendency to autocracy is the point at which the Prophet's career and character are most vulnerable to adverse criticism.

The Summary

We may say, then, of Joseph Smith that he claimed for himself no special sanctity, no faultless life, no perfection of character, no inerrancy for every word spoken by him. And as he did not claim these things for himself, so can they not be claimed for him by others; for to claim perfection for him, or even unusual sanctity, would be to repudiate the revelations themselves which supply the evidence of his imperfections, whereof, in them, he is frequently reproved.

Joseph Smith was a man of like passions with other men; struggling with the same weaknesses; subjected to the same temptations; under the same moral law, and humiliated at times, like others, by occasionally, in word and conduct, falling below the high ideals presented in the perfect life and faultless character of the Man of Nazareth.

But though a man of like passions with other men, yet

34. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xxi.
35. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lviii.

to Joseph Smith was given access to the mind of Deity, through the revelations of God to him; and likewise to him was given a divine authority to declare that mind of God to the world. *Is that true?* And does what he announced, *ex cathedra,* as word of God, stand such tests of truth as men and time may apply to it? These are the questions which most concern men in reference to this Prophet of our age; and that brings us to the consideration of this Prophet's work.

CHAPTER LXII

The Prophet's Work—The Religion He Founded—The Church He Established

IT was not the aim of Joseph Smith in his life's work to found a new religion. Throughout he presupposes the truth of the Christian religion, and accepts it. He realized that "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus."[1]

Jesus Christ the Sole Means of Salvation—Christian Fundamentals

"Behold, Jesus Christ is the name which is given of the Father, and there is none other name given whereby man can be saved,"[2] are the words of the Prophet before the organization of the church. Hence Joseph Smith sought to build on no other foundation than that of Jesus Christ. He accepted the Christian fundamentals; the Lord and Father of Jesus Christ, as God, the Father, Creator of heaven and earth by Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the Redeemer of the world, through the atonement; the Holy Ghost as the Witness of the Father and the Son, the medium of union between God and the saints; and these three, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, constitute, for the New Dispensation of the gospel, the Godhead, the grand creative, redeeming and presiding council of heaven and earth, whom man must worship by submission of his will to their will, his mind to their mind; in a word, be in union with them, in which union man finds his spiritual life.

Joseph Smith accepted the atonement of Jesus Christ, as the all-sufficient ground work for the reconciliation of man with God; as rendering due satisfaction to the justice of God

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1. *I Corinthians*, iii:11
2. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xviii. Revelation given in June, 1829, cf, also *Book of Mormon, Mosiah* iv; and *I Nephi* x:17-20.

for the violation of his just and holy laws, also as being an efficient means of bringing into the earth-scheme of things the mercy of God, born of his love; by which repentance and remission of sins could be made possible for man; and also through which, by the power in the Christ, comes to man the resurrection from death. So that all that was lost by the fall of Adam and the sins of men, is made possible of restoration by the atonement of the Christ. Such the plan of man's redemption, the plan of salvation, which only awaits man's acceptance and cooperation with God by obedience, to make it effective.

The Means of Acceptance Provided

This acceptance is signified by man receiving the Christian sacraments, which are but symbols of the atonement of the Christ: the rite of water baptism, in which is shown forth the death, burial, and resurrection of the Christ; the rite of confirmation—by which the Holy Ghost is imparted—a spiritual baptism, reestablishing direct, spiritual union with God—the new spiritual birth; the rite of the Lord's Supper, or sacrament—the sign of man's communion with God—in which are given again used symbols of the Christ's atonement—the broken body, emblemed in the broken bread; the spilled blood, emblemed in the sacramental wine or water;[3] and the eating and drinking of these in remembrance of the Lord until he come, is the visible sign of the communion of the saints with God—their continuing union with him, and with each other.

The foregoing, in brief, is the New Dispensation conception, from the teaching of Joseph Smith, of the gospel of Jesus Christ–the "everlasting gospel"–the plan on which was based the "hope of eternal life, which God that cannot lie,

3. Early in his experience as a religious teacher, the Prophet received divine instruction that water, as well as wine, would be acceptable in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xxvii, and *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. i, ch. xi) and water is quite generally used in the church for this purpose.

promised before the world began;"[4] and from time to time, dispensations of this gospel, under the counsels of God, together with authority to administer its ordinances, have been given to the world. Not always a fulness of that gospel, not always a completely ordered priesthood; but such measure of the truth was given, and such portion of the priesthood, or divine authority, as would be suitable to the age and to the people to whom the dispensation was sent. Thus dispensations of the gospel were given to Adam, to Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, Abraham; to Moses, before the law of carnal commandments was given.[5] Of course there came a dispensation of the gospel with the herald of the Christ, John the Baptist; and a more complete one with the earth-mission of the Christ. Then was revealed the fulness of the gospel; and with it was established the church to administer its ordinances. Yet with the gospel thus fully revealed, the atonement for a world's sins made, the resurrection from the dead—a demonstrated reality, the church of God founded in plentitude of power—yet from the gospel, thus revealed in its fulness, and the church of Christ founded, the world turned away in wicked apostasy from God, "transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances, broke the everlasting covenant,"[6] in fulfillment of many and various predictions of the scriptures themselves—predictions in the *New,* as well as in the *Old Testament.*[7] It was this apostasy in the early Christian centuries from the true Christian religion and the church of

4. *Titus* i:2.

5. *Gal.* iii, cf. *Hebrews* iii:12-19, and iv:1-2. Also *I Cor.* x:1-4. See also Introduction, this *History.*

6. *Isaiah* xxiv:1-6.

7. *Acts* xx:27-30; *II Tim.* iv:1-4; *II Peter* ii:1-3; *II Thess.* ii:1-17. Latter-day Saint literature upon this subject is very full; see the works of Orson Pratt, *Remarkable Vision,* also the *Kingdom of God;* Parley P. Pratt's *Voice of Warning,* chapters iii and vii; also his *Key to Theology,* chs. ii, iii and iv; *Spencer's Letters,* ch. vi. Dr. James E. Talmage has written a special work upon the subject, under the title *The Great Apostasy,* 1910. A treatise will be found on the same theme in the present writer's *New Witnesses for God,* vol. i, second edition, 1911; also in his *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History;* and a more thorough historical treatise of the theme in his Introduction to the first volume of the *History of the Church,* Period I. See also ch. vi of this *History,* and *The Falling Away,* 16 Radio Addresses, this writer, 1929.

Christ, that made the work of Joseph Smith necessary—to him was given a New Dispensation of this old and everlasting gospel, the true Christian religion, with ordination to divine authority to reestablish the church of Jesus Christ, and commission to send the gospel, in the authority of the Christ, to all the world.

In this New Dispensation will be "gathered together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are in earth, even in him;"[8] and further, as in said dispensation God will consummate his work in relation to the redemption and the salvation of the world, it is called the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times. Into it flow all the former dispensations; in it are revealed all knowledge of the principles to be believed, and the ordinances to be obeyed; all keys of authority and all powers held by former prophets and men of God who have ministered in the things of God, have been brought back and given to the Prophet of the New Dispensation. It is a dispensation which contemplates the fulfillment of all the hopes and promises of salvation, one in which all the ends of the earth meet. It contemplates the gathering and restoration to their lands of promise, scattered Israel; the rebuilding of Jerusalem, to become once more a holy city; the founding of a great and holy city in the North American continent, the capital of the spiritual empire of the Christ in the Western World—the City of Zion.

The New Dispensation not only contemplates saving men of the present age by a proclamation of the gospel to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, but also men of past ages, by the application of the gospel to them in the spirit world through the vicarious work that may be performed for them by their representatives on earth; the possibility of which is foreshadowed in the following scriptures:

"For, for this cause was the gospel preached also to them that

8. *Eph.* i.

are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit."[9]

For Christ * * * being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit: * * * went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which sometime were disobedient when once the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah."[10]

Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why then are they baptized for the dead?"[11]

So much is quoted from the Christian scriptures to show that the gospel was preached to the departed dead, and the ordinances thereof administered for them in the dispensation of the gospel established by the Christ, and hence the work inaugurated in the New Dispensation by Joseph Smith for the salvation of the dead, is in harmony with what has gone before; though, because of the nature of the dispensation in which he wrought, greater emphasis is placed upon that work, and more elaborate preparations are made for carrying it into effect that in any previous dispensation; as is witnessed by the erection of costly temples dedicated largely to that service.[12]

The Government of the Church

To effectively administer the gospel that was restored by this New Dispensation, a church became necessary, and hence its organization. This was not accomplished by the enactment of a single organic law or constitution to which the church in her development was made to conform. "Governments," remarks Herbert Spencer, "are not made, they grow." A remark which is as true of ecclesiastical as of civil governments: and although the growth of the church government founded by Joseph Smith was rapid, it was, nevertheless, a growth, a development; it was not made. Before the church was organized a divine authority had been conferred on

9. *I Peter*, iv:6.
10. *I Peter*, iii:18-20.
11. *I Cor.* xv:29.
12. Seven temples have now been erected by the church in which these sacred ordinances may be administered: four in Utah, one in Canada, province of Alberta; one in the Hawaiian Islands, and one in Arizona. The amount of work done in these temples will be stated in a later volume of this work—in the last.

Joseph Smith, but the only officers known to the church at its organization, April 6th, 1830, were elders, priests, teachers, and deacons. It was not until the 4th of February, 1831, that a bishop was appointed and then, of course, by revelation. In November following it was made known that other bishops were to be appointed. The first high council in the church (of which more presently) was not organized until February 17th, 1834. The quorum of the twelve apostles and quorums of seventy were not organized until the winter of 1835. Thus throughout, an officer was appointed today and his duties defined; another officer was appointed tomorrow or next year and an explanation given of his duties and perhaps a limit fixed to his authority. Thus line was given upon line, precept upon precept; the Prophet and those cooperating with him being apparently unconscious that they were gradually developing a system of government, each part of which was beautifully adjusted to every other part and to the whole as it developed.

Let us consider this organization more nearly, and as it was finally completed. Also with reference to the purposes for which it was instituted—and this last, first. The church has two high duties to perform, two great functions to fulfill. These are (1) to make proclamation of the truth God has deposited with her—the gospel—to all the world—"to every nation, kindred, tongue and people;" and (2) to perfect the lives of those who receive that truth, by instruction, and discipline. In doing these two things, the church will perform her whole duty to the world. From the nature of things and men it will be an endless task.

The Priesthood

The church officers and church organization founded by Joseph Smith grew out of the priesthood, which is the power of God delegated to man—authority to act in the name of God and for him. While there is of necessity a unity in this power, that is, it is all one power, yet in the exercise of its

functions divisions are recognized, and there is gradation among its officers. First a division into what is called, respectively, the Melchizedek and Aaronic priesthood, the former of which is the greater and devoted more especially to spiritual things, while the latter has most to do with temporal concerns.

Within each of these divisions there are officers whose functions vary, and who stand in an order of gradation. The officers of the Melchizedek priesthood, are elders, high priests, seventies, apostles, seers and prophets. The officers of the Aaronic priesthood are deacons, teachers, priests, bishops —the bishopric is the presidency of and embraces the fulness of this lesser priesthood.

The respective offices in these divisions of the priesthood while possessing much in common, are limited in some respects to the performance of special duties or functions. While the deacon and teacher, for instance, may teach and expound scripture, persuade and exhort men to come unto Christ, in common with other officers of the church; and the teachers may visit the homes of the members of the church, watch over them and see that there is no iniquity in the church, yet neither deacon nor teacher may baptize the people nor administer the sacrament. While the priest may teach and expound doctrine, baptize and administer the sacrament and assist the elder in the performance of his duties, when necessity requires, yet he cannot lay on hands for imparting the Holy Ghost. So in the Melchizedek priesthood, each order of officers has its specific duties assigned to it, but the greater always includes the lesser, and the greater may, on occasion, officiate in all the offices below its own.

The Presiding Councils and Officers of the High Priesthood

I now proceed to consider the officers in their relation to each other in the church. First and highest of all the officers stands the presidency of the high priesthood, consisting of

three presiding high priests; and who always constitute the first presidency of the church.[13]

Their jurisdiction extends over all the affairs of the church as well in temporal as in spiritual things; as well in the organized stakes of Zion as in the missions and branches of the church abroad. In that presidency are legislative, judicial and executive powers. That is to say, the president of the church is the mouthpiece of God to the church, and he alone receives the law from the Lord by revelation and announces the same to the people for their acceptance or rejection; for all things are to be done by "common consent in the church," even to accepting the law of the Lord. From all high councils, the judicial courts of the church, except where the twelve apostles sit as a high council abroad, there lies an appeal to the first presidency, which finally determines the matter, and also defines the law of the church, hence here is judicial power. The proof that in the presidency is executive power, is witnessed in the fact of their universal presidency, and administrative authority over all the affairs of the church.

The quorum of the twelve apostles are equal in power and authority to the first presidency. The first quorum of the seventy[14] is equal in authority to the quorum of the twelve; and, of course, indirectly equal in authority to the first presidency, since things equal to a common thing must be equal to each other. But these arrangements are manifestly but emergency provisions and though the power is there and may be used when occasion requires, yet for the most part it lies dormant. That is to say, the powers above described

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13. See *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cvii: "It must needs be that one be appointed of the high priesthood to preside over the priesthood, and he shall be called president of the high priesthood of the church: or, in other words, the presiding high priest over the high priesthood of the church. * * * And again, the duty of the president of the office of the high priesthood is to preside over the whole church, and to be like Moses. Behold, here is wisdom; yea, to be a seer, a revelator, a translator, and a prophet, having all the gifts of God which he bestows upon the head of the church."

14. This means the first quorum of seventy—comprised of sixty-three men—and the first seven presidents of the seventy, who preside directly over their own quorum, the first, and exercise a general presidency over all the other quorums of seventy, numbering now, 1929, 220 quorums.

as belonging to the first presidency, may only be exercised in full by the quorum of the twelve apostles in the event of the first presidency becoming disorganized by death or from other causes; and by the seventy, only in the event of the destruction or absence of the first presidency and the twelve. But these powers of the presidency without diminution would be exercised by the quorum of the twelve or the seventy, should occasion arise for it; and the arrangement renders the church well nigh indestructible at its head. But, as already remarked, those are but emergency provisions, and it is my desire to set before the reader the beauty and harmony of the church organization when its councils are all in place.

The great powers already enumerated, then,—legislation, judicial, and executive powers—center in the first presidency. On the right of the first presidency may be said to be the twelve apostles, clothed with the authority to officiate in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the first presidency, to build up the church and regulate all the affairs of the same in all the world. Flanking them stand the seventies as their assistants in the great work of the ministry assigned to them, preaching the gospel abroad—in all the world. To these quorums of the priesthood, the twelve and the seventy, more especially, is assigned the responsibility of the foreign ministry of the church. The twelve are witnesses for the Lord Jesus Christ in all the nations of the earth; and in addition they are a traveling, presiding high council, possessing the authority, and charged with the duty of regulating the affairs of the church in all the world, under the direction of the first presidency.

On the left of the first presidency may be said to stand the high priests, to which quorums of priesthood belongs the right of general and local presidency in the church. From their ranks patriarchs, presidents of stakes, high councilors, and bishops and their counselors are chosen;[15] and next to

15. The office of bishop of right belongs to the first born of the seed of Aaron and properly descends from father to son of the chosen seed. A bishop of this

the high priests stand the elders, who are to assist them in the performance of their duties. These quorums of priesthood constitute the standing ministry for the stakes of Zion, upon whom more especially devolve local presidency, and the duty of preaching and administering the gospel within the stakes of Zion.

The Presidency of the Lesser Priesthood and Other Officers

The presidency of the Aaronic priesthood centers in the presiding bishopric of the church, which presides over all traveling and local bishops. The former are bishops appointed to preside over large districts of country and who travel from place to place therein, setting in order the temporal affairs of the church; the latter are bishops appointed to preside over regularly organized wards, and whose jurisdiction is confined within such wards respectively.

To aid the bishops in the duties of their several bishoprics are the quorums of priests, teachers and deacons.

The duty of the priest is to visit the homes of the saints, to teach the people, to expound the scriptures, baptize believers, and administer the sacrament. Forty-eight priests form a quorum of which the bishopric is the presidency.

The duty of the teachers is to be the standing ministers in the respective wards where they reside, to see that there is no iniquity in the church, and that the members perform their duties. Twenty-four of them constitute a quorum, which is presided over by a president and two counselors chosen from the members.

The duty of the deacons is to assist the teacher, and they may also expound, teach, warn and invite all to come unto Christ. Twelve of them form a quorum, and from their number a president and two counselors are chosen to preside.

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lineage can act without counselors—except in a case where a president of the high priesthood is tried; in that event he must be assisted by twelve counselors of the high priesthood—but when no literal descendants of Aaron can be found, then a high priest of the Melchizedek priesthood is to be chosen for a bishop, and two other high priests to act as counselors. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxxiv and cvii.)

Territorial Divisions and Subdivisions of the Church

Before proceeding to a description of the judiciary system of the church it may be well to briefly explain the territorial divisions of it. A "stake of Zion" is a division of the church territorially that embraces several villages or towns that are ecclesiastical wards. A stake is presided over by a presidency, consisting of a president and two counselors, all of whom must be high priests. The presidency of the stake is also the presidency of the high council, the highest judicial tribunal in the stake. The stakes are divided into ecclesiastical wards, presided over by a bishopric, assisted in its labors by the quorums of the lesser priesthood as already explained.

The Judiciary System of the Church

The judicial powers of the church are vested in the ordinary bishop's courts, the standing high councils of the stakes of Zion, temporary high councils of high priests abroad, the traveling presiding high council, which is also the quorum of the twelve apostles, and a special court consisting of the presiding bishop of the church and twelve high priests—of which more is to be said presently—and finally in the presidency of the church.

Church Discipline

Church discipline requires that in case of difficulty between members, every effort shall be made by the parties aggrieved with each other to become reconciled. Failing in this they are required to call in others to bring about reconciliation, but if through that means a settlement of the case is impossible the matter goes to the bishop's court on the complaint of the party aggrieved, and there the case is heard on testimony and a decision rendered. Where immorality is the offense, wherein the church is scandalized, or where some violation of church discipline is involved, then a complaint may be made by members or officers of the church cognizant of the sin, and whose duty it is to guard the church from

reproach, either that the offender might be brought to reformation by repentance, or removed from the fellowship of the church. The bishop's court is the first or lowest court of record in the church, and the bishop is known as the common judge. In the event of the parties or either of them being dissatisfied with the decision of the bishop, an appeal lies to the high council of the stake, where a rehearing is given to the case. The organization of the high council is worthy of consideration. It is composed of twelve high priests, presided over by the presidency of the stake.[16] The high council cannot act unless seven of its members are present; but seven have the power to call upon other high priests to act temporarily in the place of absent councilors. Whenever a high council is organized, the twelve members draw lots for their places in the council. Those who draw the even numbers two, four, six, eight, ten, twelve,—are to stand in behalf of the accused; those drawing the odd numbers in behalf of the accuser. In every case the accused has a right to half the council, to prevent injury or injustice. The councilors who represent the accused and accuser respectively do not become partisans bent on winning a case irrespective of righteousness or justice; on the contrary every man is to speak according to equity and truth; and aside from that is merely to see that each party to the issue involved has justice accorded him and that he be not subjected to insult or injury.

Whenever the council convenes to act on any case, the mode of procedure is for the twelve councilors to consider whether it is very difficult or not. If it be not a difficult case, then only two of the councilors, one for the accused and one for the accuser respectively are appointed to speak. But if the case is accounted difficult, then four are appointed to speak; if still more difficult, six; but in no case are more than six to

16. In the absence of his counselors the president of the stake has power to preside over the council without an assistant; and in case that he himself is absent, his counselors have power to preside in his stead, both or either of them. In the absence of all the presidency then the senior member of the council may preside. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cii.)

speak. In all cases the accuser and accused are to have the privilege of speaking for themselves. After the evidence is all in, and the councilors appointed for the accused and the accuser having spoken, as also the accused and the accuser, the president gives a decision according to the understanding that he has of the case and calls upon the twelve councilors to sustain it by vote. But should the councilors who have not spoken, or any one of them, discover an error in the decision of the president, they have the right to manifest it and the case has a re-hearing, and if additional light is thrown upon the case, the decision is altered accordingly. But if no additional light is given the first decision stands unaltered. Such are the general outlines of the organization of a high council and the manner of the procedure before it.

In addition to being used as a judiciary body, however, the high councils in the stakes of Zion are sometimes employed in administrative and ministerial functions. Questions of administrative policy are sometimes submitted to their deliberations, and very often the high councilors are employed as home missionaries within their respective stakes to preach the gospel. The traveling high council, or quorum of apostles is used in the same way by the first presidency throughout the organized stakes of the church.

High Councils of the Church

There are three kinds of high councils in the church. They are similar in organization and the manner of procedure is practically the same before all except as to the traveling high council, or quorum of apostles—but they differ in authority and jurisdiction.

I. *The Traveling High Council.* This council consists of the twelve apostles of Jesus Christ. They are a traveling, presiding high council; and laboring under the directions of the first presidency of the church, they have the right to build up the church and regulate all the affairs of the same in all the world. Whenever they sit as a high council abroad there is

no appeal from their decisions—that is, they can only be called in question by the general authorities of the church in the event of transgression.

II. *The Standing High Councils at the Stakes of Zion*: The church is divided into branches or wards with appropriate officers; and these branches, wards, and settlements of the saints are grouped into stakes of Zion. In each stake there is a standing high council, limited in its jurisdiction to the affairs of that particular stake where it is located, and all these high council in the respective stakes are equal in their power and authority.

III. *Temporary High Councils Abroad.* The high priests abroad,[17] whenever the parties to a difficulty, or either of them, demand it and the high priests abroad deem the case of sufficient importance to justify such action, are authorized to organize a temporary high council to try the case. The council is to be organized after the pattern and proceed in the same manner as those at the stakes of Zion; but in all cases these temporary high councils abroad, must send the record of their proceedings to the council of the presidency of the church. If the decision of any high council—except that of the traveling, presiding high council—is unsatisfactory, an appeal lies to the first presidency, who take such steps in the case as wisdom and the Spirit of the Lord may indicate as proper. But whatever their decision is, it is final.

Special Council for the Trial of the Presidents of the Church

The special court referred to above consists of the presiding bishop of the church and twelve high priests especially called for each occasion. This special court is called into existence for the purpose of trying presidents of the high priesthood, who are also the presidents of the church, if they, or any one of them, should be found in transgression, said council may investigate the conduct of the president, sub-

17. The term "abroad" as here used means merely outside the organized stakes of the church.

ject him to rigid examination, and if the evidence should show him to be in transgression, the court would condemn him and its action would be final, from its decision he would have no appeal.[18]

Thus none, not even the highest, is beyond the operation of the laws and councils of the church. However great and exalted any single officer of the church may be, the church and its system of government is still greater and more exalted than he; for though the president of the church is God's mouthpiece—God's vicegerent on earth—yet he may be tried and his conduct inquired into by this court to which I have called attention. Therefore if the time should ever come that the church should be so unfortunate as to be presided over by a man who transgressed the laws of God and became unrighteous, a means in the church system of government is provided for deposing him without destroying the church, without revolution, or even disorder.

The Nature of Ecclesiastical Punishments

Of course the only punishment which is within the power of the church to inflict, is to disfellowship or excommunicate offenders. The punishment of suspension of fellowship may be inflicted by the bishop, until satisfaction is made to the church. In the latter case,—excommunication—the person absolutely loses his membership in the church, with all the priesthood he holds; together with every other right and privilege that accompanies that membership; and if he regains a standing it must be by baptism and confirmation as at the first. To those who hold lightly their standing in the church, suspension of fellowship, or excommunication has no special terror; but to the man of faith, whose full hopes of eternal life with all its advantages stand or fall with his standing in the church of Christ, no greater punishment can threaten him, and since man in his imperfect state is influenced to righteousness by his fear of punishment, as well as by his

18. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cvii:82-84.

hope of reward, the punishment of suspended fellowship and of excommunication has a salutary effect in preserving the discipline of the church.

The Spirit of the Church Government

The spirit of the church government evolved by the revelations to Joseph Smith is in beautiful harmony with the spirit of the church government instituted by the personal ministry of the Christ. "Ye know," said Jesus, "that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life as a ransom for many."[19]

In line with this spirit Peter, about thirty years later, said:

> "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre but of a ready mind: neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. And when the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."[20]

Any church government that shall be established in the earth must of necessity reflect this spirit, or it will contradict the idea of its divine origin. How well the spirit of government in the church founded by Joseph Smith meets this requirement will be seen in the following passage on the manner in which authority is to be exercised in the church:

> "The rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven, and * * * the powers of heaven cannot be controlled nor handled only upon the principles of righteousness. That they may be conferred upon us it is true; but when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control, or dominion, or compulsion, upon the souls of the children

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19. *St. Matt.* xx:20-28.
20. *I Peter* v:2-5.

of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold the heavens withdraw themselves; the Spirit of the Lord is grieved; and when it is withdrawn, *amen to the priesthood, or the authority of that man.* * * * No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness, and meekness, and by love unfeigned; by kindness, and pure knowledge, which shall greatly enlarge the soul without hypocrisy, and without guile, reproving betimes with sharpness, when moved upon by the Holy Ghost, and then showing forth afterwards an increase of love toward him whom thou hast reproved, lest he esteem thee to be his enemy; that he may know that thy faithfulness is stronger than the bands of death."[21]

It has already been pointed out in this chapter, as also in previous chapters,[22] that the principle of common consent enters into this system of government, and has done so from the beginning; that no officer could hold any position in the church or in any subdivision of it, from the president of the church to the humblest officer in the remotest branch thereof, except by the vote of the church, or such subdivision of it as would be affected by the administration of said officer;[23] that, as representing God, the church must reflect God's spirit and methods in her government. God's government, in his church, it is conceded, is moral government; and any ecclesiastical society or organization claiming divine authority, must exercise moral suasion and must not attempt government by compulsion; for that would stamp it as man's government—"human, all human, and not at all divine."

This kind of a government is not the kind likely to be founded by a man ambitious of power and authority over his followers; nor that of a man bent on establishing the unrighteous dominion of priestcraft. Knowledge, persuasion, patience, meekness, long-suffering, brotherly kindness,

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21. *Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. cxxi.

22. Chs. xvi and xxxviii.

23. The exercise of this principle of common consent in the election of officers in the church is by popular acceptance rather than by popular choice. The right to nominate is held to be in the priesthood, and chiefly in the presiding authorities thereof; but the nomination made must be ratified by the church, or the subdivision of it affected, before the one nominated is qualified to function in the office. But because the elective principle operates by acceptance it is none the less real on that account; the elective principle in government or societies is not only carried out by direct means, it may be carried out by indirect means. It may be just as much a fact under the form of popular acceptance as of popular choice.

love unfeigned, are not sources whence those ambitious of place and power are content to draw their authority. The effort to lord it over their fellows by the direct exercise of effective authority, which arises from the advantage of an exalted position, or the possession of great vigor of mind, firmness of resolution, daring, activity or the possession of transcendant abilites nearly always characterize your imposter. Teaching correct principles, and then allowing people to govern themselves is not at all the method of government adopted by self-appointed leaders or imposters. They are ever impatient of restraints and always over-anxious to arrive at exalted stations. Hence it comes that the spirit of government which obtains in the church of Jesus Christ, founded by Joseph Smith, since it finds its sources of power and authority in the imparting of knowledge, in persuasion, and love unfeigned bears testimony not only that the Prophet was not actuated by vulgar ambition, but is also a strong testimony in favor of the divine origin of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and, of course, a testimony also to the divine authority of him who was, under God, its founder.

"The formation of a free government on an extensive scale," remarked Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, "while it is assuredly one of the most interesting problems of humanity, is certainly the greatest achievement of human wit. Perhaps I should rather term it a superhuman achievement; for it requires such refined prudence, such comprehensive knowledge, and such perspicacious sagacity, united with such illimitable powers of combination, that it is nearly in vain to hope for qualities so rare to be congregated in a solitary mind."[24] It is true that his lordship makes these remarks respecting a secular government, but I see no reason why such reflections do not apply as well to an ecclesiastical government, especially to that brought into existence by the life's labor of Joseph Smith; for it is both free and founded on an

24. *Vindication of the English Constitution*, 3rd edition, 1833-1835, pp. 48, 49.

extensive scale, and presents all the difficulties that would be met in the creation of a secular government.

Joseph Smith in fact, in organizing this church, whose history we are here writing, was, under God's direction, building better than he knew. He as well as others associated with him were called upon to "lay the foundation of a great work—how great they knew not."[25] One may stand so close to a mountain that he perceives neither the vastness of the pile nor the grandeur of its outlines. Not until one recedes from the mountain some distance does the magnificence of its snow-capped peaks, the solemnity of its rugged cliffs, and deep ravines stir the sensibilities of the soul. So with this work established through the labors of Joseph Smith and his associates. They stood too close to it to comprehend its greatness; too absorbed in its parts to contemplate much less fully understand the meaning and harmony of the whole. It was not until the work was well advanced towards its present completion, and men had receded some distance from it in time, that they began to be aware that out of the parts given to them at sundry times and under varying circumstances, there was gradually being developed so sublime a system of ecclesiastical government, the like of which was not to be found elsewhere in all the world.

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25. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. i.

CHAPTER LXIII

The Prophet's Work—The New Dispensation a System of Philosophy

THE New Dispensation is a system of philosophy as well as a religion. Indeed every religion that is worth while must be a philosophy. It must give some accounting of things if it is to be of any permanent service in the world. Religion must appeal to the understanding as well as to the emotional nature of man. It must measurably satisfy his rational mind as well as fill his spiritual and ethical longings—his thirst for righteousness. I know there are those who think that the important thing in religion is to live it, rather than to understand it; just as there are those who think it better to live rather than to understand life. But as a matter of fact religion in its most exalting phases cannot be "lived" without making reasonably clear to the understanding the problems of existence; just as life cannot be truly "lived" without some knowledge at least of the near purposes of life. So much by the way of introduction. Allow me to add that in presenting merely in outline the chief principles of the New Dispensation philosophy, brought forth in the teachings of Joseph Smith, I shall use the ideas, doctrines, philosophies, science principles, translations or interpretations that I find brought to the knowledge of the world through Joseph Smith, directly or indirectly. For while doctrines herein referred to are in some cases found in the *Book of Mormon* and properly should be referred to the prophets among ancient American peoples for their origin, still the world today owes its knowledge of these things to the translation of the *Book of Mormon* by Joseph Smith. So also in relation to the *Book of Moses* and the *Book of Abraham.* So also as to the revelations in the *Doctrine and Covenants;* such philosophy and religious principles as are here found

are given, as Latter-day Saints believe, by the inspiration of God, but Joseph Smith received and published them, and for the purpose of what is here to be set forth shall stand as his doctrines and philosophy, as well as those utterances that come from his discourses, and direct revelations.

Joseph Smith Taught no Systematized Philosophy

The reader should understand that Joseph Smith himself made no attempt to create a "system" of philosophy. His philosophical utterances were flung off without reference to any arrangement or orderly sequence. In the main they were taught in independent aphorisms of which the following are examples:

"The Glory of God is Intelligence."

"It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance."

"Whatsoever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life will rise with us in the resurrection."

"The elements [i. e. of matter] are eternal, yea, the elements are the tabernacle of God. Man is the tabernacle of God, even temples."

"The elements are eternal; and spirit and element inseparably connected receive a fullness of joy."

"Jesus was in the beginning with the Father. * * * Man was also in the beginning with God. Intelligence, or the light of truth, was not created or made neither indeed can be."

"This is the work and the glory of God: to bring to pass the immortality and the eternal life of man."

"Adam fell that men might be; and men are that they might have joy."

"The intelligence of spirits had no beginning, neither will it have an end."

"Truth is knowledge of things as they are, and as they were, and as they are to come."

Reign of Law: "All kingdoms have a law given and there are many kingdoms [worlds and system of worlds] and there is no space where there is no kingdom. And to every kingdom is given a law; and unto every law there are certain bounds and conditions, etc., etc.,"

These utterances were given out at various times, and were often separated by long intervals of time. These are statements of truth without qualification, and constitute a literature of power. It is our present task to put some of these and other independent utterances into something like

orderly arrangement that will suggest a system of thought or philosophy in the teachings of the Prophet of the New Dispensation.

Joseph Smith's Definition of Truth

Undoubtedly the quest of philosophy is truth. And again, undoubtedly, philosophy would be greatly helped in its search for truth if it had but a clear conception of what it was trying to find; hence the importance of a clear and accurate definition. It is at this point, however, that the greatest difficulty arises for the human intellect. It is quite generally conceded that up to the early decades of the nineteenth century no satisfactory definition of truth had been found. When Jesus stood bound before Pilate's judgment seat, and testified that he was born to bear witness of the truth, Pilate—whether in mockery or in earnest curiosity we may not know—asked the question: "What is truth?" But the Divine Man made no answer. One set of commentators, referring to Pilate's question, say to him: "Thou stirrest the question of questions, which the thoughtful of every age have asked, but never man yet answered."[1]

A Secular writer presents the same incident as follows:

> " 'What is truth?' was the passionate demand of a Roman procurator, on one of the most momentous occasions in history. And the Divine Person who stood before him, to whom the interrogation was addressed, made no reply—unless, indeed, silence contained the reply. Often and vainly had that demand been made before—often and vainly has it been made since. No one has yet given a satisfactory answer."[2]

I make these quotations to show that no satisfactory definition of truth, either in ancient or modern times, either in religion or philosophy, has been given, and also to call attention to the fact that if Joseph Smith has given a definition of truth that appeals with irresistible force to the understanding of men, it must be a strongly original utterance; a reve-

1. Jamieson, Fausset and Brown's *Commentary* on St. John, xviii:38.
2. John W. Draper, *Conflict Between Religion and Science*, p. 201-2.

lation of the utmost importance. Such a definition, I believe, he has given. In 1833 he said:

"Truth is knowledge of things as they are, and as they were, and as they are to come."[3]

This I hold to be the completest definition of truth found in human literature. It deals with relative truth, absolute truth, and truth unfolding or becoming.

It may be objected that Joseph Smith's definition is defective in that it appears to make truth depend upon knowledge. "Truth," says the definition, "is *knowledge* of things as they are," etc. This part of the definition deals with relative truth merely. "Truth as it appears to us," says S. Baring-Gould, "can only be relative, because we are relative creatures, have only a relative perception and judgment. We appreciate that which is true to ourselves, not that which is universally true."[4]

In other words, and using the language of Herbert Spencer—

> "Debarred as we are now from everything beyond the relative, truth, raised to its highest form, can be for us nothing more than perfect agreement throughout the whole range of our experience, between those representations of things which we distinguish as ideal and those presentations of things which we distinguish as real."[5]

That is to say, to each individual, "knowledge of things as they are, and as they were" will be to him the truth, and the fulness thereof, though not necessarily all the truth that is. There is truth which does not depend upon knowledge; existences beyond and independent of any human knowledge, at least. To illustrate: America existed, though all Europe was without knowledge of it for ages; until, in fact, it was discovered by Columbus. The power of steam always existed, but men did not know it until modern times. So, also, with the mysterious force electricity; it always existed, but

3. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xciii:24.
4. *Religious Beliefs*, vol. ii, p. 41.
5. *First Principles*, p. 141, Appleton, 1896 edition.

not until recent years did man know it as a force that could be utilized; and so as to many other forces and truths in God's universe that are now existing, and always may have existed, but man, as yet, has no knowledge of them.

And yet it may be that running parallel with those existences, substances and relations unknown to man, there exist intelligences that cognize such existences and relations. America existed though all Europe was without knowledge of it until discovered by Columbus; but America had inhabitants, intelligences of her own, that knew of the existence of these western continents. And so it may be if one could be transported to Mars; while there is much that we do not know about Mars—has it an atmosphere and oceans? Has it great continents and mountain ranges? These may all be existences, realities on Mars, but we do not know of them, but there may be intelligent inhabitants on Mars who know all these things and a thousand more that are unknown to us. And so as to the most distant planets and planet-systems conceivable. Everywhere that things exist, they may be paralleled by intelligences that cognize them.

Then, again, if there are varying degrees of intelligences, as it seems necessary from the facts in the case to admit, it may be that there are intelligences so exalted as to comprehend all things, even "the sum of existence"[6]—the absolute truth. And so in the last analysis of the matter, wheresoever there are existences to be known, even though they stretch to infinity, there are also intelligences in numbers sufficient to parallel such existences; as also intelligences so exalted as to be universal consciousness to the universe—to comprehend all things, to control them, dominate them, and through them work out their sovereign will.

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6. The phrase is used by the late John Jacques, a most devout Latter-day Saint, in his hymn on "Truth."

"Then say what is truth? 'Tis the last and the first,
For the limits of time it steps o'er;
Though the heavens depart, and the earth's fountains burst,
Truth, the sum of existence, will weather the worst,
Eternal, unchanged, evermore."

It may be said that the absolute truth is beyond the grasp of the finite mind. That is conceded. But because finite minds cannot comprehend the "sum of existence," or absolute truth, it does not follow that the definition we are discussing is at fault, or that it can be displaced by one meaning more or less. Reflection upon the definition will develop the fact that it contains a self-evident proposition of the same nature as the statement, "duration is eternal—without beginning, without end"; or "space is limitless"—there is no point beyond which it does not extend. It is vain to say that the finite mind cannot comprehend the realities presented by these statements. The thing is greater than any symbol we can fashion of it by word or otherwise it is true, but we cannot conceive the opposite of these statements, i.e. that space has boundaries; that duration has limits; that absolute truth is less than the sum of existence. In the definition here set forth is all that is; and if in any definition of truth there is failure to include the sum of existence, by so much would the definition be defective. As to relative truth; every individual man's truth, that is every man's knowledge of so much of the sum of existence as he can make his own, as already pointed out.

One other reflection on this definition. Note the words. "Truth * * * is knowledge of things * * * as they are to come." This presents a view of truth with which one seldom if ever meets. It gives to truth the idea of movement, unfolding, development. Truth in this view is not a stagnant pool, but a living fountain; not a Dead Sea without tides or currents; on the contrary it is an ocean, immeasurably great, vast, co-extensive with the universe—it is the universe — bright heaving, boundless, endless and sublime, moving in majestic currents, uplifted by tides in ceaseless ebb and flow; variant but orderly; taking on new forms from ever-changing combinations; new adjustments; new relations; multiplying itself in ten thousand times ten

thousand ways; ever reflecting the intelligence of the Infinite; and declaring alike in its whispers and in its thunders, the hived wisdom of the ages and of God.

As to Things—The Universe

We are next to consider the universe in which men, angels, arch-angels—intelligences all—live.

*"There are many kingdoms * * * and there is no space in the which there is no kingdom; and there is no kingdom in the which there is no space."*[7]

This was said by Joseph Smith in 1832. The context of the passage makes it clear that "kingdoms" here are not groups of men or nations over which a monarch reigns; but substance, spirit, matter, worlds, and world-systems, under the dominion of law. It is the doctrine of the eternal and everywhere existence of matter and space. It is a description of the universe as far as it is describable.

That the extent of the universe is infinite and unbounded; that it is empty in no part, but everywhere filled with substance; that the duration of the universe is equally infinite and unbounded; that it has no beginning and no end; that it is eternity, may be said to be the settled and universal conviction of science today;[8] but it was far from being such conviction in 1832 when Joseph Smith said the same thing in the passage here under consideration.

The doctrine was nobly embodied in verse by W. W. Phelps, one of the early converts to the faith of the New Dispensation, and already referred to in these pages[9] as the author of a number of hymns the most characteristic of Latter-day Saint thought and aspiration. The one here quoted is one of these, that could well be entitled—

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7. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxxviii.

8. See Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe*, McCabe's translation, 1900, treating on the "Law of Substance," p. 42.

9. See note 11, ch. xxi; and *Note* to ch. xxx, this *History*.

"ETERNALISM"

If you could hie to Kolob,[10]
  In th' twinkling of an eye,
And then continue onward,
  With that same speed to fly—

D'ye think that you could ever,
  Through all eternity,
Find out the generation
  Where Gods began to be?

Or see the grand beginning,
  Where space did not extend?
Or view the last creation,
  Where Gods and matter end?

Methinks the Spirit whispers,
  "No man has found 'pure space,' "
Nor seen the outside curtains
  Where nothing has a place.

The works of God continue,
  And worlds and lives abound;
Improvement and progression
  Have one eternal round.

There is no end to matter,
  There is no end to space,
There is no end to "spirit,"
  There is no end to race.

* * * * * *

CHANGE AND ITS TENDENCY

As to the movement and change in this infinite universe, our Prophet represents God as saying (1830).

*"Worlds without number have I created. * * * Behold, there are many worlds that have passed away by the word of my power, and there are many that now stand, and innumerable are they to man. * * * The heavens, they are many, and they cannot be numbered unto man: but they are numbered unto me, for they are mine. And as one earth shall pass away, and the heavens thereof, even so shall another come, and there is no end to my works, neither to my words."*[11]

This passage implies constant movement in this infinite

10. One of the most distant of the so-called "fixed" stars. So named in the Abrahamic System of astronomy. See ch. xlvii, this *History*.

11. *Pearl of Great Price, Book of Moses*, ch. i.

universe. The statement, "As one earth shall pass away and the heavens thereof, even so shall another come," corresponds somewhat to the modern scientist's notion of "evolution and devolution." "Substance" says Haeckel, "is everywhere and always in uninterrupted movement and transformation; nowhere is there perfect repose and rigidity; yet the infinite quantity of matter and of eternally changing force remains constant."[12]

Of late (1927-1929) it has been emphasized by scientists that if matter may be resolved into "radiant energy" then said energy may be brought back to matter; thus constituting a cycle from matter to "radiant energy," and from "radiant energy" back to matter; devolution to energy; evolution from energy to varied forms of matter and life. "What a shock it would be to Lord Kelvin (1824-1907) if he should hear the modern astronomers talking about the stars radiating away their masses through the mere act of giving off light and heat! And yet this is now orthodox astronomy. And, again, if they do so in accordance with the Einstein equation, then is it not more than probable that the process is also going on somewhere in the opposite sense, and that radiant energy is condensing back into mass, *that new worlds are thus continually forming as old ones are disintegrating?*

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12. *Riddle of the Universe*, p. 242. So John W. Draper: "From the contemplation of isolated suns and congregated clusters we are led to the stupendous problem of the distribution of matter and force in space, and to the interpretation of those apparent phantoms of self-luminous vapor, circular and elliptic discs, spiral wreaths, rings, and fans, whose edges fade doubtfully away, twins and triplets of phosphorescent haze connected together by threads of light and grotesque forms of indescribable complexity. Perhaps in some of these gleaming apparitions we see the genesis, in some the melting away of universes. There is nothing motionless in the sky. In every direction vast transformations are occurring, yet all these things proclaim the eternity of matter and the undiminished perpetuity of force." (*Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. ii, p 280, revised edition, 1875.)

And Sir Oliver Lodge: "Solar systems can (or, rather do) by collision or otherwise resolve themselves into nebulæ, and nebulæ left to themselves can condense into solar systems,—everywhere in the spaces around us we see a part of the process going on; the formation of solar systems from whirling nebulæ lies before our eyes, if not in the visible sky itself, yet in the magnified photographs taken of that sky. * * * From everlasting to everlasting the material universe rolls on composing worlds and disintegrating them." (*Science and Faith*, 1908, pp. 16, 17.)

These are merely the current speculations of modern physics."[13]

Later Professor Millikan, at the request of a reporter on the *Los Angeles Examiner,* January 6th, 1928, wrote out his above thought in the following formula:

"It is a legitimate speculation, that since we now have evidence that the sun and stars are actually radiating away their masses in the form of heat and light somewhere in the universe, the reverse of that process is going on, and light and heat are condensing back again into ordinary matter, new stars thus being in the process of forming as old ones disappear."

For this suggestion Professor Millikan receives high praise as a daring, original thinker—moving in the vanguard of discovery and thought! But what of him, the Prophet of the New Dispensation, who published as a revelation from God in 1830, the following:

*"The heavens they are many, and they cannot be numbered unto man; * * * and as one earth shall pass away, and the heavens thereof, even so shall another come; and there is no end to my works, neither to my words."*[14]

This is a case surely where the inspiration of the Prophet of the New Dispensation outran the slow, dragging footsteps of scientific discovery, and tardy admission of physical conditions in the universe.

Purpose of God in the Earth-Life of Man

"This is my work and my glory," Joseph Smith represents the Lord as saying, (again 1830 in the same revelation last quoted), to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man." Then he represents God as dwelling among intelli-

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13. *Evolution in Science and Religion,* Robert Andrews Millikan, 1928, pp. 16, 17. Note that the same idea, however, is expressed by Draper in his remarks on the far off distribution of gleaming matter in the form of nebulæ—"we see the genesis in some, the melting away of universes"—and this in 1875! (See note 12). And Sir Oliver Lodge in 1908 said: "From everlasting to everlasting the material universe rolls on, composing worlds and disintegrating them." (*Science and Faith,* pp. 16, 17.) Yet Millikan, Einstein, *et al,* would have us believe that these ideas have been suggested by them in the years of grace 1927-1928!

14. *Pearl of Great Price, Book of Moses,* ch. i:37-38.

gences that were organized, but of varying degrees of intelligence, soul greatness and moral quality, yet equal in eternity, for they are all proclaimed "gnolaum," or eternal. For the progress of these intelligences God is represented as proposing the creation of an earth, "where on these may dwell;" and God said to those who were with him:

> "We will go down, for there is space there, and we will take of these materials, and we will make an earth whereon these may dwell. And we will prove them herewith, to see if they will do all things whatsoever the Lord their God shall command them. And they who keep their first estate shall be added upon; and they who keep not their first estate shall not have glory in the same kingdom with those who keep their first estate; and they who keep their second estate shall have glory added upon their heads forever and ever."[15]

Progress, then, for intelligences, to which movement and change are necessary—is the purpose of God's creations; and progress can only come through change from good to better; from lower to higher, and ever higher; but never highest; for in the scheme of progress in the infinite there are no ultimates, of which more in paragraphs under another heading.

The Eternal Existence of Intelligence

The Prophet represents the Christ as saying:

*I was in the beginning with the Father * * * Ye* [meaning the brethren present when the revelation was given] *were also in the beginning with the Father, that which is Spirit. * * * Man was also in the beginning with God. Intelligence, or the light of truth, was not created or made, neither indeed can be.*"[16]

Joseph Smith taught not only the eternal existence of intelligence, but of intelligences. These may be manifested as "spirits," "men," "angels," "arch-angels," "Deities," according to the state of progress to which they have attained; and they may be of infinitely varying degrees of intelligence, moral quality, and soul greatness; yet all are equal in their

15. *Pearl of Great Price, Book of Abraham,* ch. iii.
16. *Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. xciii.

eternity. Regarded as intelligences, whatever estates or changes they may have passed through, whatever their present status or whatever progressive estates may await them in the future, there is a something in them not only uncreated, but from the nature of it uncreatable, and indestructible—without beginning and without end.

In the passages in which the Prophet more especially teaches this doctrine he sometimes uses words interchangeably "intelligence," "mind," "spirit," "soul"; but notwithstanding this it is not difficult to discern from the Prophet's discourse that he is seeking to assert the truly eternal nature of man.[17]

In the *Book of Abraham,* put forth by the Prophet, the following occurs—The Lord is represented as saying to Abraham:

> "If two things exist, and there be one above the other, there shall be greater things above them. * * * Now, if there be two things, one above the other, and the moon be above the earth, then it may be that a planet or a star may exist above it; * * * as also if there be two spirits, and one shall be more intelligent than the other, yet those two spirits notwithstanding one is more intelligent than the other, have no beginning; they existed before, they shall have no end, they shall exist after, for they are *gnolaum,* or eternal * * * These two facts do exist, that there are two spirits, one being more intelligent than the other: there shall be another more intelligent than they; I am the Lord thy God, I am more intelligent than they all."[18]

To this may be added the following excerpt from a noted discourse of the Prophet's, delivered less than three months before his death:

> "The soul—the mind of man—the immortal spirit—where did it come from? All learned men and doctors of divinity say that God created it in the beginning; but it is not so: the very idea lessens man in my estimation. I do not believe the doctrine. I know better. Hear it, all ye ends of the world, for God has told me so, if you don't believe me, it will not make the truth without effect. * * * * We say

17. See discourse at the April conference, 1844, known as the "King Follett Sermon," *Times and Seasons,* vol. v, p. 612 *et seq.* It was never completed in the *Times and Seasons,* however, but was published in full in the *Millennial Star,* vol. xxiii, pp. 245-280. It is also published in *Journal of Discourses,* vol. vi, pp. 1-11.

18. *Pearl of Great Price, Book of Abraham,* ch. iii:15-19.

that God himself is a self-existent being. Who told you so? It is correct enough, but how did it get into your head? Who told you that man did not exist in like manner upon the same principles? Man does exist upon the same principles. * * * The mind or the intelligence which man possesses is co-equal [co-eternal, see above] with God himself. I know my testimony is true. * * * The intelligence of spirits had no beginning, neither will it have an end. * * * The first principles of man are self-existents with God."[19]

The intelligence in man, then, according to the Prophet's philosophy, is not created, but is self-existent, one of the eternal things, not created, really uncreatable, as also indestructible. Not of earth-origin, but existing in heavens without number, always existing.

I have already noted that intelligences differ in degree of intelligence, moral quality, and greatness, hence also they differ in power, standing, and appointment.

It is these differences in intelligences that lead to order in the universe. Those more advanced governing, controlling, devising, organizing, forming societies, making governments, civilizations—all which shall tend to increase the glory and power and joy of all: "Men are that they might have joy," is a *Book of Mormon* passage. "This is my work and my glory," Joseph Smith represents God as saying, "to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man."[20] To this end Divine Intelligences bring into existence worlds and world systems, sustain and guide them through immense cycles of time, and through processes that lead from chaos to cosmos, from telestial to celestial, and when attaining a point beyond which they may not be exalted in their present forms, breaking those forms, disintegrating them, to bring them forth again to reach a grander cosmos—worlds without number have thus passed away, by the word of God's power, and many now stand, innumerable unto man; and as one earth and its heavens shall pass away, so shall another come, and there is no end to this work, to this evolution, and this devolu-

19. See footnote 17.
20. *Pearl of Great Price, Book of Moses*, ch. i.

tion. And so the eternal drama proceeds. Intelligences meanwhile standing indestructible amidst this organization and disorganization of worlds; this integrating and disintegrating of things. This movement is from lower to higher estates, from little to greater excellences; yet this without attaining to "highest" or "perfect," because, to repeat, advancement in the infinite knows no ultimates. Meanwhile intelligences, amid these changes, under the law of eternal progress, are ever increasing in power, glory, might, dominion, benevolence, charity, justice; and all else that can make for the increase of their power and glory. In which strivings and achievements eternal evil is always potentially, and sometimes actively, present. Indeed it makes necessary and possible, in fact, the very strivings and achievements; and is the "foil on which good produces itself, and becomes known."

Other Worlds and World-Systems than Our Own Inhabited by Intelligences

The Prophet Joseph Smith taught that these worlds and world-systems, of which we have spoken, that make up the universe, are or will be inhabited by sentient beings. This is assumed in all his revelations. It is everywhere taken for granted. Answering a question submitted to him—"Is not the reckoning of God's time, angel's time, prophet's time, and man's time according to the planet on which they live," he answered: "Yes; but there are no angels who minister to this earth but those who do belong or have belonged to it."[21] In an important revelation given in December, 1832, and which, because of its beauty and the spirit of peace it breathes is called the "Olive Leaf," the existence of other worlds than ours is dwelt upon at length. Indeed it is from this revelation that I have already quoted the doctrine of the co-extension of infinite space and substance. "There are many kingdoms"—meaning worlds and world-systems, as we have seen. "Unto what shall I liken these kingdoms that ye may

21. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxx.

understand?" Says the Lord. Then he likens them unto a man having a field into which he sends forth his servants to labor, and promises them a personal visit, at the appointed time, "to make them glad with the joy of his countenance." *"Therefore unto this parable will I liken all these kingdoms and the inhabitants thereof; every kingdom in its hour and its season; even according to the decree which God hath made."*[22]

The learned scientists of today in dealing with the question, "are the innumerable worlds in the universe, revealed by the powerful telescopes and other instruments, inhabited?" can only give as an answer a doubtful "perhaps." One leading astronomer thus gives his conclusions after a long review of the question:

> "It seems, therefore, so far as we can reason from analogy, that the probabilities are in favor of only a very small fraction of the planets being peopled with intelligent beings. But when we reflect that the possible number of the planets is counted by hundreds of millions, this small fraction may be really a large number, and among this number many may be peopled by beings much higher than ourselves in the intellectual scale. Here we may give free rein to our imagination with the moral certainty that science will supply nothing tending either to prove or disprove any of its fancies."[23]

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22. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxxviii.

23. Newcomb's *Astronomy*, 1893, p. 531. In an article to the *American Press* a few years ago, Sir Robert Ball discussed the "Possibility of Life on Other Worlds," in which he but conservatively—as becomes a scientist—admits the possibility of life on other worlds. He concludes, however, that "no reasonable person will, I think, doubt that the tendency of modern research has been in favor of the supposition that there may be life on some of the other globes."

Later, however, Sir Robert Ball grew bolder and said: "It is most improbable, almost impossible that these great centers of light (the fixed stars) should have been created to light up nothing, and as they are far too distant to be of use to us, we may fairly accept the hypothesis that each one has a system of planets around it like our own. Taking an average of only ten planets to each sun, that hypothesis indicates the existence, within the narrow range to which human observation is still confined, of at least 300,000,000 of separate worlds, many of them doubtless of gigantic size, and it is nearly inconceivable that those worlds can be wholly devoid of living and sentient beings upon them. Granting the, to us, impossible hypothesis that the final cause of the universe is accident, a fortuitous concourse of self-existent atoms, still the accident which produced thinking beings upon this little and inferior world, must have frequently repeated itself; while if, as we hold, there is a sentient Creator, it is difficult to believe, without a revelation to that effect, that he has wasted such glorious creative powers upon mere masses of insensible matter. *God cannot love gasses!* The probability at least is that there are millions of worlds—for after all what the sensitized paper sees must be but an infinitesimal fraction of the whole—occupied by sentient beings."

This is the best that science can do. The habitability of other worlds, to science, is a proposition more or less probable; but the teachings of Joseph Smith are clear and positive upon the subject as far back as 1832.

The Relationship of Intelligences—The Congregation of the Mighty

It is seen that our Prophet taught the eternity of intelligence; also the existence of intelligences in other worlds than ours. The Presiding Intelligence to that order of things and beings to which we belong, is represented as standing among the intelligences appointed to life on our earth, "and among these were many of *the noble and great ones.*" And the Presiding Intelligence said: "*These I will make my rulers;* for he stood among those that were spirits, and He saw that they were *good.*"[24] *The noble and great ones* are made rulers then; and doubtless the principle here operating in respect of those intelligences appointed to our earth, operates in all worlds and world-systems. Some of the "good and the noble and the great ones" stand at the head of worlds and world groups, forming grand presidencies, in order and gradation, based upon their power and their appointment, which in turn depend upon their character, their nobility, greatness, and their worthiness, measured by their capacity to serve. Each one of such "rulers," and each "intelligence," independent in the sphere in which he is appointed to act, yet, neverthe-

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Still later, 27th of August, 1910, the *Associated Press* announced that in a lecture before the Popular Educational Society, known as the "Materialistic Association," Prof. J. J. See declared the completion of his researches in Cosmic Evolution to which he had devoted ten years. The *Associated Press* dispatch continued: "Professor See stated his conviction that the planets revolving about the 'fixed stars' are inhabited by some kind of intelligent beings. He cited the address delivered at Philadelphia in 1897 by Professor Newcombe, [quoted above] in which similar views were held, and said that the proof is much more complete now than at that time. Life flourishing on the earth and believed to exist on Mars and Venus is but a drop in the Pacific ocean as compared to that flourishing on the thousands of billions of habitable worlds, now definitely proved to revolve about the fixed stars."

"Bodily existence on other planets is probable, not necessarily on any planet of our solar system, but that is a trifle in the visible universe; it is as our little five-roomed house among all the dwellings of mankind." (Sir Oliver Lodge, *Science and Faith*, pp. 37.)

24. *Pearl of Great Price, Book of Abraham*, ch. iii.

less, acts in harmony—through the attainment of knowledge, of truth—with all other exalted and sanctified intelligences. These are the "rulers" in the universe, the Divine Beings who make up David's "congregation of the mighty," in which God, "more intelligent than them all,"[25] standeth and judgeth "among the Gods."[26] And to these, in their several stations, other intelligences owe loyalty—call it worship if you like; at any rate it must be unshaken loyalty, in order to attain the ends proposed in all "plans of salvation," "gospels," "societies," "kingdoms of God," and the like; in which "plans," "gospels" and the rest, each spirit agreed and covenanted to accept, as also to obey and honor those appointed to direct and bring to pass that which was ordained in the councils of Divine Intelligences. "At the first organization in heaven," said Joseph Smith, speaking with reference to matters pertaining to our earth, and the probation of spirits upon it in earth-life—"at the first organization in heaven, we were all present, and saw the Savior chosen and appointed, and the plan of salvation made, and we sanctioned it."[27] This, doubtless, the meaning of "man was also in the beginning with God." And as to the "rulers,"—they are not "rulers" in the worldly sense of those words. "Government" here, "office" in the "kingdom of God," means opportunity for service, not of mastery. "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them," said the Savior to his disciples, "and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you. But whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant;

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25. *Pearl of Great Price, Book of Abraham,* iii:19.

26. *Psalms,* lxxxii.

27. See Gems from the History of Joseph Smith, in Richards and Little's *Compendium,* p. 288, 3rd edition, 1898. The Prophet says substantially the same thing in his discourse at the obsequies of his friend, James Adams, October 9th, 1843: "The organization of the spiritual and heavenly beings was agreeable to the most perfect order and harmony: their limits and bounds were fixed irrevocably, and voluntarily subscribed to in their heavenly state by themselves, and were by our first parents subscribed to upon the earth." (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 51.)

even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."[28]

So Joseph Smith:

THE SPIRIT OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN'S GOVERNMENT

"The powers of heaven can only be controlled upon the principle of righteousness. When men undertake * * * to exercise control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of the children of men in any degree of unrighteousness, the heavens withdraw themselves, the spirit of the Lord is grieved, and when it is withdrawn, amen to the priesthood, or the authority of that man. No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness, and meekness, and by love unfeigned; by kindness, and pure knowledge, which shall greatly enlarge the soul, without hypocrisy, and without guile."[29]

This the principle of heavenly rule among Divine Beings.

When it is conceded, as it is in the foregoing, that among intelligences there are varying degrees of intelligence, also degrees of greatness, and nobility, and moral quality; then it must follow that at the last we come to One who is the most intelligent of all, greatest, noblest, best; most wise, and most powerful. And how far this greatest and best may rise above the other intelligences, who may say? There are no terms of comparison beyond the superlative. It rises above all comparisons, and how far above that to which it stands next none can say. It may be that the "Most Intelligent One" may be not only *more* intelligent than any other "one" of the mass, but more intelligent than *all of the "ones" combined.*

"These two facts do exist, that there are two spirits, one being more intelligent than the other; there shall be another more intelligent than they; I am the Lord thy God, *I am more intelligent than they all!*"[30]

That is, than "all" combined, and for that reason is he God. And doubtless this is the Being to whom Joseph Smith makes reference when he says—speaking of the fulness of knowledge yet to be revealed to the saints—"according

28. *St. Matt.* xx:25-28.
29. *Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. cxxi.
30. *Pearl of Great Price, Book of Abraham,* ch. iii.

to that which was ordained in the council of the *Eternal God of all other Gods, before this world was;*"[31] which conveys the thought of many Divine Intelligences; but also of One Supreme Intelligence, more intelligent than all.

Yet to this Supreme Intelligence are the other intelligences necessary. He without them cannot be perfect, nor they without him. There is community of interest between them; also of love and brotherhood; and hence community of effort for mutual good, for progress, for attainment of the highest possible. Therefore are these eternal, Divine Intelligences drawn together in oneness of mind and purpose—in moral and spiritual unity;[32] until the moral and spiritual force of the universe—the *Absolute Power* over all things exists in the harmonized *Will* of all Divine Intelligences, guided and instructed by the One more intelligent than all—"the Eternal God of All other Gods."

The Immanence of God

It is also the doctrine of Joseph Smith that from the presence of these Divine Beings proceeds an essence or substance (perhaps like unto ether) variously called "spirit," "light," "light of truth," "light of Christ," corresponding somewhat to what other teachers regard as "vital force" or "energy" which permeates all nature and constitutes the immanence of God in the universe; through which the purposes of the Divine Intelligence are impressed upon other minds and also upon matter, and hence the orderly creations and their maintenance—the cosmos. This conception is derived from the revelations to Joseph Smith which said—"the elements are the tabernacle of God."[33] Also that other revelation which

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31. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxi.

32. It was into this unity that the Christ would have his disciples inducted, when he prayed that all those who might be led to believe in him might "be one." "As thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; * * * that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one." (*St. John* xvii).

33. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xciii.

represents this divine indwelling power in the world for us men as being the "light of Christ." The passage follows:

"THE LIGHT OF CHRIST"

"This is the light of Christ [i. e. "the light of truth," which is "in all and through all things"]. As also he [the light of Christ] is in the sun, and the power thereof by which it was made. * * * As also the light of the stars and the power thereof by which they were made. And the earth also, and the power thereof; even the earth upon which you stand. And the light which now shineth, which giveth you light, is through him who enlighteneth your eyes which is the same light that quickeneth your understanding. *Which light proceedeth forth from the presence of God to fill the immensity of space.* The light which is in all things; which giveth life to all things; which is the law by which all things are governed; even the *power* of God who sitteth upon his throne, who is in the bosom of eternity, who is in the midst of all things."

Again:

"The earth rolls upon her wings, and the sun gives his light by day, and the moon gives her light by night, and the stars also give their light, as they roll upon their wings of glory, in the midst of the power of God. * * * Behold all these are kingdoms, and any man who hath seen any or the least of these, hath seen God moving in his majesty and power." [i. e. has seen a manifestation of God.][34]

According to The New Dispensation doctrine, then, God is in the world—permeates the world—by his Spirit; and the thought rises to the sublime and inspired conception of David of the *every-whereness* of God, when he said:

"Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea: Even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. If I say, Surely the darkness shall cover me; even the night shall be light about me. Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee; but the night shineth as the day: the darkness and the light are both alike to thee."[35]

The erroneous idea of the Christian world with reference to God will pass away, and will be supplanted by a grander conception, one in harmony with the foregoing teach-

34. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. 88.
35. *Psalms*, cxxxix.

ings of Joseph Smith, one more worthy of the character of God. It will hold that Divine Being will be expressed as Divine Immanence in the universe. As of old it will be "God * * * and the spirit of God."[36] God the harmonized community of Divine Intelligences of the universe and the immanent spirit of God in and throughout that universe, which spirit of God proceeds forth from those Divine Personal Intelligences to fill the immensity of space."[37]

Also the conception will obtain that God is just as near to modern man as he ever was to man in ancient times; that spiritual union and fellowship with Deity is as possible for the moderns as it ever was for the ancients. Such pre-eminently was the view of Joseph Smith, and is the very ground work of his numerous revelations and the all but constant union and communion with God throughout his life.

The Reign of the Law

*"There are many kingdoms * * * and to every kingdom is given a law; and to every law there are certain bounds also, and conditions. All beings who abide not in those conditions [i. e. abide not within the law] are not justified."*[38]

Also—

"There is a law irrevocably decreed in heaven before the foundation of this world, upon which all blessings are predicated; and when we [men] obtain any blessings from God, it is by obedience to that law upon which it is predicated."[39]

This was said in 1832 and 1843, respectively. These passages proclaim the reign of law throughout the infinite universe—through all space, through all time; in all kingdoms; but implies the possibility of departure from "law." But "to every law there are certain bounds also and conditions."

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36. *Gen.* i:1, 2. "In the beginning God created * * * and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," etc.
37. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxxviii:6-12.
38. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxxviii.
39. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxx.

A bold conception this; especially three-quarters of a century ago; yet it is approved by man's experience. The power of ocean currents and the winds to carry with them objects in the direction of their movement is overcome by another force or law, the power of steam; the force of gravitation, by the levitating power of gas; the natural tendency of water to seek its level, by the levitating power of heat converting water into vapors and the absorbing power of the atmosphere—are examples of this truth. This idea of law itself "having metes and bounds," or "laws themselves being subject to law," Henry Drummond, declared to be "One of the most striking generalizations of recent science."[40] This, however, more than fifty years after Joseph Smith's doctrine was published. John Fiske said, "In order to be always sure that we are generalizing correctly, we must make the generalizing process a subject of generalization." Which is but a recognition of Drummond's idea that "laws have their law;" and Joseph Smith's idea that "To every law there are certain bounds also and conditions."

Already I have noted above the implied possibility of disorder, which must result in the event of a violation of law. But our Prophet said:

> "That which is governed by law is also preserved by law, and perfected and sanctified by the same. That which breaketh a law, and abideth not by law but seeketh to become a law unto itself, and willeth to abide in sin, and altogether abideth in sin, cannot be sanctified by law, neither by mercy, justice, nor judgment."[41]

There may be at times apparent departure from law in

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40. "One of the most striking generalizations of recent science is that even laws have their law. Phenomena first, in the progress of knowledge, were grouped together, and nature shortly presented the spectacle of a cosmos, the lines of beauty being the great natural laws. So long, however, as these laws were merely great lines running through nature, so long as they remained isolated from one another, the system of nature was still incomplete. The principle which sought law among phenomena had to go further and seek a law among the laws. Laws themselves accordingly came to be treated as they treated phenomena, and found themselves finally grouped in a still narrower circle. That inmost circle is governed by one great law, the law of continuity. It is the law for laws." (*Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, Introduction, 1893, p. 37.)

41. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxxviii.

some of the phenomena within man's experience; but when all the data is known, it will be found that all things take place in conformity with fixed and eternal principles—in conformity with law, by which the universe is everywhere governed.

The Doctrine of Opposite Existences—Good and Evil

Respecting good and evil the Prophet taught:

> *"There must needs be an opposition in all things. If it were not so, righteousness could not be brought to pass; nor wickedness, nor holiness, nor misery; neither good nor bad, therefore, all things must needs be [in the absence of these opposite existences] a compound in one."*[42]

Good implies its opposite, evil. Law, which carries with it the idea of order, implies disorder, and takes measures against it. We become conscious of the truth of the doctrine here announced at every turn. In the astronomical order it is seen in the centripetal and centrifugal forces—the holding together and the flying apart forces. In chemistry it is manifest in the composing and decomposing forces; in positive and negative electricity. It is seen in light and darkness; heat, cold; movement, repose; joy, sorrow; pleasure, pain; and so following. The Prophet's teaching on this line runs to the extent that existence itself is made to depend upon this antinomy of things.

> "And if ye shall say there is no law, ye shall also say there is no sin. If ye shall say there is no sin, ye shall also say there is no righteousness. And if there is no righteousness nor happiness, there is no punishment nor misery. And if these things are not, there is no God. And if there is no God, we are not, neither the earth; for there could have been no creation of things; *neither to act, nor to be acted upon."*[43]

What a dreadful world this would be without this quality—the opposite existences here contended for? Imagine all things in the world to be white! No contrast in coloring! Universal insanity must result. The "dread of sinking into

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42. *II Nephi* ii.
43. *Book of Mormon, II Nephi* ii.

naught" is matched by the dread of having things resolved into a "compound in one."[44]

Good and evil then, in Latter-day Saint philosophy, are not created things. Both are eternal, just as duration is, and space. They are as old as law—old as truth, old as this eternal universe. Intelligences must adjust themselves to these eternal existences; this, the measure of their duty.

The Moral Freedom of Intelligences

Joseph Smith taught the moral freedom of men and of all intelligences:

> *"All truth is independent in that sphere in which God has placed it, to act for itself, as all intelligence also, otherwise there is no existence. Behold, here is the agency of man and here is the condemnation of man, because that which was from the beginning is plainly manifest unto them, and they receive not the light. And every man, whose spirit receiveth not the light, is under condemnation, for man is spirit."*[45]

The fact of free moral agency for intelligences runs through all the Prophet's revelations in similar spirit. Indeed, in one scripture he represents the chief sin of Lucifer as being an attempt to "destroy the agency of man;" and for that he was driven forth from heaven.[46] The effect of these two

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44. The absence of this necessary "opposition in all things" is well put, by a recent philosophical writer, in these terms:

"Evil exists in the balance of natural forces. * * * It is also the background of good, the incentive to good, and the trial of good, without which good could not be. As the virtue of courage could not exist without the evil of danger, and as the virtue of sympathy could not exist without the evil of suffering, so no other virtue could exist without its corresponding evil. In a world without evil—if such a world be really conceivable—all men would have perfect health, perfect intelligence, and perfect morals. No one could gain or impart information, each one's cup of knowledge being full. The temperature would stand forever at 70 degrees, both heat and cold [in excess] being evil. There could be no progress since progress is the overcoming of evil. A world without evil would be as toil without exertion, as light without darkness, as a battle without an antagonist. It would be a world without meaning." (*A Short View of Great Questions*, Orlando J. Smith, sec. xi.)

45. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xciii. The last sentence is a noble conception. It is as if the Lord would say, truth is native to the spirit of man, when unrestrained by man's perverse will—when he has not reached the point where he chooses darkness rather than light because his deeds are evil—then truth is native to the spirit of man and will, when unrestrained, intuitively rise to meet it as flame leaps toward its kindred flame and unites with it. And it is because the spirit of man refuses to live true to this attribute of his spirit that he comes under condemnation when rejecting truth.

46. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. lxxvi.

doctrines, (1) the recognition of the spirit of man as an eternal being; and (2) his being a free moral agent, is tremendous in accounting for things. As matters now stand, the usually accepted orthodox Christian doctrine on the matter of man's origin is that God of his free will created men. That they are as he would have them, since in his act of creation he could have had them different had he so minded. Then why should he—being infinitely wise and infinitely powerful, and infinitely good, for so the creeds represent him—why should he create by mere act of volition, beings such as men are, not only capable of, but prone to, moral evil? Which, in the last analysis of things—if indeed God absolutely created man, spirit and body—and in spite of all special pleadings to the contrary, leaves responsibility for moral evil with God. For not to prevent that which is preventable—which one can have otherwise if he but wills it so—is to be responsible fort it as it is. Viewing God's creative acts, then, as orthodox creeds represent them, the next pertinent questions are: Then what of the decreed purpose of God to punish moral evil? And what of the much vaunted justice of God in that punishment? Wherein lies the just responsibility of man if he was so created as to love evil and to follow it? It is revolting to reason, as it is shocking to piety, to think that God, of his own free will, created some men, not only inclined to wickedness, but desperately so inclined; while others he, of his own volition, created with dispositions naturally inclined toward goodness. In like manner stands it with man in relation to his inclinations to faith, and to unbelief; and yet, under orthodox christianity all are included under one law for judgment! On the other hand, under the conception of the existence of eternal intelligence in men, who by the inherent nature of them are of various degrees of intelligence and moral quality, yet all capable of advancement, of improvement and alike in their eternity and their freedom; and God proposing the betterment of their conditions,—progress to higher

levels of being and power through change—under this conception of things, I ask, how stand matters? And the answer comes that ever present through all changes, through all movements, upward or downward; in all the processes of betterment as in all relapses into degeneracy, the "intelligence," with the tremendous fact of consciousness and moral freedom, and indestructibility—has his choice of moving upward or downward in every estate he occupies; often defeating, for a time at least, even the benevolent purposes of God respecting him through his own perverseness; he passes through dire experiences, suffers terribly, yet learns by what he suffers, so that his very suffering becomes a means to his improvement; he learns swiftly or slowly—according to the inherent nature of him—obedience to law; and is perfected and sanctified by the same; while that "intelligence" which breaketh the law, and abideth not by law, but seeketh to become a law unto itself, and willeth to abide in sin, cannot be sanctified by law, neither by mercy, justice nor judgment. Therefore must remain filthy still.

This conception of things relieves God of the responsibility for the nature and status of intelligences in all stages of their development; their inherent nature and their volition make them primarily what they are, and this nature they may change, slowly, perhaps, yet change it they may. God has put them in the way of changing it, by enlarging their intelligence through change of environment, through instruction and through experience. The only way God effects these beings is favorably; he creates not their inherent nature; he is not responsible for the use they make of their freedom; nor is he the author of their sufferings when they fall into sin; that arises out of the violations of law, to which the intelligence subscribed, and must be endured until the lessons of obedience to law are learned.

Eternity of Relationships

Matching these eternal things; an eternal universe;

eternal intelligence; eternal good, with its background of eternal evil, potential or active; eternal law; free agency and the like, is the Prophet's doctrine of eternal relationships. Spirits are begotten men and women; these after passing through death become resurrected and exalted personages, spirit and element in them being eternally united, whence proceeds a fulness of joy, and glory, and power.[47] The Prophet taught that these relations in which intelligences participate, the joy and glory of endless lives, in celestial worlds, are themselves eternal. The marriage covenant which unites immortal beings is eternal, hence the eternity of the marriage covenant which Joseph Smith introduced in our dispensation, called the "New and Everlasting Covenant of Marriage;"—sometimes called "Celestial Marriage"—by which marriages under the law of God, are made in sacred places for time and eternity.[48] Thus the relationship of exalted intelligences is a thing regulated and sanctified by law; and from these relations come the family, a permanent, eternal institution; the foundation of which is fatherhood and motherhood, whence spring, also, all other relationships existing among the exalted intelligences of all worlds and world-systems; until, indeed, all are found and united together in bonds of relationships founded on mutual covenants and agreements, and sanctified by love.

Classification of the New Dispensation Philosophy

As a philosophical system the New Dispensation philosophy may not be classified under any of the titles used to designate the various schools of philosophy. It is "dualistic" but not in the sense that "it breaks up the universe into two entirely distinct substances, the material world and an immaterial God, who is represented to be its Creator, Sustainer and Ruler."[49] Its dualism is that which recognizes infinitely

47. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xciii.
48. See chapter xliv, this *History*.
49. Such is Haeckle's description of dualism. (*Riddle of the Universe*, McCabe's translation, 1900, p. 20.) The above is, of course, the modern Christian or realistic dualism, not the old Persian dualism.

extended substance—the universe, "unbounded and empty in no part, but holds nevertheless that within this universe, and co-extensive with it, is intelligence, or spirit, or mind; whose essence is of finer quality than gross matter; which, while possessing some qualities in common with matter—necessarily extension—in other respects distinct, and chiefly in the power of thought and action. This conception—speaking broadly, and taking no note of a thousand details, for the New Dispensation philosophy, divides the universe into the two grand divisions spirit and the grosser matter, the *Book of Mormon's* "things to act, and things to be acted upon."[50]

The New Dispensation philosophy in a certain sense also is monistic, in that it believes all substances to be matter, that there is no such thing as immaterial substance. That even "spirit," which is generally regarded by most philosophies as "immaterial," is material; but, as explained in foregoing paragraphs, it is of a finer or purer essence than gross matter that is tangible to the senses.[51] The monism, then, of New Dispensation thought is not of the kind that recognizes no distinctions in matter; that holds that all substances are fused into one inseparable "sole substance" which is at once "God and nature," as taught by the Haeckle school of monists.[52]

New Dispensation thought in some of its effects may resemble pantheism. Yet it is not pantheism, either in the form which sinks all nature into one substance and then regards the one substance as God—the purest monism; or in the form that expands the one substance into all the variety of objects to be seen in nature, and regards those various

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50. *II Nephi* ii.

51. "All spirit is mater, but it is more fine or pure [i. e. than gross matter] and can only be discerned by purer eyes. We cannot see it; but when our bodies are purified, we shall see that it is all matter." (Joseph Smith, *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxxi.)

52. "Monism * * * (taken in its widest sense) recognizes one sole substance in the universe, which is at once 'God and nature,' 'body and spirit' (or matter and energy) it holds to be inseparable. * * * The intra-mundane God of the monist, leads to pantheism." (*Riddle of the Universe*, p. 20.)

objects as but so many parts of God—God expanded into nature—leading to gross idolatry. But New Dispensation thought does conceive of the every-whereness of God, by the indwelling of his Spirit in nature, and the every-whereness of his power and authority by his Spirit, and by the agencies of angels, and of men called and authorized to act for and in the name of the Godhead. But New Dispensation philosophy makes sharp distinction between nature and Deity, and hence is not pantheism.

While Joseph Smith's philosophy holds to the reality of "matter," it so far conforms to "idealism" as to maintain that mind is superior to matter and dominates it. To say that intelligence dominates matter, and produces all the ceaseless changes going on in the universe, both of creation and demolition (or evolution and devolution) is simply to say that the superior dominates the inferior; that that which acts is greater than that which is merely acted upon; that mind is the "eternal cause" of the ever becoming in the universe—the "cause" and "sustainer" of the cosmic world. It is also to say that mind is power, and will, and life, and love.

The New Dispensation conception of the universe is undoubtedly pluralistic; but with advanced thinkers such as the late Professor William James of Harvard,[53] Professor Rogers,[54] and other leading thinkers maintaining that view of the universe, it is not necessary to defend it here. It should be said, however, that while this philosophy conceives the world as divided into material elements and intelligence, it does not regard all manifestation of intelligence as divine, and hence an object of worship or adoration. Only those intelligences that have by reason of their progress attained unto the "Divine Nature" are accounted divine, and become "parts"

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53. See the Professor's *A Pluralistic Universe*, 1909.

54. See the Professor's *Religious Conception of the World, passim*, MacMillan Co. 1907.

of God—members of David's "congregation of the mighty," where God "judgeth among the Gods."[55]

As to methods of thinking, New Dispensation philosophizing is bound by no rules prescribed by any of the schools of thought. Both idealistic and empirical methods it employs; it recognizes both experience and thought as avenues to knowledge; and "both channels of knowledge as mutually complementary and indispensable." That is to say, it holds that "knowledge is not all produced by the action of outward things upon themselves, but partly arises from the natural adaptation of the mind to think things that are true"—and so far accepts what is known as rationalistic methods.

Eternalism is the term I would select as the best descriptive word for New Dispensation philosophy; for that term best represents its concepts: an eternal universe, with no beginning and no end:[56] Eternal intelligence, working in eternal duration, without beginning or ending, and without ultimates, and hence eternal progression running parallel with eternal

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55. *Psalms* cxxxix, Orson Pratt refers to the existence of a revelation which is most illuminating on this great theme. He says: "There is one revelation that this people [i. e. the Latter-day Saints] are not generally acquainted with. I think it has never been published, but probably it will be in the *Church History*. It is given in questions and answers. The first question is: 'What is the name of God in the pure language?' The answer says: 'Ahman.' 'What is the name of the Son of God?' Answer, 'Son Ahman, the greatest of all the parts of God, excepting Ahman.' 'What is the name of men?' 'Sons Ahman,' is the answer. 'What is the name of angels in the pure language?' 'Anglo-man.' This revelation goes on to say that 'Sons Ahman' are the greatest of all the parts of God excepting 'Son Ahman,' and 'Ahman;' and that 'Anglo-man' are the greatest of all the parts of God excepting 'Sons Ahman,' 'Son Ahman,' and 'Ahman.' * * * What is the conclusion to be drawn from this? *It is that these intelligent beings are all parts of God.*" (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. ii, p. 342.)

56. "Beginnings" and "endings" for New Dispensation thought have reference to local events within the universe. Such as the creation of a planet, or planetary system; or the peopling of a planet. The opening verse of the *Bible* for instance—"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth"—has no reference to any "absolute beginning" or creation from "nothing," but refers to the "beginning" connected with our earth and the order of worlds with which it is connected. An important contribution by Joseph Smith to the nature of the Mosaic revelations, whence comes our *Bible* story of creation, is that those revelations are local, that they pertain to our earth and its heavens or associated worlds, and chiefly pertaining to our earth; "I will speak unto thee concerning this earth on which thou standest," said the Lord to Moses; "I reveal unto you concerning this heaven and this earth," said the Lord again to him, "write the words which I speak"—then follows the creation story. (*Pearl of Great Price, Book of Moses*, chs. i and ii.)

lives; and an eternal or "everlasting" gospel, offering eternal opportunities for righteousness; eternal existence of mercy, justice, wisdom, truth and love; all accompanied by eternal relations, associations, unions—eternal youth, and eternal glory!

Such the doctrines and principles given out in the teachings of Joseph Smith, and which here I have undertaken to set somewhat in order. I am not unmindful of the fact that the system of thought suggested by our Prophet's doctrines, like other philosophies, may have its difficulties, growing out of the weakness of the human mind, with all its limitations, to apprehend things as yet too large and elusive for man's intellectual powers, and his all too inadequate symbols to represent truth. But these difficulties are not greater in New Dispensation thought than those inherent in the teleology of other systems. Indeed not so great. Meantime the New Dispensation philosophical doctrines afford a noble coign from which to view life, and furnish the noblest incentives to earnest strivings for right living, which is the true end of thinking and of all human endeavor; for now, as of old, to *"Reverence God and keep his commandments— * * * this is the whole duty of man."*[57]

It is this work of Joseph Smith's, this promulgation of a New Dispensation of the Christian religion; the development of a priesthood; the organization of the wonderful system of ecclesiastical government—the church he founded; the announcement of physical and metaphysical principles dealing with the profoundest subjects of intellectual investigation and thought; and which, when they are finally arranged in proper order, will constitute a system of philosophy worthy of the enlightened age in which it was brought forth —it is this work, and the whole volume of it, that constitutes Joseph Smith's vindication before the world, and justifies his followers in believing that his life's work was a super-

57. *Ecclesiastes* xi:13.

human achievement; and hence there was in him a divine inspiration that wrought the work of his great though brief career; *the inspiration of the Almighty gave him understanding—He was a Prophet of God.*

CHAPTER LXIV

The Question of Succession in the Presidency of the Church —Aspirants to Leadership

THE church was thrown into momentary confusion by the martyrdom of the Prophet. His death had not been contemplated by the body of the people, though he himself had several times referred to it, but always in connection with the confident assertion that he would not be taken from the earth until he had accomplished his work.[1] Now that this calamity had befallen them, the saints were for the moment as sheep without a shepherd; they had not yet learned that ample provision had been made in the church for its own perpetuation. Brigham Young's mind seemed to be the first to grasp that important truth. He and Orson Pratt were together at Peterboro, New Hampshire, when the confirmation of the death of the Prophet reached them. Then Elder Young said:

> "The first thing that I thought of was whether Joseph had taken the keys of the kingdom with him from the earth. Brother Orson Pratt sat at my left; we were both leaning back in our chairs. Bringing my hand down on my knee, I said, 'the keys of the kingdom are right here with the church.' "[2]

Self-Perpetuation of the Church

A divine institution had been established, greater than

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1. "Thy days are known," said the Lord to him, in Liberty prison, March, 1839, "and thy years shall not be numbered less; therefore, fear not what man can do, for God shall be with you forever and forever" (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxii:9). It was this word, doubtless, that made the Prophet confident that he would not die until his work was completed. When several of the twelve were *en route* for Nauvoo from the east, Elder Wilford Woodruff, referring to a conversation that was had among them about the Prophet's death, wrote in his journal: "Elder [Lyman] Wight said that Joseph told him, while in Liberty jail, Mo., in 1839, he [Joseph] would not live to see forty years, but he [Wight] was not to reveal it till he [the Prophet] was dead." *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 135. "I defy all the world to destroy the work of God; and I prophesy they never will have power to kill me till my work is accomplished and I am ready to die." (Joseph Smith, in a discourse on the 15th of Oct., 1843. *Millennial Star*, vol. xxii, p. 263).

2. *The Life of Brigham Young*, Tullidge, 1877, p. 106.

any man or officer in it, and capable of self-perpetuation, but the saints were to learn that truth only by experience.

Elder Sidney Rigdon arrived at Nauvoo from Pittsburg on the third of August. This fell upon Saturday. Three members of the apostles' quorum, then in Nauvoo, waited upon Elder Rigdon and arranged for a council meeting with him for the following morning, Sunday, at eight o'clock. This meeting Elder Rigdon failed to attend upon the plea that he was engaged with a lawyer. He manifested a disposition to avoid meeting with the apostles. At ten o'clock on Sunday, the saints assembled, and Elder Rigdon addressed them at great length, relating a pretentious vision he had received while at Pittsburg concerning the situation of the church which led him to advocate the appointment of "a guardian" to build up the church to the Prophet Joseph, who had begun it. Another meeting was called for the following Thursday, the 8th of August, for the purpose of appointing the aforesaid "guardian" for the church. Elder Rigdon and his friends had urged the appointment for Tuesday, but there were those present who opposed this seeming haste; and out of deference to their wishes, the meeting was appointed for the 8th.

Fortunately for the welfare of the church, Brigham Young and the members of the apostles' quorum excepting Wm. Smith, brother of the Prophet, John E. Page, and Orson Hyde, arrived in Nauvoo on the evening of the 6th of August, and the following morning held a council meeting at the house of John Taylor, that he might be present, as he was not yet recovered from his wounds. The saints "considered it very providential for the twelve to arrive at this particular junction," says the chronicle.[3]

In the afternoon of the 7th, a meeting was held at which were present all the apostles that were in Nauvoo, excepting John Taylor. The high council of the Nauvoo stake of

3. Historians' Second Compilation of Data, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 201.

Zion was present; the president of the stake, William Marks, and the high priests.[4] The meeting was held in the Seventies' Hall.

Rigdon's Effort at Establishing Leadership

Brigham Young called upon Elder Rigdon to make a statement concerning his message to the saints, "the vision and revelation he had received." In substance Elder Rigdon replied that the object of his visit was to offer himself to the saints as a "guardian" that it had been shown to him in vision at Pittsburg, that the church must be built up to Joseph, the martyr; that all the blessings the saints could receive would come through their late Prophet; that no man could be a successor to Joseph Smith. Elder Rigdon seemed to lay much stress upon the fact that he had been appointed and ordained a "spokesman" to Joseph Smith,[5] and appeared to claim the right to speak for him even now that he was dead. He held that the church was not disorganized, though the head was gone. He had been commanded to come to Nauvoo and see that the church was governed properly, and propose himself as "guardian" to the people. "In this I have discharged my duty, and done what God has commanded me," he concluded, "and the people can please themselves whether they accept me or not."[6]

To this Elder Brigham Young replied:

> "I do not care who leads this church, even though it were Ann Lee,[7] but one thing I must know, and that is what God says about it. I have the keys and the means of obtaining the mind of God on the subject. * * * Joseph conferred upon our heads all the keys and powers belonging to the apostleship which he himself held before he was taken away. * * * How often has Joseph said to the twelve, 'I have laid the foundation and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders the kingdom rests'."[8]

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4. The number in attendance is not known, but there were several hundred high priests in Nauvoo and the surrounding districts.
5. This appointment was made on the 12th of October, 1833. See *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. c.
6. Historians' Second Compilation of Data, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 215.
7. Referring to the foundress of the American Society of Shakers, seceders from the "Society of Friends."
8. Historians' Second Compilation of Data, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 215.

The next day was the one appointed by Sidney Rigdon for the church to assemble and choose a "guardian." The attendance was large, as intense interest had been awakened upon the subject to be considered. In the forenoon Sidney Rigdon addressed the assembly, setting forth his claim to the "guardianship" of the church. He had full opportunity to present his case, and for an hour and a half spoke without interruption; but despite his reputation as an "orator," he failed to convince the saints that "he was sent of God."

At the afternoon meeting appointed by Brigham Young and his fellow apostles, the quorums of the priesthood were grouped about the stand in the order of a general assembly of priesthood; that is, the quorums of the Melchizedek priesthood were grouped together as high priests, seventies, elders; and the quorums of the Aaronic priesthood as priests, teachers, deacons. Questions to be settled by vote on such occasions are presented to each of these quorums of priesthood separately; and this general assembly of the quorums constitute the highest spiritual authority of the church. Such a general assembly of the quorums may even pass upon the decisions of the three great presiding councils of the Melchizedek priesthood, the first presidency, the quorum of the apostles, and the first quorum of the seventy, if the decision of these councils are made in unrighteousness.

"And in case that any decision of these quorums is made in unrighteousness, it may be brought before a general assembly of the several quorums, *which constitute the spiritual authorities of the church,* otherwise there can be no appeal from their decision."[9]

Brigham Young for the Twelve

The following of the apostles' quorum were present on the above occasion; Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith—seven, a majority of the quorum.

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9. *Doctrine and Covenants, sec.* cviii:32.

Amasa M. Lyman was also present, whose close association with the twelve at this period will be noted later. The opening services of the afternoon ended, Brigham Young arose—

"Attention all!"

And his voice rang out over the great multitude assembled, and hushed them into silence. Then, he continued:

"For the first time in my life, for the first time in your lives, for the first time in the kingdom of God in the 19th century, without a Prophet at our head, do I step forth to act in my calling in connection with the quorum of the twelve, as apostles of Jesus Christ unto this generation. Apostles whom God has called by revelation[10] through the Prophet Joseph, who are ordained and anointed to bear off the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world. * * * The first position I take in behalf of the twelve and the people is, to ask a few questions. I ask the Latter-day Saints: Do you, as individuals, at this time, want to choose a prophet or a guardian. * * * All that want some person to be a guardian, a spokesman, or something else, signify it by raising the right hand. [No votes].

* * * *All that want to draw a party from the church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper.*

If any man thinks he has influence among this people to lead away a party, let him try it, and he will find out that there is power with the apostles which will carry them victorious through all the world, and build up and defend the church and kingdom of God. * * *

There has been much said about President Rigdon being president of the church, and leading the people, being the head, etc. Brother Rigdon has come 1,600 miles to tell you what he wants to do for you. If the people want President Rigdon to lead them they may have him; but I say unto you that the quorum of the twelve have the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world. The twelve are appointed by the finger of God. * * * Brother Joseph, the Prophet, has laid the foundation for a great work, and we will build upon it; you have never seen the quorums built one upon another. There is an almighty foundation laid, and we can build a kingdom such as there never was in the world. * * *

Do you want the church properly organized, or do you want a spokesman?* * * Elder Rigdon claims to be spokesman to the Prophet. Very well, he was; but can he now act in that office? If he wants now

10. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxiv:127-30. "I give unto you my servant Brigham Young to be a president over the twelve traveling council. * * * They are Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, William Smith, John Taylor, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff, Willard Richards, George A. Smith." Of these apostles thus appointed by revelation from God, seven, a majority, as already noted, were present and participated in the above meeting; Orson Hyde, William Smith, and John E. Page were the absentees.

to be spokesman to the Prophet, he must go to the other side of the veil, for the Prophet is there, but Elder Rigdon is here. * * *

Now, if you want Sidney Rigdon or William Law to lead you, or anybody else, you are welcome to them; but I tell you, in the name of the Lord, that no man can put another between the twelve and the Prophet Joseph. Why? Because Joseph was their file leader, and he has committed into their hands the keys of the kingdom in this last dispensation for all the world. * * *

Now, all this does not lessen the character of President Rigdon; let him magnify his calling, and Joseph will want him beyond the veil—let him be careful what he does, lest that thread which binds us together is cut asunder."[11]

There was much more said by President Young on this occasion, but the foregoing paragraphs represent the principal items of his position.

The Transfiguration of Brigham Young

It was upon this occasion that, according to the testimony of many prominent brethren, and very many of the saints, that Brigham Young was transfigured into the likeness of Joseph Smith—voice, person, and manner. The late Elder George Q. Cannon, who was present on the occasion, said:

"If Joseph had arisen from the dead and again spoken in their hearing, the effect could not have been more startling than it was to many present at that meeting; it was the voice of Joseph himself; and not only was it the voice of Joseph which was heard, but it seemed in the eyes of the people as if it were the very person of Joseph which stood before them. A more wonderful and miraculous event than was wrought that day in the presence of that congregation we never heard of. The Lord gave his people a testimony that left no room for doubt as to who was the man chosen to lead them."[12]

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11. Historians' Second Compilation of Data, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, pp. 216, 231, 232, where a full synopsis of Brigham Young's speech will be found.

12. *Life of Brigham Young*, Tullidge, 1877, pp. 115, 116. The testimony to the fact of the transfiguration is abundant. In the journal of Elder Wm. C. Staines, of that date, Aug. 8th, the following statement is recorded: "Brigham Young said—'I will tell you who your leaders or guardians will be—the twelve—I at their head.' This was with a voice like the voice of the Prophet Joseph. I thought it was he, and so did thousands who heard it. This was very satisfactory to the people, and a vote was taken to sustain the twelve in their office, which, with a few dissenting voices, was passed."

President Wilford Woodruff, describing the event says: "When Brigham Young arose and commenced speaking, * * * if I had not seen him with my own eyes, there is no one that could have convinced me that it was not Joseph Smith, and any one can testify to this who was acquainted with these two men." (*Deseret Evening News*, March 12th, 1892).

After Brigham Young's speech Amasa Lyman spoke in support of the twelve. Opportunity was given to Sidney Rigdon to speak; he declined, but requested W. W. Phelps to speak in his behalf. Elder Phelps was evidently desirous of saying kind things to Elder Rigdon, but at the same time he sustained the twelve in their claims to being the proper authorities, under the circumstances, to preside over the church. There were further remarks but all to the same effect. Finally Brigham Young arose to put the question as to whether the church would sustain the twelve or Sidney Rigdon. Before doing so he remarked:

"I do not ask you to take my counsel or advice alone, but every one of you act for yourselves; but if Brother Rigdon is the person you want to lead you, vote for him as you did for Joseph. * * * And I would say the same for the twelve, don't make a covenant to support them unless you intend to abide by their counsel. * * * I want every man before he enters into a covenant, to know what he is going to do, but we want to know if this people will support the priesthood in the name of Israel's God. If you say you will, do so."

Elder Young was then about to put the question to the assembled quorums as to whether or not they wanted Elder Rigdon for a leader, but at the request of the latter, the question on supporting the twelve as the presiding quorum in the church was first put in the following manner:

"Do the church want and is their only desire to sustain the twelve as the first presidency of this people? * * * If the church want the twelve to stand as the head, the first presidency of the church, and at the head of this kingdom in all the world, stand next to Joseph, walk up into their calling, and hold the keys of this kingdom—every man, every woman, every quorum is now put in order, and you are now the sole controllers of it— all that are in favor of this in all the congregation of the saints, manifest it by holding up the right hand. (There was a universal vote.) If there are any of the contrary mind—every man, every woman, who does not want the twelve to preside—lift up your hands in like manner. (No hands up). This supercedes the other question, and trying it by quorums."[13]

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13. That is, the vote was so overwhelming in favor of sustaining the twelve by the whole body assembled, that it was not necessary to call upon the quorums to vote separately upon the question. (Church Historians' Second Compilation of Data, *Millennial Star, vol.* xxv, pp. 199-201; *et seq*).

This disposed of Sidney Rigdon's claims. He had full opportunity to present his case before the church. The saints had full opportunity and liberty to vote for him had they wanted him for their leader; but they rejected him and sustained the twelve.

Brigham Young, however, expressed kindly feelings toward Elder Rigdon on this occasion. "We feel as though we could take Brother Rigdon in our bosom along with us," said he; "we want such men as Brother Rigdon. He was sent away[14] by Brother Joseph to build up a kingdom; let him keep the instruction and calling; let him raise up a mighty kingdom in Pittsburg, and we will lift up his hands to Almighty God." And later: "We are of one mind with him and he with us. Will this congregation uphold him, in the place he occupies, by the prayer of faith and let him be one with us and we with him?" The vote was unanimous in the affirmative.

William Marks, notwithstanding he was in sympathy with Sidney Rigdon, was retained as president of the Nauvoo stake of Zion.

The Organized Priesthood—The Quorums Built One Upon Another

Thus was the matter of leadership in the church determined by action of the proper authorities. The position taken by Brigham Young was much stronger than really appears in the proceedings of the church on the 8th of August. The church was called upon to deal with a new situation and there is only a partial view of the real strength of the organization for self perpetuation in those proceedings. The remarks of Brigham Young, "You have never seen the quorums built one upon another; there is an almighty foundation laid, and we can build a kingdom such as there never was in the world"—hints at it however.

In the church there are three general presiding councils

14. "Permitted to go," would be more exact, see later paragraphs.

of equal authority. These are the first presidency; the traveling, presiding high council, or twelve apostles; and the first quorum of seventy. I quote the *Doctrine and Covenants*:

> "Of the Melchizedek priesthood, three presiding high priests, chosen by the body, appointed and ordained to that office, and upheld by the confidence, faith and prayer of the church, form a quorum of the presidency of the church.
>
> The twelve traveling councilors are called to be the twelve apostles, or special witnesses of the name of Christ in all the world; thus differing from other officers in the church in the duties of their calling. And they form a quorum, equal in authority and power to the three presidents previously mentioned.
>
> The seventy are also called to preach the gospel and to be especial witnesses unto the Gentiles and in all the world. Thus differing from other officers in the church in the duties of their calling; and they form a quorum equal in authority to that of the twelve special witnesses or apostles just named."[15]

It is the law of God that the twelve act under the direction of the first presidency; and the seventy under the direction of the twelve. It is also provided that in the decisions of either the twelve or the seventy, those quorums must be unanimous—"every member in each quorum must be agreed to its decisions," in order for said decisions to be entitled to the same blessings that the decisions of a quorum of three presidents receive. A majority of the members may form a quorum when circumstances render it impossible to have full quorums.

The decisions of these quorums or either of them are to be made in all righteousness, in holiness, and lowliness of heart, meekness and long-suffering, and in that event their decisions are final. But if their decisions are unrighteous they may be brought before a general assembly of the several quorums which constitute the spiritual authorities of the church—in no other way can there be an appeal from their decisions.[16]

And now in the case of absence, destruction or rejection of the first of these three great councils, upon whom does

15. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cvii:23-26.
16. *Ibid*, verses 27-33.

the duty and responsibility of presidency fall? Undoubtedly upon the quorum next in authority; and especially when that quorum *"next"* in authority, is declared to "form a quorum *equal* in authority and power to the three presidents previously named"—hence possessed of power to do whatever the first presidency could do—preside over the church with the rest—in the absence of the first presidency.

STATUS OF THE FIRST PRESIDENCY AT THE DEATH OF THE PROPHET

Let us consider the situation as to the first presidency at the death of the Prophet. Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and William Law constituted the first presidency of the church from January, 1841, to April, 1844, Hyrum Smith having been taken from the position of counselor in the first presidency to become the presiding patriarch to the church. On the 18th of April, 1844, as stated in a previous chapter, William Law was excommunicated and had begun the organization of a rival church. At the October conference in 1843, President Joseph Smith had tried to get rid of Sidney Rigdon as his counselor. On that occasion the Prophet represented to the church that such had been the course of Elder Rigdon for some time that he considered it no longer his duty to sustain him as a counselor. Hyrum Smith, however, pleaded the cause of Sidney Rigdon, and so strongly urged the saints to deal mercifully with him, that when the question of sustaining him was presented to the conference, the saints voted in favor of Elder Rigdon's retention as a counselor in the first presidency. "I have thrown him off my shoulders, and you have put him on me," said President Smith. "You may carry him, but I will not."[17] And so confident was he that Sidney Rigdon would continue to fail in the performance of his duty, that he ordained Elder Amasa M. Lyman[18]

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17. Minutes of October Conference, Nauvoo, 1843. (*History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 47, 49).

18. Amasa M. Lyman, a prominent figure in the church for many years, was the third son of Boswell Lyman and Martha Mason. He was born on the 30th of March, 1813, in Lyman township, Grafton county, New Hampshire. He

to succeed him, both as counselor and "spokesman." "Some of the elders did not understand how Elder Lyman could be ordained to succeed Elder Rigdon, as the church had voted to try him another year. Elder [President] Joseph Smith was requested to give an explanation. 'Why,' said he, 'by the same rule that Samuel anointed David to be king over Israel, while Saul was yet crowned. Please read the 16th chapter of *I Samuel.*' Elder Smith's explanation, though short, proved a quietus to all their rising conjectures."[19]

Notwithstanding all his fair promises of amendment, Sidney Rigdon continued neglectful of his high duties, and if for a while his old-time enthusiasm revived—as it seemed to at the April conference of 1844—it was but the flickering of an uncertain flame. He longed to return to the east, and notwithstanding the Lord had commanded him to make his home at Nauvoo, he frequently talked with President Smith about going to Pittsburg to live, and finally obtained his consent to go there, and take his family with him. He was instructed to preach, write, and build up the church in that city.

Such was the standing and the course of the man who after the martyrdom of the Prophet was the first to claim the right to lead the church!

Evidently, since President Smith was dead; since William Law, once a counselor in the presidency, was now ex-

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received the gospel under the ministry of Orson Pratt and Lyman E. Johnson, in April, 1832, and in August of the same year he was ordained an elder and began his work in the ministry of the church. During a brief suspension of Elder Orson Pratt from the quorum of the twelve, 1842, owing to a misunderstanding between Elder Pratt and President Joseph Smith, Elder Lyman had been ordained an apostle to take Elder Pratt's place; this on 20th Aug. 1842; but Elder Pratt having made satisfaction to President Smith was restored to fellowship in his quorum, Jan. 1843; this let Elder Lyman out of the quorum of the twelve; but Elder Lyman was taken by President Smith into the first presidency (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, pp. 255-6); but he was never formally presented to the people in that capacity. After this appointment, however, Elder Lyman was always honored by the twelve both before and after the demise of the Prophet, as one of the leaders of the church; and some time later—Aug. 12, 1844—was received into the apostles' quorum.

19. Tract *Sidney Rigdon,* by Jedediah M. Grant, pp, 15, 16; also 34, 35. *Times and Seasons,* vol. v, pp. 663, 664.

communicated; since Sidney Rigdon was discredited by the Prophet, and only retained on probation in his office by the sufferance of the saints; and since the man whom the Prophet had selected to succeed Sidney Rigdon—Amasa M. Lyman—had not been presented to and accepted by the people—hence his appointment was not completed—there was no first presidency in existence, and hence by every rule of construction and of reason the twelve apostles being the *next* general presiding quorum of the church, and possessed of *equal* authority and power with the council of the first presidency—they were the proper authorities to exercise the functions of the general presiding authority in the church at that time.[20]

Nor is that the end of the matter; but if the quorum of the twelve was for any cause destroyed, the quorum next in authority, the first quorum of the seventy—which is declared to be equal in authority to the twelve, and impliedly equal in authority to the first presidency, since things equal to a common thing, must be equal to each other—would be competent to exercise the functions of presidency until the time came to reconstruct and complete the organization; and they would be the proper authorities to take the initiative in such work of reconstruction. The matter can logically be carried beyond even this; and the disorganization or destruction of the first quorum of the seventy be supposed as well

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20. There is one other incident connected with the matter of succession in the presidency that ought to be stated. Mr. Edward Tullidge, in his life of *Joseph the Prophet*—(the "Reorganized Church" edition)—quotes the Prophet Joseph as saying: "I told Stephen Markham, that if I and Hyrum were ever taken again, we should [would] be massacred, or I was not a Prophet of God. *I want Hyrum to live and lead the Church,* but he is determined not to leave me" (p. 491). Mr. Tullidge quotes this passage differently from what it is written in the *History of the Church,* Period I. What authority he has for doing so he does not say. In the Prophet's own history it is written: "I want Hyrum to live to avenge my blood, but he is determined not to leave me." (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. vi, p. 546). But though Mr. Tullidge quotes this passage differently from what it appears in the Prophet's own account, there is evidence in addition to his word that President Smith did desire Hyrum Smith to succeed him and even ordained him to that end. At the October conference following the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum, President Young in a discourse said: "If Hyrum had lived he would not have stood between Joseph and the twelve, but he would have stood for Joseph. Did Joseph ordain any man to take his place? He did. Who was it? It was Hyrum. But Hyrum fell a martyr before Joseph did." (*Times and Seasons,* vol. v, p. 638).

as the destruction of the quorum of the twelve and of the first presidency; but if one member of the quorum should remain, it would be possible for him to ordain others until a quorum was called into existence, and then proceed as a quorum to do whatever would be necessary in order to place the church in a position to exercise its functions.

It is also held that a high priest could proceed in like manner; that since *"the Melchizedek priesthood holds the right of presidency, and has power and authority over all the offices in the church,* in all ages of the world, to administer in spiritual things,"[21] it would seem that so long as that priesthood remains in the earth, it would have power and authority (under commandment from God, of course) to do whatever might be necessary to create an organization—the church—through which could be granted to men the spiritual blessings essential to their salvation.

"If all the quorums of the church were slain," said Brigham Young at the 8th of August meeting, except the high priests, they would rise up with the keys of the kingdom and have the power of the priesthood upon them, and build up the kingdom."[22]

The Double Dealing of Sidney Rigdon

Sidney Rigdon himself outwardly seemed to acquiesce in the decision of the church with regard to himself. The Sunday following the meeting above described, he addressed the saints at great length. He "blessed them in the name of the Lord," telling them emphatically that he was with the twelve. He wished to know the mind of the church in relation to his returning to Pittsburg, they said, "Go in peace."[23] Yet all the while he was thus seemingly accepting the decision of the church and seeking its counsel, secretly he was holding meetings with men of questionable integrity in the church,

21. *Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. cvii:107-8.
22. *Millennial Star,* vol. xxv, pp. 278-9.
23. Pamphlet on *Sidney Rigdon,* Elder J. M. Grant, p. 18.

telling them that it was revealed to him before leaving Pittsburg that the church would reject him; but, nevertheless, he was the proper person to lead the church—to be its "guardian;" for to that position he had been called of God, and held the keys of authority higher than any conferred upon the Prophet Joseph—"the keys of David," which, according to his representations, gave him power to open and no man could shut; to shut and no man could open; and the power to organize armies for the destruction of the Gentiles. In fact his fervid imagination pictured himself a great military chieftain, and by his prowess all the enemies of God were to be subdued. He secretly ordained men to be prophets, priests and kings to the Gentiles. He also chose and appointed military officers to take command of the armies that were to be raised ere long to fight the battles of the great God. Meantime, while in public he had spoken in the highest terms of the virtues and honor of the martyred prophets, Joseph and Hyrum, in his secret meetings he had begun to cast reflections upon their conduct, and hint at the existence of grave iniquity among the twelve and in the church.

As soon as the twelve learned of these proceedings on the part of Elder Rigdon, they called upon him to explain by what authority he held secret meetings and ordained men to the aforesaid offices. He sought to evade the question, but finding that he was dealing with men not to be trifled with, he at last confessed to both holding the meetings and ordaining the officers. His brethren sought to convince him of his error, but at this point he refused to be corrected. The quorum of the twelve, with the presiding bishop of the church held a council meeting to consider his conduct, and concluded to demand Elder Rigdon's license. He refused to surrender it, saying that he had not received it from the twelve and he would not give it up to them. He was then cited before the council of the church which has the right to try a president

of the high priesthood, *viz.*, the presiding bishop of the church, assisted by twelve high priests.[24]

He refused to appear before this council, and therefore, after giving him due notice and an opportunity to appear and defend himself, the council convened in the presence of a large congregation of the saints on the 8th of September, 1844, and proceeded to hear evidence in the case. The evidence established the insubordination of Elder Rigdon and the irregularity of his course, and a motion that he be excommunicated from the church until he repented was carried both by the council composed of the bishop and the twelve high priests, and also by a great congregation of the saints. Ten only, and they of Rigdon's following, voting in the negative.[25]

After his excommunication Rigdon made an attempt to organize a church, choosing twelve apostles, etc., but his effort amounted to but little. He soon retired from Nauvoo to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, which he established as his headquarters and began the publication of the *Messenger and Advocate*—reviving the name of the second periodical published by the church. He sent missionaries to many branches of the church to represent his claims to the presidency, but they succeeded in getting only slight support, and that for the most part from among those weak in the faith. His "church," never strong, either in numbers or in men of strong character, soon crumbled into decay; Sidney Rigdon sank out of sight and in 1876 he died in obscurity in Allegheny county, state of New York.

The fate of Sidney Rigdon and the fate of the organization which he founded prove the prophetic character of

24. "And inasmuch as a president of the high priesthood shall transgress, he shall be had in remembrance before the common council of the church, who shall be assisted by twelve councilors of the high priesthood; and their decision upon his head shall be an end of controversy concerning him." (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cvii, 82, 83).

25. Minutes of the Trial of Sidney Rigdon, published in *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, pp. 647-655, and 660 to 667, and 658-687.

the words of Brigham Young, in his 8th of August speech—

"All that want to draw away a party from the church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper."

CHAPTER LXV

The Men Who Would Be Church Leaders—History of Factions and Sub-Factions of the Period

IT MAY not be amiss here to notice other men than Sidney Rigdon who sought to take advantage of the momentary confusion following the death of Joseph Smith to become leaders and to draw away disciples after them, and establish themselves respectively as "some great one."

James J. Strang

First among these was one James J. Strang of Voree, Walworth county, in the southeast part of Wisconsin. He was but a recent convert to the Latter-day Saint faith at the death of the Prophet, having been baptized about four months previous to that event. Mr. Strang claimed that on the 18th of June, 1844, the Prophet Joseph wrote to him a letter of some considerable length, containing a revelation appointing him, James J. Strang, to be his successor as president and prophet of the church. The letter also appointed one Aaron Smith, Mr. Strang's counselor, and "commanded" the twelve apostles to proclaim Voree, Wisconsin, as the gathering place of the saints. Mr. Strang attempted to strengthen his claim to the position of president and prophet of the church by reference to the revelation which says:

> "But verily, verily, I say unto you, that none else [than Joseph Smith] shall be appointed unto this gift [to receive revelations and commandments for the church] except it be through him [Joseph Smith] for if it be taken from him, he shall not have power except to appoint another in his stead."[1]

Mr. Strang claimed that the appointment he received through the letter he represented as coming from Joseph Smith fulfilled the terms of the revelation above quoted; that

1. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xliii:4.

is, he had been appointed through the Prophet.[2] When he presented this "letter" and "revelation" to some of the saints in Michigan, they asked him if the twelve that were "commanded" in his "revelation" to proclaim Voree, Wisconsin, as the gathering place for the saints, were the twelve apostles at Nauvoo. Strang replied they were. Did they know anything of this "revelation?" They did not. Had he been ordained a prophet? He replied no. The saints were suspicious of his claims, and would not receive him.[3]

This question as to his ordination presented a serious difficulty to Mr. Strang, a difficulty which he tried to surmount by announcing soon afterwards that immediately after the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph, an angel appeared unto him and ordained him to be a "prophet" to the church, and the successor to Joseph Smith as the "president" thereof.

Not many followed him from Nauvoo, for there his influence amounted to little; but in the scattered branches, especially in those of Wisconsin, he succeeded in deceiving many. Among those who accepted and sustained his claims were William Smith, the only surviving brother of the Prophet Joseph; the notorious John C. Bennett; also John E. Page, one of the twelve, who for several years previous to Joseph's death had been in precarious fellowship with the church. John C. Bennett had first supported Sidney Rigdon's pretentions, claiming to have a sealed document from the Prophet Joseph—when as yet he was in full fellowship with the church—with a strict charge not to open it until after the Prophet's death. When he opened it, lo! it contained what purported to be a revelation from the deceased Prophet appointing Sidney Rigdon to be his successor. John C. Bennett averred that this was as it should be, and so eagerly was this

2. For promulgating this forged letter and spurious revelation, and attempting to establish a stake at Voree, "thereby leading the saints astray" both James Strang and Aaron Smith were excommunicated from the church by the council of the twelve apostles, on the 26th of August, 1844. (*Times and Seasons*, vol. v, p. 631).

3. See letter of Crandal Dunn, who was presiding over the branches of the church in western Michigan at the time. (*Millennial Star*, vol. viii, p. 93).

purported revelation accepted by the supporters of Mr. Rigdon, that they had it published and widely circulated among the branches of the church. But when Mr. Strang came forward with his claims, John C. Bennett turned from Sidney Rigdon and supported Mr. Strang—having forgotten apparently, the "revelation" contained in the sealed document which appointed Mr. Rigdon president of the church.[4]

John E. Page in support of the Strang movement, intercepted a company of saints in Michigan, *en route* from Canada to Nauvoo. He represented that it was the will of the Lord that they should settle in Voree, Wisconsin, Mr. Strang's gathering place, and not go to Nauvoo. This company, however, were prudent enough not to receive his representations without investigation. They sent messengers to Nauvoo who received such instruction from the twelve as to preserve them from the deceitfulness of this apostate apostle.

John E. Page continued to support the claims of James J. Strang, and for so doing was excommunicated from the church.[5]

Mr. Strang in a short time changed his gathering place from Voree, Wisconsin, to Beaver Island, in the north end of Lake Michigan. He organized a township on Beaver Island, went to the state legislature and succeeeded in having the whole group of islands in north Lake Michigan organized into a county, under the name of Manitou county, which for some years Mr. Strang represented in the Michigan state legislature.

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4. *Millennial Star*, vol. viii, p. 94. It may be remarked in passing that it is a little singular that Bennett. who according to his own claims never had any faith in "Mormonism," and only joined the church in order to disclose the schemes of its leaders, (See Bennett's *History of the Saints, An Expose, etc.—Reasons for Joining the Mormons*, pp. 5-10) should be found, after that "Expose" had been published, meddling with affairs of succession in the presidency of said church.

5. John E. Page was disfellowshiped from the quorum of the twelve, February 9th, 1846; and excommunicated from the church June 27, 1846. He died in obscurity in Illinois, 1867. (*Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, pp. 92-3, Andrew Jenson, one of the assistant historians of the church, and author of very reliable and valuable chronological works. I own myself much indebted to his works. Also *Millennial Star*, vol. xxvii, pp. 103-4).

The Man Who Would be King

Mr. Strang was not satisfied with being "prophet" and "president" of the church, he must also be a "king;" and accordingly was crowned and given a scepter. He was crowned by George J. Adams, an apostate from the church. At one time Mr. Adams had been appointed to go on a mission to the empire of Russia, to preach the gospel; but before he started he was found to be in sex moral transgression. His appointment was, of course, cancelled; and subsequently, as he still further transgressed in the like manner, he was excommunicated from the church, after which he joined Mr. Strang at Beaver Island.

The people whom Mr. Strang gathered together on Beaver Island soon fell into disrepute with their neighbors. They were accused of being an organized community of thieves. It is not our prerogative to pronounce upon the truth or falsity of these charges. It is enough to say that Mr. Strang and his followers were held in great abhorrence by the other inhabitants of the Manitou group of islands, also by the people on the neighboring mainland, and in the summer of 1856, there was a general uprising of the people in those parts, which resulted in the killing of Mr. Strang—some accounts say, by two men of his own party—the breaking up of his organization, and the scattering of his people—

"All that want to draw away a party from the church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper."

William Smith

William Smith, the youngest and only surviving brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith was also among those who aspired to leadership of the church. At the death of the Prophet he was a member of the apostles' quorum, and with them was sustained as one of the presiding council of the church. The sickness of his wife who had accompanied him

to the east did not admit of his returning to Nauvoo with the other apostles; but on his return in the spring of 1845, he seemed to acquiesce, in their leadership of the church. In a signed communication to the *Times and Seasons,* he said:

> "My advice to all, without respect of persons, is the same now that it was then [i. e. while in the east] support and uphold the proper authorities of the church—when I say authorities I mean the whole, and not a part: the twelve, and not one, two, six, eight, ten or eleven, but the whole twelve."[6]

Soon after this William Smith was ordained to the office of patriarch to the church, succeeding his brother Hyrum in that high office. The associate editor of the *Times and Seasons* in making the announcement of the appointment and ordination stated that William Smith had been ordained "patriarch over the church." Whereupon a number of persons began to ask, if William was patriarch "over" the church, did not that also make him "president of the church."

In the issue of the *Times and Seasons* following, the editor corrected the error of his associate by saying that the notice of William's appointment to be patriarch should have read "patriarch 'to' the church, not 'over' it." He, of course, also denied that William was president of the church.[7]

William Smith, however, did not command much of a following in this first attempt to make himself a leader. His efforts at leadership on this occasion resulted only in violent denunciations of those who would not receive him, and his

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6. *Times and Seasons,* vol. vi, p. 904, issue of May 15th, 1845. Two months later at a Smith family reunion given by the church to the family, and at which the twelve apostles and Bishops Whitney and Miller were the hosts, Wm. Smith proposed the following toast "in pure water:"

"To the president and Bishops of this church. May their kindness be rewarded, may their power be increased, their purses never fail, their good will continue, their desires be accomplished, and their faith and knowledge increase until they shall shine forth as suns in the firmament, and give light to other systems of their own creation. In the name and behalf of all my relatives here assembled and the whole Smith family, I present my thanks to the president and bishops for the kind manifestation of their good feelings toward the remnants of that family." (*Nauvoo Neighbor,* July 16, 1845).

7. *Times and Seasons,* vol. vi, No. 9 and No. 10, article "Patriarchal."

final expulsion from the church. At the general conference held on the 6th of October, 1845, on objection being made to him by Elder Orson Pratt, the conference refused to sustain him as one of the twelve apostles, or as presiding patriarch of the church,[8] and on the 12th of the same month, he was excommunicated from the church.[9] He shortly afterwards became associated with James J. Strang and other apostates in an attempt to establish a church in the state of Wisconsin, but there also he failed.

A few years later William Smith visited some scattered members of the church in Illinois and Kentucky, teaching "lineal priesthood as applied to the presidency of the church." That is, he taught that his brother Joseph's eldest son had a right by virtue of lineage to succeed to the presidency of the church; but also taught in connection with this that it was his right, as the only surviving brother of the former president, and the natural guardian of the "seed" of Joseph, the Prophet, to stand, in the *interim,* as president *pro tem* of the church. There seemed to be a general acquiescence with this by the members of the church remaining in the districts where he labored—most of whom were either apostates or weak in the faith—and in the spring of 1850, he called a conference to assemble in Covington, Kentucky, where he effected an organization by having himself sustained as "president *pro tem* of the church," and Lyman Wight and Aaron Hook as counselors, and Wight also as spokesman. It is claimed that many of the "saints" in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin, were identified with this movement.[10]

This organization accomplished nothing. It scarcely endured a year before disintegration began to which in a short time it succumbed. Its originator many years later became nominally connected with what is known as the

8. See Conference Minutes in *Times and Seasons,* vol. vi, pp. 1008-9.
9. See Notice in *Times and Seasons,* vol. vi, p. 1019.
10. See Jason W. Briggs, quoted by Tullidge in his supplement to the *Life of Joseph,* [i. e. the Prophet] "Josephite" edition, p. 577. It is not certain that Lyman Wight authorized the use of his name in this attempt at organization.

"Reorganized Church of the Latter-day Saints," but he was never zealous in their cause. He died at Osterdock, Iowa, 1893.

Lyman Wight

Lyman Wight may not be numbered among those who aspired to the presidency of the church following the death of the Prophet, but he manifested a spirit of insubordination to the authority of the twelve, and led away a party from the church. He first led a company of about one hundred and fifty saints into the then territory of Wisconsin, the purpose being to settle on government land from sixty to eighty miles above Prairie du Chien. He left Nauvoo in the latter part of August, 1844.[11] From his private journal it is learned that he left Nauvoo with a party of sixty-four persons on board the steamer *General Brooke,* and landed at Prairie La Cross some four hundred and fifty miles above Nauvoo, where his company obtained work in the pineries of that region.[12] For some time he had desired to go to Texas, and advocated the movement of the church to the southwest even before the death of the Prophet.[13] Having determined on following the bent of his own inclination, irrespective of the wishes of his associates in the council of the twelve, he led his small colony to Texas in 1845, and settled first near the present site of Austin, though he seems to have obtained no permanent abiding place. The *Galveston News* in its brief notice of his death, which occurred in 1858, said:

> "Mr. Wight first came to Texas in November, 1845, and has been with his colony on our extreme frontier ever since, moving still farther west as settlements formed around him, thus always being the pioneer of advancing civilization, affording protection against the Indians. He has been the first to settle five new counties, and prepare the way for others."[14]

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11. *Nauvoo Neighbor,* 4th December, 1844.
12. *Succession in the Presidency of the Church,* 2nd edition, p. 28 and note.
13. See two communications from Lyman Wight, *et al,* Black River Falls, Wisconsin Territory, February 15th, 1844, *Millennial Star,* vol. xxiii, pp., 103-4, and 117-119.
14. See also affidavit of Gideon Carter, *Succession in the Presidency of the Church,* 2nd edition, p. 122, *et seq,* for further movements of Lyman Wight.

The company of saints who followed him, never numerous, and living in community life, on the plan of holding all property in common, scattered at his death, and some of them found their way back to the church. For his insubordination Lyman Wight was excommunicated from the church, the action being taken at Salt Lake City in 1848.[15] His career and death, and the fate of his organization, proved again the truth of President Brigham Young's prophecy—

"All that want to draw away a party from the church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper."

Sub-Factions

The factions created by the ambition of the foregoing would-be-leaders of the church were again subdivided into other factions for there was no coherency in them.

The Bickertonites

From the Rigdonite faction and "church" organization came the Bickertonite faction, near Fayetteville, Pennsylvania. They also formed a settlement at St. John's, Kansas,

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15. "I attended public meeting in Great Salt Lake City on the 3rd when the hand of fellowship was withdrawn from Elders Lyman Wight and George Miller. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for 3rd Dec., 1848, p. 85). Previous to this, namely at the 6th of April conference of the church, 1845, the following action had been taken with reference to Lyman Wight:

"The chairman [i. e. of the conference—Heber C. Kimball] then observed, concerning the course of Lyman Wight, his feelings are, that we should let him remain for the present, probably hereafter there may be a time that he will hearken to counsel, and do much good which he is capable of—for he is a noble-minded man." (*Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, p. 870). At the October conference following his case was again continued, Elder Heber C. Kimball saying to the proposition to then drop him: "It is well known, that Brother Wight's case was had before the conference last spring, and that he was dropped, and then again retained; that is, that we would let him be, and see what he would do, and what course he would take. He has been away ever since; and is with a small company somewhere; we cannot tell what he is doing; he may, in his own mind, be acting in concert with the rest, and he may be acting for the good of this people. It would be my mind, to let his case lay over for the present, until we can learn something from him. Whereupon it was moved, that we let the case of Brother Lyman Wight lay over for the present, until we hear from him; seconded and carried unanimously." (*Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, p. 1009).

as a gathering place. William Bickerton, a man of much force of character, but without education became a disciple of Sidney Rigdon; and was ordained a "seventy" in the organization created by that deposed leader; and when the Rigdon "church" "became disorganized," Bickerton continued to preach; and finally, under what he claimed to be divine direction, he effected an organization, with a "presidency" of three, himself the chief; a quorum of "twelve apostles," and some "seventies." A number of people accepted the teachings of Bickerton both in Pennsylvania and Kansas, but the organization, as such, amounted to nothing.[16]

The Baneemyites

From the James J. Strang movement came the Baneemyites. Charles B. Thompson was the founder of this subfaction. He became a member of the church as early as 1835. He wrote a work of some merit on the *Book of Mormon* and was an active elder of the church up to the death of Joseph Smith. He then accepted the claims of James J. Strang. Three years and a half later, however, he claimed to have received a "revelation" by which he was informed that the church founded by the ministry of Joseph, the Prophet, was rejected on the day of the Prophet's martyrdom. The "priesthood," however, which had been given previous to the organization of the church, could and did exist independent of the church with those individuals who held it. From St. Louis, on the 1st of January, 1848, Mr. Thompson issued a proclamation to the effect that the Lord would have "no more church organization until after the redemption of Zion;" but *ad interim* he claimed to be authorized to effect the organization of subsidiary societies among the brethren of the priesthood and former membership of the church to aid in the preparatory work for the "redemption of Zion." Under alleged divine direction he sent forth proclamations to

16. The facts concerning origin of this organization will be found in a pamphlet called *The Ensign*, published at Pittsburg, Penn., 1863.

kings and rulers of the earth, under various pompous titles as a religious leader. He claimed to be "Ephraim born again among the Gentiles;" again he was "Baneemy, patriarch of Zion;" next "patriarch and apostle of the Free and Accepted Order of Baneemy and Fraternity of the Sons of Zion," and so on *ad nauseam.* Thompson attracted about fifty or sixty families by his teachings, and with them founded a settlement in the southern part of Monona county, Iowa, on the Soldier river, called "Preparation," where he entered by preemption several thousand acres of land. Property was held in common by his following. A paper called *Preparation News and Ephraim's Messenger* was published for a few years, but dissatisfaction arising over Thompson's management of the community property, discensions broke out until Thompson, in 1855, was driven from "Preparation" by the incensed community. The property after some years of litigation was sold and the proceeds divided among the individual members of the society. Thompson made other efforts at religious leadership but was unsuccessful.[17]

Brewsterites

This sect takes its name from James C. Brewster. Brewster's pretensions to prophetic gifts were first put forth at Kirtland when he was a lad about sixteen or seventeen years of age. He claims to have translated certain *Books of Esdras* which he saw in vision, and which in some way, not altogether clear, were interpreted to be a guide for the Latter-day Saints. He succeeded in converting his parents and a small number of people to the genuineness of his prophetic powers and gifts of translation. He was sternly reproved and denounced by the Prophet Joseph Smith at Nauvoo. "If God ever called me, or spake by my mouth, or gave me a revelation," said the Prophet, "he never gave revelations to the

17. A fuller account of the faction will be found in *The History of Western Iowa*, published by the Western Publishing Co., Sioux City, Iowa, 1882.

Brewster boy, or any of the Brewster race."[18] About 1840 it was learned from the *Book of Esdras* that the gathering place for the saints—"the place of refuge"—or "the place of safety," was to be in the valleys of the Colorado and Gila rivers, and on the shores of the Gulf of California. This matter was also discussed at Nauvoo during the lifetime of the Prophet and by him condemned.[19] After the death of the Prophet, however, namely, 1848, Hazen Aldrich, who for a time had been a member of the first council of the seventy, took up with the Brewster claims, and the year following effected the organization of a "church" with a "first presidency" of three of which Aldrich was chief, and James C. Brewster and Jackson Goodale counselors. A quorum of "twelve apostles," flanked by "seventies" and quorums of priests, teachers, and deacons completed the organization. A movement westward for the "place of refuge" was made under the leadership of Brewster and Goodale, Aldrich remaining at Kirtland to publish the *Olive Branch,* the organ of the "new church," or the first "reorganized church," for it was claimed by these "Brewsterites" that the original church organized by Joseph Smith, had by "almost imperceptible degrees * * * departed from the truth." One erroneous principle after another was introduced, until in 1842 the fatal step was taken by the introduction of a secret order in "direct violation of almost every command contained in the gospel of Christ." The church was not entirely rejected until that time—hence the reorganization of it "by revelation, embracing the same principles as did the first organization."[20]

The company going westward with Brewster and Goodale made a settlement on the Rio Grande river in what is now the central part of the state of New Mexico, near Socorro, which was called "Colonia"—a name alleged to come from the writing of *Esdras.* With this settlement some

18. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, p. 214.
19. *Ibid,* p. 214.
20. *Olive Branch,* vol. i, pp. 82-3.

of the company were not content, and pushed on further west, and after much suffering, it is said, arrived in the Colorado and Gila valleys. Nothing came of either settlement. Aldrich at Kirtland, in August, 1851, announced that he believed Brewster had "misconstrued the writings of *Esdras* to his own liking;" and Brewster, about the same time, in a revelation, charged Aldrich with usurping authority. Goodale, the other member of the "presidency" was found "guilty of a transgression of the law of God," and lost his leadership. Disintegration followed, and "Brewsterism" came to an end. Brewster himself became an itinerant lecturer in California on spiritualism.[21]

Austin Cowles, once a member of the high council at Nauvoo, was for a time connected with this Brewster faction, and editor of the *Olive Branch,* but with eight others he withdrew from the organization, and formed a separate society; but that, like the body from which Cowles and his following withdrew, amounted to nothing. The Brewsterites by formal action of a conference held in Springfield, Illinois, September, 1849, expelled Cowles and his associates.

Hedrickites

The founder of this faction was Granville Hedrick. He joined the church in Illinois previous to the death of the Prophet Joseph. After the death of the Prophet he followed an irregular course, being connected with first one and then with another of the apostate factions, first with Gladden Bishop[22] and subsequently with the factions (1857) from which emerged the "Josephite" or the "Reorganized Church

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21. The main facts on the origin and progress of the Brewster faction may be learned from the *Olive Branch,* of which there are three and a half volumes, August, 1848 to January, 1852.

22. For the character of Gladden Bishop see discourses of Brigham Young and Parley P. Pratt. Both personally knew Bishop and his career in the church. For remarks of the former see *Journal of Discourses,* vol. i, pp. 81-84; and vol. ii, pp. 125-7; and the latter, *Ibid,* vol. i, pp. 86-87. Gladden Bishop, it appears, came to Utah with some pretensions to leadership of the church, but could make no headway with his pretensions, and was severely denounced by President Young, *et al,* who represented him as a very disreputable character. For which see above citations.

of Latter-day Saints,"[23] (of which more will be said in the proper place). Soon after this, however, Hedrick, it seems, became disaffected towards these factions and held aloof from them. During the years 1863-64, Mr. Hedrick made independent claims to being the true successor of Joseph the Prophet, and effected an organization known as "The Church of Christ." From "revelations" received in those years just named, Joseph Smith was represented as a "fallen prophet," whom the Lord rejected together with his people, until another should be chosen to be a leader in Israel and raise up "a righteous multitude" unto the Lord. Hedrick, it is needless to say, became that "other leader"—according to his pretensions, for by a vote of his followers, in conference assembled, he was chosen and ordained "president, prophet, seer and revelator of 'The Church of Christ'."[24] The *Truth Teller* was the organ of the society. It was published monthly, beginning in July, 1864. The first number containes two revelations which are put forth as a justification for the action taken by Mr. Hedrick. Jackson county, Missouri, was selected as the place of gathering, to which the following of Hedrick was commanded to assemble in the year 1867, in order to escape certain "judgments" that were to overtake the United States, beginning in 1871, and culminating in the loss of liberty and the destruction of the nation by 1878; while those who would assemble on the land of Zion under the aforesaid injunction would "grow into a peaceable multitude," and become a mighty people under the protection of the Lord.

John E. Page, formerly one of the twelve apostles in the days of the Prophet Joseph Smith, was connected with this movement. In accordance with the injunction to this

23. According to "Josephite" authority, Mr. Hedrick attended a conference of these factions held at Zarahemla, Wisconsin, Oct. 6, 1857, where he was given the right hand of fellowship by the conference, and was received together with one Jedediah Owens as representative of the saints of Woodford county, Illinois, and assigned on a committee with J. W. Briggs to set forth the position of these factions. (*History of the Church*—"Reorganized"—vol. iii, pp. 233-4, and p. 638).

24. *The Truth Teller*, August 18, 1864.

faction, Mr. Hedrick and his people settled in Jackson county, and have remained there ever since. They purchased some parts of the plat of ground in Independence designated by the Prophet Joseph as the temple site of the future city of Zion, which they still (1929) possess.

In 1893 the "Reorganized Church," or "Josephites" (a name derived, not from the original Prophet, but because the faction accepted as the true successor of the Prophet Joseph Smith, his eldest son, who bore the same name as his father—Joseph) entered suit against the "Hedrickites" for possession of the temple site, on the ground of being the organization in true succession to the "original church" founded by Joseph Smith. John F. Phillips, judge of the United States circuit court for the western district of Missouri, before whom the case was tried, rendered a decision in favor of the "Reorganized Church," and enjoined the "Hedrickites" "from asserting title to the property. The latter, however, appealed the case to the circuit court of appeals for the eighth circuit, which court so far reversed the decision of Judge Phillips, on the ground of *laches* on the part of the "reorganization," as to leave the "Hedrickites" in possession of the temple site.

The following of Mr. Hedrick was never large—never more than between two and three hundred souls, and the organization with "apostles," "seventies," etc., was not long perpetuated though some semblance of an organization still continues, (1929).[25]

The Whitmerites

This faction resulted from two distinct efforts at organization, the first in 1847-8, and the second about 1886. The first resulted from an agitation begun at Kirtland by Wm. E. M'Lellin, formerly one of the twelve apostles; and Martin Harris, one of the three special witnesses to the *Book*

25. The facts concerning this organization may be found, *passim*, in the *Truth Teller*, the *Search Light*, the *Evening and Morning Star*, published in succession, but intermittently, as the organs of "The Church of Christ." The last being put forth as the resuscitation of the paper published by the church at Independence, in the early "thirties" of the 19th century.

of Mormon. M'Lellin was excommunicated from the church at Far West in 1838,[26] and afterwards took an active part in the persecution of the saints in Missouri, and at one time expressed the desire to do violence to the person of Joseph Smith while the latter was confined in Liberty prison.[27] M'Lellin published a paper at Kirtland—*Ensign of Liberty*—in 1847, and announced in it that his following numbered forty-two. At a conference held on 23rd of January, 1847, it was moved by M'Lellin and seconded by Martin Harris that this following take upon them the name of "The Church of Christ," "and wear it henceforth—shorn of all appendages or alterations," which motion was carried. Communication was opened with the several Whitmer brothers who had remained in the vicinity of Richmond and Far West, Missouri, and in September of 1847 M'Lellin in person visited them. He persuaded them to accept his ideas respecting the "fall" of Joseph the Prophet, the rejection of the church until the time should come for it "to come forth the second time out of obscurity and out of darkness." He held that as far back as 1833-4 the church had changed its character and had gone astray. He also claimed that in July, 1834, the Prophet Joseph had been commanded of the Lord to ordain David Whitmer to be his successor.[28] David Whitmer, Hiram Page, among the first of the Prophet's converts in New York, together with Jacob and John Whitmer, two of the "eight witnesses" to the *Book of Mormon,* were baptized. Several of these characters were "ordained" to the "priesthood," and

26. See *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iii, pp. 31-2 and note.

27. *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iii, pp. 31-2; also p. 215 and note; *Millennial Star,* vol. xxxi, pp. 808-9.

28. This question came up before the high council of Far West in 1838. The Prophet himself referred to the above mentioned ordination. This is the account of what he then said:

"President Joseph Smith, Jun., gave a history of the ordination of David Whitmer which took place in July, 1834, to be a leader or a prophet to this church, which (ordination) was on conditions that he (Joseph Smith, Jun.,) did not live to God himself. President Joseph Smith, Jun., approved of the proceedings of the high council after hearing the minutes of the former councils [i. e. the former council that had deposed David Whitmer from the local presidency of the church in Missouri]." (*Far West High Council Record,* March 15, 1838, p. 108. Also *History of the Church,* Period 1, vol. iii, pp. 31-32, footnote).

David Whitmer was "ordained" to be the "president of the church," and "to all the gifts and callings to which he had been appointed" through the alleged ordinations by Joseph the Prophet.

It had been fondly hoped by M'Lellin that David Whitmer would remove to Kirtland, but in this he was disappointed; for the new "president" was determined to remain in Missouri. M'Lellin departed for Kirtland and about a year later David Whitmer and the others about Far West and Richmond repudiated "M'Lellinism" as an error, and the movement came to naught.[29]

The second effort of the Whitmerites to reorganize the church occurred about two years before the death of David Whitmer,[30] *viz.*, 1886. This effort was much less pretentious than the first. The movement consisted in holding that David Whitmer held the right to the presidency of the church by virtue of ordinations he had received previous to the M'Lellin fiasco. The name "Church of Christ" was assumed. One of the great errors of the Prophet Joseph was held to be the "changing" of the name of the church to the title—"The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." The new church held the officers of the church to be elders, priests, teachers, deacons.[31] A few missionaries were sent here and there to represent these claims, but nothing ever came of the movement, and it is now—1929—many years since, defunct. The chief event connected with this second movement of the Whitmerites was the publication of David Whitmer's *Address to All Believers in Christ,* 1887, in support of it; and later, 1889-1892, the publication of *The Return,* also in support of the second Whitmerite movement, by Ebenezer Robinson, once associate editor of the *Times and Seasons* at

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29. The above facts and detailed history of this fiasco may be followed in *The Ensign of Liberty,* 1847-8; also *The Return,* published by Ebenezer Robinson, 1889, Nos. 1-3; and in the *History of the Church,* "reorganized," vol. iii, pp. 79-91.

30. David Whitmer died 25th of January, 1888.

31. See *The Return,* vol. i, No. 2, p. 32, "Church Organization."

Nauvoo. It is valuable as a depository of many personal and historical reminiscences of the editor.

The failure of all these factions and sub-factions in their efforts to found new, or "resuscitate," or "reorganize" the "original church" but emphasize the prophecy of Brigham Young—

"All that want to draw away a party from the church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper."

CHAPTER LXVI

Forward Movements—The Work in the Eastern States, Canada and Great Britain

WITH the question of the presiding authority over the church settled by the acceptance of the quorum of the twelve apostles as such presiding authority, renewed activity began in all the departments of church work. There was no other purpose than to build upon the foundation which Joseph Smith, working under the inspiration of God, had laid. "The foundation is laid by our Prophet," said Brigham Young, in his 8th of August speech, *"and we will build thereon; no other foundation can be laid but that which he has laid.* * * * Joseph has finished his work, and all the devils in hell and all the mobbers on earth could not take his life until he had accomplished his work."[1]

Resumption of Work on the Whole Line of Activity

The saints voted unanimously at the 8th of August meeting to be "tithed until the temple was finished as they had hitherto been. It was also voted unanimously that the twelve should appoint two bishops to act as trustees for the church," and a few days later Bishops Newel K. Whitney and George Miller were appointed by the twelve to be trustees in trust "to manage the financial concerns of the church."[2]

An epistle to the church was issued by the twelve to the saints in all the world, announcing that the twelve were

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1. However, Brigham Young held that had the twelve been in Nauvoo they never would have suffered Joseph to have gone to Carthage. "If the twelve had been here," said Brigham Young, in his 8th of August speech, "we would not have seen him given up—he should not have been given up." (*Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, 278). This view was later corrected by the "Word of the Lord" through President Young himself: cf. the revelation under the title "The Word and Will of the Lord, given through Brigham Young, at Winter Quarters * * * Jan. 14, 1847." (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxxvi:37-40).

2. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Aug. 14, 1844; and *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, p. 632.

standing in their place and were directing the affairs of the church.[3]

Nauvoo was continued as the place of gathering for the saints; those with capital were urged to come and establish industries in order to give employment to the poor. "Let the capitalists hasten here," said the epistle, "and they may be assured we have nerves, sinews, fingers, skill and ingenuity sufficient in our midst to carry on all the necessary branches of industry."

The temple was to be completed by "a regular system of tithing, according to the commandments of the Lord * * * given as a law to the church by the mouth of his servant Joseph."[4]

The United States and Canada were to be immediately organized by the twelve into proper ecclesiastical districts, as had already been done in the British mission, and high priests appointed to preside over the same, to call quarterly conferences for the representation and regulation of the branches within said districts, "and for the furtherance of the gospel;" for "the gospel in its fulness and purity" must now be proclaimed in "every neighborhood of this widespread country, and to all the world," said the epistle. Doubtless the twelve and all the saints felt that the recent martyrdom of the Prophet

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3. As evidence that this might not be a final adjustment of the question of presidency, or that the quorum of the twelve would be the permanent presiding quorum in the church, an editorial in the *Times and Seasons*, following the one in which the general epistle of the twelve appears, in announcing that the twelve had been sustained as presiding over the whole church, said: "Great excitement prevails throughout the world to know 'who will be the successor of Joseph Smith?' In reply, we say be patient a little till the proper time comes, and we will tell you all. * * * A special conference of the church was held in Nauvoo on the 12th ult. (August) and it was carried without a dissenting voice, that the twelve should preside over the whole church. And when any alteration in the presidency shall be required, seasonable notice will be given." (*Times and Seasons*, September 2nd, 1844, p. 632).

4. The revelation was given July 8th, 1838 (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxix). It had not been very regularly enforced, however, owing to the unsettled conditions prevailing in the church. Now it was proclaimed to be "a law unto this church, as binding upon their conscience as any other law or ordinance;" and was henceforth to be taught as a law "to all who present themselves for admission into this church, that they may know the sacrifice and tithing which the Lord requires, and perform it." (An Epistle of the Twelve, *Times and Seasons*, vol. xii, pp. 618-620).

and Patriarch of the church had added increased value and sanctity to the New Dispensation of the Gospel, hence this fresh impetus in making proclamation of it.

Politics and the Saints

Relative to politics the epistle urged that inasmuch as none of the candidates who were before the public for the high office of president of the United States had "manifested any disposition or intention to redress wrong and restore liberty, and law," the saints were advised to stand aloof from corrupt men and measures, "and wait at least till a man is found, who, if elected, will carry out the enlarged principles, universal freedom and equal rights and protection, expressed in the views of our beloved Prophet and martyr."[5] "We do not, however," said the epistle, "offer this political advice as binding on the consciences of others; we are perfectly willing that every member of this church should use his own freedom in all political matters; but we give it as our own rule of action, and for the benefit of those who may choose to profit by it."[6]

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5. *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, p. 620. This resolution was adhered to in the presidential election. As late as the 6th of November, 1844 (the presidential election that year was held under the United States law of 1792, requiring the election to be held within 34 days preceding the first Wednesday in December), an editorial in the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, for Nov. 6th, 1844, said: "We have had a good deal said to us by both political parties about the course we intended to pursue in relation to the presidential election: both sides as a matter of course, advocating their superior claims to our attention. We, however, announced our determination some time ago not to interfere in this matter, and we have seen nothing, nor have we heard anything that was in anywise calculated to make us alter our opinion. The murder of General Smith placed us in a peculiar situation in relation to this matter, and since this lamentable occurrence the course pursued by both political parties has been anything but honorable in relation to us as a people. They have both joined hands with the mob in trying if not to sustain, yet to wink at some of the most demoniacal proceedings that ever disgraced the records of our country. They have both joined in persecuting an innocent people and in trying to oppress those who already were goaded with mobocracy; they have both published and given credence to the stories of mobocrats, blacklegs and murderers, whilst they have carefully excluded from their columns everything like truth in relation to the matter, although they have had it in their possession. There have been, however, a few honorable exceptions to this among the Democratic ranks, particularly in the more respectable papers in the east. But among the Whig party we know of none, from the *New York Tribune*, down to the most insignificant Whig paper in this state,—we know of no exception—all have joined in supporting mobocracy and in sustaining the hands of murderers."

6. This advice, it will be observed, had reference only to the presidential

The epistle concluded with this general admonition:

"Now, dear brethren, to conclude our present communication, we would exhort you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to be humble and faithful before God, and before all the people, and give no occasion for any man to speak evil of you; but preach the gospel in its simplicity and purity, and practice righteousness, and seek to establish the influence of truth, peace and love among mankind, and in so doing the Lord will bless you, and make you a blessing to all people."[7]

Thus admonished the saints resumed their activities in all departments of the work with the most gratifying results; and those who expected to see "Mormonism" collapse with the death of the Prophet and the Patriarch, began to discover they were doomed to disappointment.

The Fast and Loose Policy of Governor Ford

Brigham Young was elected lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion, and received his commission from Governor Ford on the 27th of September, 1844, the very day that Governor Ford visited Nauvoo in company with a number of prominent state militia officers and about five hundred of the state militia mustered into service to defeat the purpose of the "wolf hunt," proposed by the anti-"Mormons" of Hancock and surrounding counties as already detailed in this *History,* chapter lix.

Under date of October 9th, Governor Ford issued the following order to Lieutenant General Young:

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election. The election for county officers, members of the state legislature, and for members of congress had taken place on the 5th of August, as provided at that time by the law of Illinois. Governor Ford had tried to persuade the saints to take no part in this local election, but believing that the "cause of law and order" could best be conserved by casting their vote for the Democratic candidates, the people of Nauvoo voted almost solidly for them. At least there were but "five opposition votes in the city;" and in the county the majority for the "law and order candidates" was over one thousand, "notwithstanding the anti-"Mormons" smuggled a great many votes from other counties" (see Church Historians' Second Compilation of Data, *Millennial Star,* vol. xxv, p. 200; also *History of Illinois,* Ford, pp. 362-3). J. P. Hoge was elected to congress, J. B. Backenstos and Almon W. Babitt to the state legislature, and General Minor R. Deming, sheriff, all Democrats. (*Nauvoo Neighbor,* Aug. 14, 1844).

7. *Times and Seasons,* vol. v, pp. 618-620.

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
SPRINGFIELD, Oct. 9th, 1844.

To Lieutenant General Brigham Young, of the Nauvoo Legion:

SIR: It may be probable that there may be further disturbances in Hancock county by those opposed to the prosecutions against the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. They may combine together in arms to subvert justice and prevent those prosecutions from going on. They may also attack or resist the civil authorities of the state in that county, and they may attack some of the settlements or people there with violence.

The sheriff of the county may want a military force to guard the court and protect it, or its officers or the jurors thereof, or the witnesses attending court, from the violence of a mob.

In all these cases you are hereby ordered and directed to hold in readiness a sufficient force, under your command, of the Nauvoo Legion, to act under aforesaid; and also to suppress mobs which may be collected in said county, to injure the persons or property of any of the citizens.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of state, the day and year first herein above written.

THOMAS FORD,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief."

This general order, so frank, and fair, and adequate for preserving the peace in Nauvoo and in Hancock county, if followed up in good faith by the executive, was accompanied by private suggestions which went far towards rendering the open orders nugatory. The governor in his private instructions said concerning his public order:

"The enclosed order is one of great delicacy to execute. I have conversed with Mr. Backenstos and others, and my opinion is the same as theirs, that employing the legion, even legally, may call down the vengeance of the people against your city. If it should be the means of getting up a civil war in Hancock, I do not know how much force I could bring to the aid of the government. A force to be efficient would have to be called out as volunteers; a draft would bring friends and enemies alike. I called for twenty-five hundred before; and, by ordering out independent companies, got four hundred and seventy-five. Three of those companies, the most efficient, have been broken up, and would refuse to go again. I should anticipate but a small force to be raised by volunteers. I would not undertake to march a drafted militia there. Two-thirds of them would join the enemy. The enclosed order is more intended as a permission to use the legion, in the manner indicated, if upon consideration of the whole matter it is thought advisable, than a compulsory command.

Your most wise and discreet counselors and the county officers will have to act according to their best judgment.

[Signed] "THOMAS FORD."

The fact seems to be that Governor Ford had lost faith in the power and virtue of government in Illinois to meet the emergencies arising from the presence of the Latter-day Saints in that state. On a former occasion, *viz.*, the 22nd of July, 1844, he had said:

"In the present temper of the public mind I am positively certain that I cannot raise a militia force in the state who would be willing to fight on your side, or to hazard their lives to protect you from an attack of your enemies."

Again, in the same communication, he said:

"A voluntary submission and obedience was supposed as the basis of government, for this reason no adequate provision was made in our state Constitutions for coercing this submission, when the laws were to be trampled upon by the concerted action of large numbers. The states are prohibited from maintaining standing armies; the only military force at their command, without aid from the general government, is the militia; and, as I have already shown you, this force can only be relied on to do effectual service where that service is popular and jumps with their inclinations."[8]

Governor Ford must have thought that he was addressing himself to a very ignorant people when putting forth such views on government, especially when he adds:

"You may be disposed to ask, what use is there for law and government if these things be so? I answer you, that cases like the present do not seem to be fully provided for by our Constitution; they were not anticipated to occur."[9]

Under that view of things government would indeed be a failure; and it is not surprising, in view of the governor's attitude, that mobs and anarchy were triumphant in Illinois in the next two ensuing years. But the governor's viewpoint

8. Letter of Governor Ford to W. W. Phelps, Historians' Second Collection of Data, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 103, *et seq.* Governor Ford's "Military Order," as also his accompanying letter of "caution" as to the "delicacy" of its execution, etc., is copied into the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry of Oct. 9th, 1844, pp. 43, 44.

9. Letter to Phelps, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 105.

was not the true one. That government which cannot employ force for the protection of its citizens in their rights is not worthy of respect.

If the governor was doubtful of the integrity of the militia of Illinois, he still had the alternative of the Nauvoo Legion, a body of between three and four thousand men, well organized, well armed, well drilled, and willing to serve the state. Governor Ford had anticipated such a suggestion as this and in his letter to Mr. Phelps said:

> "I am afraid to rely on the militia in the present temper of the public mind. To call on the Nauvoo Legion would be suicidal to any effort as [of] pacification of existing troubles, and for that reason would fail to bring about an enforcement of the laws. * * * To call in one party to put down and subdue the other, would lead to the most disastrous consequences; all the pride of conquest and victory; all the shame of defeat by, and submission to an adversary; all the fury and unconquerable hate and exasperated feeling would necessarily be mingled with the contest, and render it bloody and bitter beyond anything we know of in this country."[10]

The Right of the Respective States to Republican Government

But even if this contention be granted, and the unwisdom of calling upon the Nauvoo Legion to assist in the execution of the laws, and the suppression of insurrection and rebellion be allowed, the governor had still another resource not yet appealed to, and of undoubted efficiency. This was the general government of the United States. It is provided in the federal Constitution that "The United States shall guaranty to every state in this Union a republican form of government; and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, when the legislature cannot be convened, *against domestic violence.*"[11]

On this section Judge Story, associated justice of the supreme court, remarks:

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10. *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 119. The letter is given there *in extenso*.
11. *Constitution*, Art. iv, sec. 4.

"The people of each state have a right to protection against the tyranny of a domestic faction, and to have a firm guarantee, that their political liberties shall not be overturned by a successful demagogue, who shall arrive at power by corrupt arts, and then plan a scheme for permanent possession of it. On the other hand, domestic violence by popular insurrection is equally repugnant to the good order and safety of the Union; and one of the blessings arising from a national government is the security which it affords, against a recurrence of evils of this sort. Accordingly, it is made an imperative duty of the general government, on the application of the legislature or executive of a state, to aid in the suppression of such domestic insurrections; as well as to protect the state from foreign invasion."[12]

From State to Church Affairs—Revelation

But now to turn from these purely secular matters. The October conference of the church was very important, being the first general conference at which the Prophet Joseph Smith had not been present. President Brigham Young reaffirmed and emphasized the doctrine of a revelation-led church. "The Lord," said he, "will not cease to give revelations to his people unless the people trample on his laws and reject him. * * * This church has been led by revelation, and unless we forsake the Lord entirely, so that the priesthood is taken from us, it will be led by revelation all the time. * * * You are not going to be led without revelation." Relative to the person through whom revelation should be given to the church, he said: "If you don't know whose right it is to give revelations, I will tell you. It is I."[13]

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12. *Exposition of the Constitution of the United States*, Story, p. 244. Governor Ford of course was not ignorant of this resource of power against insurrection and rebellion in a state; and as a matter of fact he had made a pretense of appealing to the general government for aid as may be learned from this letter to Mr. W. W. Phelps. But instead of applying directly to the chief executive of the nation for the necessary force to suppress the insurrection, he called upon the officers of the 3rd military department of the United States, "for 500 men of the regular army to be stationed in Hancock county;" "with whose aid," said the governor, "I hope to preserve order and proceed against all criminals whomsoever they may be." Of course Colonel S. W. Kearney, in command, replied that he had no authority to comply with Ford's request, but forwarded his request to the authorities at Washington. And again, of course, the authorities at Washington would not grant the request forwarded by Colonel Kearney, since it was Governor Ford's business to make direct application to the president for the necessary protection "against domestic violence." Was Governor Ford seeking to pacify the people of Nauvoo with the mere shows of an effort at their protection? It would seem so. He asked Mr. Phelps that his application for federal assistance be kept a secret, lest it should hasten affairs to a climax in Hancock county. (*Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, p. 119.)

13. Minutes of Conference, Oct. 6, 1844. *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, p. 682.

It is held by some that there was "uncertainty" in President Young's mind on the subject of revelation,[14] after the death of Joseph Smith. The foregoing quotations from his conference remarks give no evidence of uncertainty. But in addition to laying down this principle that the church would still be led by the revelations of God, and that to prevent disorder there could be but one man at a time who would receive revelations, and as he was the president of the apostles' quorum, then acting as the presiding quorum of the church, necessarily that one man was himself—in addition to this, I say, President Young taught, as was taught from the beginning, that all men holding the priesthood in their several capacities and duties have the right to inspiration and the revelations of God for their personal guidance, but not for the guidance of the church. At this conference President Young also said:

> "Every member has the right of receiving revelations for himself, both male and female. It is the very life of the church of the living God, in all ages of the world. * * * No man preached a gospel discourse, nor ever will, unless he does it by revelation. You will do it by the Holy Ghost, or when you tell the history of the gospel, the gospel will not be there. * * * It is the right of an individual to get revelations to guide himself. It is the right of the head of a family. It is the right of an elder when he has built up a church to get revelations to guide and lead that people until he leads them and delivers them up to his superiors."[15]

The Place of Joseph Smith in the Church

President Young in his discourse at this conference honored the memory of his predecessor, and in way of answer to those who were defaming President Smith's character and decrying him as a fallen prophet,[16] he said:

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14. See Linn's *Story of the Mormons*, p. 329. In this connection attention is called to the absence of written revelation (save in one case only, *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxxvi), under the administration of Brigham Young by Linn; but because revelations are not written is no evidence that they are not received, or that the church is not led by them.

15. Conference Minutes, October, 1844, *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, p. 683.

16. Among these was Benjamin Winchester, and other followers of Sidney Rigdon. See *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Dec. 11, 1844. Winchester was finally excommunicated for thus defaming the Prophet.

"Every spirit that confesses that Joseph Smith is a prophet, that he lived and died a prophet, and that the *Book of Mormon* is true, is of God, and every spirit that does not is of anti-Christ. It is the test of our fellowship to believe and confess that Joseph lived and died a prophet of God in good standing; and I don't want anyone to fellowship the twelve who says that Joseph is fallen."[17]

The conference sustained "Brigham Young, the president of the quorum of the twelve, as one of the twelve and first presidency of the church,"[18] thus ratifying the action of the special conference of the 8th of August. Each of the twelve was sustained by separate vote of the conference, as were all the general officers. Elder John Smith, uncle of the Prophet, was sustained as president of the Nauvoo stake of Zion, displacing William Marks who had strongly sympathized with Sidney Rigdon; though later in a signed statement he declared that after candid deliberation he was convinced that Sidney Rigdon's claims to the presidency were not founded in truth; "and that the twelve were the proper persons to lead the church."[19]

The conference appointed each of the congressional districts within the United States, a missionary district, and set apart a high priest to preside as pastor over the branches in said districts. Eighty-five high priests were set apart to this work; and it was explained that their appointment was not a temporary one of a few months, but they were to take their families with them and establish stakes of Zion in their respective fields of labor.

Increasing the Seventy's Quorums

The seventy's quorums, which constitute the foreign ministry of the church,[20] were increased in these days from two to eleven full quorums, and forty members were ordained

17. Conference Minutes, October 6th, 1844. *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, p. 683.
18. Minutes of the Conference, October 7th, 1844, *Times and Seasons*, p. 692.
19. The communication bears date of December 9th, 1844. (*Times and Seasons*, vol. v, p. 742). Marks finally left the church, however, and became identified with several of the factions which feigned a "reorganization" of the church. See several of the factions which feigned a "reorganization" of the church. (See *Succession in Presidency of the Church*, p. 44, note and *passim*).
20. See chapter lix.

towards the twelfth. Within the next two years the number of these quorums was increased to thirty; and such was the enthusiasm in this branch of the organization that the seventy even in these troublous times built a large public hall in which to hold their meetings. The public dedication of this hall extended through an entire week, the twelve participating in the dedicatory services.[21] It was during this week-long seventy's conference that Elder John Taylor, of the council of the twelve brought forth, and had sung for the first time his heroic hymn to the memory of Joseph Smith, "The Seer," and it was dedicated by the author to Brigham Young. The hymn was first published in the *Times and Seasons* for January 1st, 1845.

THE SEER

"The Seer;—the Seer;—Joseph the Seer—
I'll sing of the Prophet ever dear,
His equal now cannot be found,—
By searching the wide world around.
With Gods he soared in the realms of day;
And men he taught the heavenly way.
The earthly Seer! the heavenly Seer,
I love to dwell on his mem'ry dear;—
The chosen of God, and the friend of men,
He brought the priesthood back again,
He gazed on the past, on the present too;—
And ope'd the heavenly world to view.

Of noble seed—of heavenly birth,
He came to bless the sons of earth;
With keys by the Almighty given,
He opened the full rich stores of heaven,
O'er the world that was wrapt in sable night,
Like the sun he spread his golden light.
He strove,—O, how he strove to stay,
The stream of crime in its reckless way—
With a mighty mind, and a noble aim
He urged the wayward to reclaim;
'Mid the foaming billows of angry strife—
He stood at the helm of the ship of life.

21. The dedication of the Seventy's Hall took place during the month of December, beginning on the 26th, 1844. Full minutes of this conference were published in the *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, No. 2, Feb. 1st, 1845.

The saints;—the saints; his only pride,
For them he lived, for them he died!
Their joys were his;—their sorrows too;—
He lov'd the saints;—he lov'd Nauvoo.
Unchanged in death, with a Savior's love
He pleads their cause, in the courts above.
The Seer;—the Seer—Joseph the Seer!
O, how I love his memory dear,
The just and wise, the pure and free,
A father he was, and is to me.
Let fiends now rage in their dark hour;—
No matter, he is beyond their power.

He's free;—he's free;—the Prophet's free!
He is where he will ever be,
Beyond the reach of mobs and strife,
He rests unharm'd in endless life.
His home's in the sky;—he dwells with the Gods
Far from the furious rage of mobs.
He died; he died—for those he lov'd,
He reigns;—he reigns in the realms above,
He waits with the just who have gone before,
To welcome the saints to Zion's shore;
Shout, shout ye saints—this boon is given,
We'll meet our martyr'd Seer in heaven."[22]

A seventy's library was also begun, which caused the editor of the *Times and Seasons* to exclaim—"Ten years ago but one [quorum of] seventy, and now fourteen [quorums of] seventy, and the foundation for the best library in the world!"[23]

Development of the Work in the Eastern States and England

The conference was vigorous in tone throughout. Light-mindedness and iniquity were severely denounced,[24] and greater spiritual enlightenment and power promised to the

22. The punctuation and form in the above copy of the hymn follows that of the original in the *Times and Seasons*, edited by John Taylor, hence given as published by himself.

23. *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, pp. 762-3.

24. So pronounced was the reproof of the elders by Brigham Young, that his words have ever since been quoted as evidence of large dishonesty among the elders of the church (See Linn's *Story of the Mormons*, p. 331). This, however, was not the case; the sharpness of the reproof of the very few delinquents is unjustly used to make the denominator of the fraction of evil large, and no credit is given for the honest, direct effort to correct such errors as existed.

ministry on condition of increased faithfulness. "You are all apostles to the nations," said President Young to the seventy, in his concluding remarks, in relation to their ministry; "and when we send you to build up the kingdom, we will give you the keys, and power and authority. * * * I would exhort all who go from this place to do right and be an honor to the cause. Inasmuch as you will go forth and do right, you shall have more of the Spirit than you have [had] heretofore."

Before the close of the year 1844, Elder Parley P. Pratt of the twelve was sent to New York to take charge of the work in the New England and middle eastern states, and to take charge of *The Prophet,* an imperial folio sheet published weekly by the Society for the Diffusion of Truth, of which G. T. Leach was president. The first number of *The Prophet* was issued Saturday, May 18th, 1844; and was proclaimed to be an Advocate and Herald of the Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.[25]

With the advent of Elder Pratt in the east the work received fresh impetus, and *The Prophet* took on a more vigorous tone.[26]

About the same time that Elder Pratt was sent to preside

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25. *The Prophet* continued in existence a little over one year and was edited successively by Samuel Brannan, William Smith and Parley P. Pratt.

26. As an illustration of the spirit in which Elder Pratt undertook his work as president over the eastern states, I quote from his Proclamation to the Saints, published in *The Prophet.* The Proclamation is dated Jan. 1st, 1845. Having reviewed the events of the martyrdom of the late President Joseph Smith, he said:

"Thus nobly fell our worthy founder and leader in the very bloom of life; and thus the responsibility of bearing off the kingdom triumphantly, now rests upon the twelve.

He has organized the kingdom of God.—We will extend its dominion.

He has restored the fulness of the gospel.—We will spread it abroad.

He has laid the foundation of Nauvoo.—We will build it up.

He has laid the foundation of the temple.—We will bring up the top-stone with shouting.

He has kindled a fire.—We will fan the flame.

He has kindled up the dawn of a day of glory.—We will bring it to its meridian splendor.

He was a 'little one,' and became a thousand. We are a small one, and will become a strong nation.

In short, he quarried the stone from the mountain; we will cause it to become a 'great mountain and fill the whole earth.'" (*Millennial Star,* vol. v, p. 151.)

over the Eastern States Mission, Wilford Woodruff, also of the twelve, was sent to take charge of the work in the British Mission. Elder Reuben Hedlock and Thomas Ward had been in charge of that mission for some time, and Elder Woodruff took them as his counselors, and with them constituted the presidency of the British Mission. Elder Woodruff issued a "Proclamation," which was published in the *Millennial Star* for February, 1845, in which he reviewed the chief historical events in the church from the time he had departed from England with other members of the apostles' quorum in 1841, until his return. He urged the right of the twelve to act as the presidency of the church in the absence of the first presidency; and admonished the ministry to prepare for a more vigorous prosecution of their labors.

Elder Woodruff was accompanied by a number of elders from Nauvoo, some of whom brought with them their wives —the party numbered twelve all told; and among the elders was Dan Jones, who came in fulfillment of the prediction of Joseph Smith to him while in Carthage prison that he would live to fill a mission in Wales, his native land.[27]

The advent of Elder Dan Jones was not the introduction of the New Dispensation into Wales;[28] but his coming gave a great impetus to the work. In the next three years several thousand were baptized,[29] and branches of the church were multiplied in various parts of the principality. Elder Jones

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27. *Ante*, ch. lvi.

28. The New Dispensation of the gospel had been introduced into Wales by Elders Henry Royle and Frederick Cooke as early as July, 1840. They labored in Flintshire and as early as October of the same year reported the organization of a branch there of thirty-two members. In December of the same year Elder James Burnham reported about one hundred members in the vicinity of Wexham, Denbigh; and by February, 1840, the two branches numbered one hundred and fifty souls. (Report of Orson Pratt, church historian, 1880, *Utah Pioneers*, p. 26). In January, 1846, the Merthyr Tydville conference numbered 493 members; 11 elders, 15 priests and 7 deacons. (*Millennial Star*, vol. vii, p. 3).

29. During the last six months of 1847—Elder Dan Jones still presiding—more than 700 souls were added to the church in Wales alone. (George Q. Cannon, quoted in *Historical Record*, p. 901). The membership of the church in the principality in 1852 is given as 3,000. (Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 409, and note 21).

published a periodical called *Udgorn Seion*—Zion's Trumpet[30]—in the Welsh language; and also a number of tracts, some original and others that were translations from the English.[31]

The membership of the church in Great Britain had been greatly reduced by reason of the large emigration of the past three years. At the general conference of the mission held in April, 1844, the number of members and officers reported in the organized conferences made a total of 6,646. Although the emigration continued, during the intervening years, a general conference held in January, 1846, which marked the close of Elder Woodruff's mission in the British Isles, the members reported numbered 10,956, and the officers 1,291,[32] a total of 12,247.

Number of the Church Membership at the Death of the Prophet

Here it may not be out of place to consider the numerical strength of the church throughout the world about the time of the Prophet Joseph's death, since it is a question of some uncertainty, and the data upon which a judgment must be formed is somewhat conflicting.

Answering the question in 1896, "what the approximate or exact numerical strength of the church was at the time of the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," Elder Franklin D. Richards, then historian of the church, said: "The nearest we can approximate, the number was about 26,000 or 27,000 souls."

Unfortunately there are some utterances of leading brethren very much at variance with this statement of the church historian quoted above. First, President Joseph Smith

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30. *Udgorn Seion* was not long continued as the emigration to America constantly reduced the number in the Welsh Mission.

31. Burton in his *City of the Saints*, 1862, enumerates 21 books, tracts, articles, booklets, etc., published by Jones in the Welsh language (p. 213). The *Book of Mormon* was not translated into Welsh until 1856, and then by John S. Davies.

32. *Millennial Star*, vol. vii, pp. 3, 4.

himself, in a letter to I. Daniel Rupp, giving an outline statement of the chief historical events of the church, said: "There are no correct *data* by which the number of members composing this now extensive and still extending church, can be known. * * * Should it be supposed at 150,000 it might be short of the truth."[33] It should be observed that the Prophet admits that there are no correct *data* upon which to base his roughly stated estimates.

Again in his letter to Henry Clay, discussing a suggestion of that statesman that the Latter-day Saints remove to Oregon, Joseph Smith declared that "To transport 200,000 people through a vast prairie over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon * * * would cost more than four millions" [of dollars].[34]

Clay's letter was written on the 15th of November, 1843; the Prophet's answer May 13th, 1844. At that time, it will be remembered, the Prophet had pending before the national congress a memorial, petitioning that body to authorize him to raise a body of 100,000 armed volunteers to police the intermountain and Pacific coast west from Texas to Oregon, and it was unquestionably this number of men, with the families who would doubtless go with them, as well as the saints, that the Prophet had in mind when he named 200,000 as the number likely to be moved to Oregon.[35]

Wilford Woodruff at a conference in Manchester, England, April, 1845, declared that he "represented about twenty-eight states in the American Union, *above one hundred thousand saints*, a quorum of twelve apostles," etc.[36] Notwithstanding these statements of President Smith and Elder Woodruff—not based upon any actual knowledge of the numbers in the church at the time they spoke, the number

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33. *An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States*, I Daniel Rupp, p. 409.
34. *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiii, pp. 519, 533, *et seq.*
35. See *Note* end of this chapter.
36. *Millennial Star*, vol. v. p. 170. The remark was evidently made offhand, certainly without any *data* that had been considered.

given by them was simply not in the church. The great body of the church in the winter of 1838-9 was driven from Missouri, where the saints had been gathering since 1831; but the very highest estimate of those expelled from that state has been from twelve to fifteen thousand; and there was no such fruitfulness of the ministry which swelled this number in the branches scattered throughout the United States, in Canada and in England, to one hundred and fifty thousand during the next four years, nor to one hundred thousand. In a communication from George J. Adams to the *Boston* (Mass.) *Bee,* copied into the *Times and Seasons* of March 15th, 1843, Adams gives the membership of the church "throughout the vast republic" (the United States), as 50,000; and the number in the British Islands as 20,000; which the editor of the *Times and Seasons,* in a footnote corrects as to the numbers in Great Britain by saying "about ten thousand."[37]

Note

Joseph Smith's Oregon Memorial Before Congress

It was on the 25th of this very month of May, 1844, that the Prophet's memorial was introduced into the national house of representatives by Mr. John Wentworth, a representative from northern Illinois, to "be read by the clerk for the information of the house." The *Congressional Globe* of the above date reports the matter as follows:

"Mormons"

"Mr. Wentworth asked permission to present a memorial from General Joseph Smith, the head of the Mormons, and required that it might be read by the clerk for the information of the House.

The clerk commenced the reading of the memorial.

Before the reading was concluded—

Mr. J. R. Ingersoll interposed, and objected to the reception at first, and still objected.

Mr. Weber observed that if memorials of this kind were to be read, he was intrusted with the presentation of one of a peculiar character, from certain citizens of Frederick county, Md.

Mr. Wentworth said he would move a suspension of the rules

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37. *Times and Seasons,* vol. iv, p. 142. And had the number quoted in the United States been reduced one-half, it, too, would have been nearer the truth.

to enable him to have the paper read; and he wished to inquire of the chair whether it would be in order for him to assign his reasons for making such a motion.

Mr. Duncan observed, if the gentlemen would yield him the floor, he would move to suspend the rules, to go into committee of the whole on the Oregon bill.

Mr. Wentworth said that, as he had the floor, he would make the motion. Mr. Wentworth then moved that the rules be suspended, for the purpose of going into committee of the whole on the Oregon bill. The speaker said that the question would be put on suspending the rules to go into committee of the whole. If that motion prevailed, the gentleman could move to take up any bill he pleased.

Mr. Vance called for the yeas and nays on the question; which were ordered.

Mr. McKay inquired if the House should refuse to go into committee of the whole, if it could by postponement of the previous orders, take up the naval appropriation bill which had been reported from the committee of the whole.

The speaker said a motion to that effect would require a vote of two-thirds.

The question was put on suspending the rules and regulations; yeas 79, nays 86."[38]

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38. From the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of May 25th, 1844, *Congressional Globe*, vol. xiii, No. 39, p. 624.

CHAPTER LXVII

Repeal of the Nauvoo Charters—The Temple Capstone—Mob Violence and House-Burning—The Patience of Saints

ON THE 18th of June, 1841, President Joseph Smith said these words to the Nauvoo Legion:

"It is thought by some that our enemies would be satisfied with my destruction; but I tell you that as soon as they have shed my blood, they will thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the spirit of the fulness of the gospel. The opposition of these men is moved by the spirit of the adversary of all righteousness. It is not only to destroy me, but every man and woman who dares believe the doctrines that God hath inspired me to teach in this generation."[1]

The Work More than the Prophet the Object of Assault

The action of the old citizens of Hancock and the surrounding counties subsequent to the murder of the Prophet, prove how truly he had spoken: for no sooner did they discover that the work which Joseph Smith had begun gave promise of surviving him, than they renewed hostilities, and sought by every means they could devise to harass and destroy those who devoted their energies to the work the Prophet had founded.

As early as July 1st, 1844, Thomas H. Owen, Esq., of the staff of General Minor R. Deming, Illinois militia, wrote Elder Willard Richards that undoubtedly the mobocrats of Warsaw and Green Plains were making strong exertions to raise forces sufficient to mob and drive the people of Nauvoo from their homes. He advised that a steady watch be kept upon their movements; "for it seems," said he, "that the cold-hearted murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Carthage jail has not satisfied the blood-thirsty dispositions of those demons, but they desire to prosecute their wretched purpose still further." As a member of General Deming's

1. *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 498, for the address.

staff Mr. Owen had opposed calling out a large force to be stationed at Carthage lest they should be influenced to join with the mob in making war upon the "Mormons."[2]

On the 22nd of July Governor Ford in his letter to Elder W. W. Phelps, reviewing the situation growing out of the murder of the Smith brothers, declared the "naked truth" to be "that most well informed persons condemn in the most unqualified manner *the mode* in which the Smiths were put to death; but nine out of every ten of such accompany the expression of their disapprobation by a manifestation of their pleasure, *that they are dead*. The disapproval is most usually cold and without feeling. It is a disapproval which appears to be called for, on their part, by decency, by a respect for the law and a horror of mobs, but does not flow from the heart."[3] And to the shame of Illinois, history, in the light of subsequent events, must affirm the correctness of Governor Ford's statement of the case.

It has already been said, on the authority of Governor Ford, that when the military movement against the saints in Hancock county under the guise of "a wolf hunt," was projected, the anti-"Mormon" papers, "in aid of the movement," commenced anew the most awful accounts of thefts and robberies and impending "Mormon" outrages.[4] This afforded thieves and blacklegs generally an opportunity of having their crimes charged upon the saints, and accordingly they established themselves in the vicinity of Nauvoo, though principally on the Iowa side of the river; and all the thefts and acts of violence committed by those renegades and others along the river were charged up to the account of the citizens of Nauvoo, and too gladly believed by the people in the surrounding counties.

Not only were charges of theft and robbery made against

2. Owens' letter is given *in extenso* in The Church Historians' Second Compilation of Data, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, pp. 39, 40.

3. The governor's letter is published *in extenso* in The Church Historians' Second Collection of Data, *Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, pp. 103; 105; 119-121.

4. See *Ante*, ch. lix and footnote 4 that chapter.

the saints, but they were also accused of hiding from justice any and all criminals who came into their midst; that Nauvoo, in short, was a rendezvous for outlaws, counterfeiters and desperate men generally. These charges led the city council to make a thorough investigation; and, on the 13th of January, 1845, to pass a series of resolutions stating that the charges of theft for the most part were fabrications of their enemies bent on ruining the reputation of the city, and challenged those who made the charges to sustain with proof a single case where the citizens of Nauvoo had screened criminals from justice.[5]

Action of the City Council and the Church to Correct Misrepresentations

The city council also extended an invitation to all who had reasons to believe that their stolen property was concealed in Nauvoo to come and make diligent search for it, and pledged them the assistance of the city administration to hunt out crime and put away everything that could give rise to even a suspicion of concealing criminals. The mayor was au-

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5. The proceedings of the city council are published in the *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, pp. 773, *et seq.* The day before the city council's action—Sunday—at a meeting in the Seventy's Hall, Brigham Young proposed the selection of a few men to go into the adjoining counties, "To forestall our enemies in their designs to prevent the trial of the murderers of Brothers Joseph and Hyrum Smith in the spring. They intend to charge the thefts which have been committed around here upon the Mormons. * * * His advice would be for the saints to look out for thieves, he would like to catch such men. If they want a method to detect them give them a ball of lead, it would show who were the thieves, Mormons or anti-Mormons." John Taylor in favoring President Young's suggestion, said: "The anti-'Mormons' wish to publish the thefts and charge them to the 'Mormons,' and thus raise an excitement to bring ruin and desolation upon this people." (All the above from *Elder John Taylor's Journal, Ms.*, entry date of 12th of January, 1845). Twenty-four men were selected from among the seventy to go into surrounding counties to disabuse the minds of the people. In the afternoon of the same day a meeting was held with the high priests for the same purpose—i. e., choosing men from among the high priests to go into surrounding counties to set forth true conditions at Nauvoo. John Taylor said: "Our object is to select men to clear up the misrepresentations of our enemies. Some men go out under the cloak of 'Mormonism' and steal when they have a chance, and lay it up to the 'Mormons.' Some would intimate that these are the 'mysteries of the kingdom,' there are not any mysteries of this kind." Brigham Young said: "A natural born thief or liar will never enter the celestial kingdom, they may try till doomsday." Forty-seven high priests were chosen for the mission, the names are also given. (*Taylor's Journal, Ms.* entry for Jan. 12th, 1845).

thorized to increase the force of police if necessary to five hundred; and the people were called upon to redouble their diligence in preventing criminals from coming among them, and all such persons as soon as discovered were to be given up to the officers of the law.

The next day the action of the city council was submitted to the citizens of Nauvoo in mass meeting assembled, and they approved of the course taken.[6] Fifty delegates were chosen and sent into the surrounding counties to disabuse the public mind relative to the false accusations made against the saints, and to ask the cooperation of the counties surrounding Hancock in ridding the country of the counterfeiters and thieves which infested it. But all these efforts were fruitless. The falsehoods of their enemies outweighed the truths of the saints, a cruel prejudice hardened the hearts of the people of Illinois against the appeals of the citizens of Nauvoo, and made them deaf or indifferent to all entreaties for justice.

Twice during the summer of 1845, Governor Ford himself went to Nauvoo to investigate these charges against her people; and when he came to deal with the "Mormon troubles" in his message to the legislature that fall, after speaking of the charges made, he said:

> "It was a fact also, that some larcenies and robberies had been committed, and that Mormons had been convicted of the crimes; and that other larcenies had been committed by persons unknown but suspected to be Mormons. Justice, however, requires me to say that I have investigated the charge of promiscuous stealing, and find it to be greatly exaggerated. I could not ascertain that there were a greater proportion of thieves in that community than in any other of the same number of inhabitants, and perhaps if the city of Nauvoo were compared with St. Louis, or any other western city, the proportion would not be so great."[7]

The prejudice, not to say bitterness, of Governor Ford

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6. See *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, p. 774, for action of public meeting.

7. Governor Ford's message is published in full in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* for Jan. 1st, 1845. It is a special message dealing exclusively with "The Disturbances in Hancock County." Much of this message, nearly all of it, in fact, is incorporated in Ford's *History of Illinois*, ch. x.

against the saints would rob his statement of any suspected exaggeration favorable to them.

The deputy sheriff of Hancock county, Joseph A. Kelting, a church member, however, be it admitted, exonerated the "Mormon" people from any participation in the thefts perpetrated in the surrounding country. He testified that stolen property was brought through the country *via* Nauvoo, passed over the river to the Iowa side and taken into the interior, where it was concealed. He also stated that there were some five or six persons in Nauvoo who were assisting in this nefarious business. "But," said he, "they are not 'Mormons,' nor are they fellowshipped by them."[8]

Notwithstanding all this, misrepresentation so far succeeded in prejudicing the minds of the public and the leading men in the state, that in January, 1845, the city charter of Nauvoo and the charter authorizing the organization of the Nauvoo Legion were both repealed, and thus the protecting aegis of a city government was snatched away from her citizens, when most they needed it, and left them exposed to the fury of their enemies.

Legislature Repeal of Nauvoo Charters

Of this act on the part of the state legislature, the state's attorney, Josiah Lamborn, in a letter to Brigham Young, dated at Springfield, Ill., Jan., 1845,[9] said:

"I have always considered that your enemies have been prompted by political and religious prejudices, and by a desire for plunder and blood, more than the common good. By the repeal of your charter, and by refusing all amendments and modifications, our legislature has given a kind of sanction to the barbarous manner in which you have been treated. Your two representatives[10] exerted themselves to the

8. *Times and Seasons*, January 15, 1845. Report in full.

9. The original letter is on file at the Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Box vii, No. 100.

10. These were Almon W. Babbitt, a member of the "Mormon" church and a lawyer; and Jacob B. Backenstos. The latter was a "new comer" into Hancock county; "imported," it is said by Judge Stephen A. Douglas from Sangamon county to take the office of circuit court clerk, which he had held for some time previous to his election to the legislature. (*History of Hancock County.*, Gregg, p. 336). Their speeches against repeal, Babbit two and Backenstos one, were very able. (See *Notes* 1 to 5, inclusive, end of this chapter.)

extent of their ability in your behalf, but the tide of popular passion and frenzy was too strong to be resisted. It is truly a melancholy spectacle to witness the lawmakers of a sovereign state condescending to pander to the vices, ignorance and malevolence of a class of people who are at all times ready for riot, murder and rebellion."

Senator Jacob C. Davis was one among those who had been indicted for the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and of him the attorney-general said:

"Your senator, Jacob C. Davis, has done much to poison the minds of members against anything in your favor. He walks at large in defiance of law an indicted murderer. If a Mormon was in his position, the senate would afford no protection, but he would be dragged forth to jail or the gallows, or be shot down by a cowardly and brutal mob."

Two propositions were before the legislature respecting the Nauvoo charters: one for absolute repeal; the other for the repeal of the supposedly mischievous features. Governor Ford in his special message on Hancock county affairs had recommended the latter action.[11] This view of the matter was also upheld in an able speech in the lower house of the legislature by Mr. Ross, of Fulton county,[12] a non-"Mormon," and was also favored by a few others, but to no purpose; absolute repeal of all the chartered rights of Nauvoo was demanded by the anti-"Mormon" party in the legislature; and upon the question of absolute repeal coming to a vote in the lower house, on the 21st of January, 1845, the repeal act was passed by a vote of 76 to 36; and subsequently it passed the senate by a large majority.[13]

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11. "I see very strong indications on the part of both houses, to make an entire repeal of all these charters. I do not see how ten or twelve thousand people can well do in a city without some chartered privileges. I would advise, that all the obnoxious parts of these charters should be repealed; and an ample provision made against any future abuses of power, thus leaving all the really useful parts of their city charters; and placing them upon grounds of some equality with other citizens. This is republican and cannot be denied without injustice." (Ford's Message to the Illinois Legislature, 1845, closing paragraph, *Nauvoo Neighbor* of January 1st, 1845).

12. The speech is given *in extenso* in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Feb. 19, 1845; see *Note* 5, end of chapter.

13. *History of Hancock County, Gregg*, p. 336. Again I refer to *Notes* from 1 to 5, at the close of this chapter, and urge that attention be given them.

A "City" Without Charters

The repeal of the Nauvoo charters was inimical to the interests of the city, and disintegration of society and a reign of lawlessness must have ensued but for the fact that peace and order was maintained by virtue of the law abiding habits of her citizens, the Latter-day Saints; and the further fact that the church organization operated in lieu of the city government, which led the editor of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* in commenting upon the subject at the close of the annual conference of the church held in April, 1845, to say:

> "One thing further: having no charter with municipal authority to protect the rights of an innocent people, a city of at least twenty thousand people, presented the glorious sight of being protected by the counsel of God; and watched over by the trustworthiness of bishops and deacons."[14]

Of course the action of the legislature in repealing the Nauvoo charters stirred some feelings of resentment among the citizens of Nauvoo; that was inevitable; and some of that resentment was voiced in the editorial utterances of the *Nauvoo Neighbor.*

> "The state of Illinois granted the city of Nauvoo a charter of perpetual succession, and that body had no more right to repeal it than the United States would have to abrogate and make void the Constitution of the state. * * * If the legislature granted a charter of perpetual succession [i. e. to the city] and they had no such power they were a class of knaves in high places: if they had the power, then the legislature that repealed the charter of 'perpetual succession' were a set of licensed robbers, plundering on innocent people with impunity. Each body is welcome to the honor or disgrace, hang upon which horn of the dilemma they please. The act of repealing the Nauvoo charter was an assumption of might not a prerogative of right."

Unfortunately the editorial did not stop at this point, but went on to say that until the blood of Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been atoned by the execution of their murderers, no Latter-day Saint should give himself up to the law, under the presumption that he would be murdered as the Brothers

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14. The *Nauvoo Neighbor*, April 16, 1845.

Smith had been. Nor should civil process "come into Nauvoo," until the wrongs endured by the saints both in Missouri and Illinois had been redressed.

This editorial brought forth very severe criticism by the press of Illinois; especially on the part of the *State Register*, published at Springfield. That paper declared that the editorial in question advocated "resistance to law;" and undoubtedly it did. But while that is true it is also true that the church promptly repudiated responsibility for that editorial in the following number of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*. Under a black display caption, *"A Voice From Nauvoo,"* "a general council of the authorities of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," said:

> "And, whereas, it is reported that certain individuals are trying to raise an excitement on the editorials of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, we, therefore, in behalf of the church we represent, do hereby publish to all men, that as a people and council, we have no knowledge of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* until we read it as do others, and therefore cannot be responsible for it. * * * We do not wish to be brought in collision with our neighbors, and we are determined to abide by the law."[15]

Over the *nom de plume* of "Americus," the editor of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* commented upon the strictures of the *State Register* as follows:

> "The editor of that paper thinks the *Nauvoo Neighbor* advocates resistance to laws. I have not so considered it. But we are surrounded by those who not only advocate that doctrine, but are practicing it all the time: and if we have dipped our pen in their bloody inkstand, we will call for a pen wiper immediately. * * * *It is not the sentiment of the citizens of Nauvoo to resist the law.*"[16]

Capstone of the Temple Laid

In the meantime the twelve apostles, sustained by the saints, put forth every exertion to carry out the designs of their martyred Prophet respecting Nauvoo. Work on the

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15. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, impression of May 8th, 1845.

16. *Ibid*, anti-"Mormon" writers ever since those days have made much of the *Neighbor* editorial (See Linn's *Story of the Mormons*, p. 333), but none make mention of the repudiation of the editorial by the church officials and the practical retraction on the part of the editor himself.

Nauvoo House was hastened, and the walls were growing rapidly under the constant labor of the masons. Work, too, was vigorously prosecuted on the temple.

The following incident pertaining to these days was many years afterwards related by President Brigham Young, for which we are indebted to the *Journal* of Wilford Woodruff, under date of Feb. 8th, 1857:

"President Young preached in the tabernacle followed by H. C. Kimball. In the afternoon at a prayer circle the president spoke of a blank in the *History of the Church,* and related the following: 'A few months after the martyrdom of Joseph the Prophet, in the autumn and winter of 1844 we did much hard labor on the Nauvoo temple, during which time it was difficult to get bread and other provisions for the workmen to eat. I counseled the committee who had charge of the temple funds to deal out all the flour they had, and God would give them more; and they did so; and it was but a short time before Brother Toronto came and brought me twenty-five hundred dollars in gold. The bishop and the committee met, and I met with them; and they said, that the law was to lay the gold at the apostles' feet. Yes, I said and I will lay it at the bishop's feet; so I opened the mouth of the bag and took hold at the bottom end, and gave it a jerk towards the bishop, and strewed the gold across the room and said, now go and buy flour for the workmen on the temple and do not distrust the Lord any more; for we will have what we need."[17]

At the time of President Smith's death the Nauvoo temple was but one story high, yet on the tweny-fourth of May, 1845, eleven months after his martyrdom, *about six o'clock in the morning,* the capstone was laid amid the general rejoicing and shouts of "Hosanna" from the assembled thousands of the saints.

The reason why the capstone of the temple was laid so early in the morning was because the twelve were kept in an enforced semi-seclusion to avoid the officers who sought to serve writs upon them for trumped-up charges against the law, some of the alleged offenses extending back to the *Expositor* case before the death of President Joseph Smith and Hyrum; and some extending back to "Kirtland Bank" affairs.

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17. *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* entry for 8th Feb., 1857. From *Ms. Journal* of Wilford Woodruff, of the above date of entry.

NAUVOO TEMPLE

Writs were out for about twenty of the brethren on this Kirtland debt, President Young among the number. Taylor's *Journal* account of the laying of the capstone of the temple is interesting:

"On the morning of Saturday, May 24th, 1845, we repaired to the temple with great secrecy, for the purpose of laying the [cap] stone. There were but few that knew about it, [but] the band playing on the walls, and the people hearing it, hurried up. About six o'clock a. m., the brethren being assembled, we proceeded to lay the stone; at a quarter past six the stone was laid; after which Brother Young prayed, his voice being heard distinctly, by the congregation below; and the congregation shouted 'Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna to God and the Lamb, Amen and Amen!' Brother Kay sung a song, composed for the occasion by W. W. Phelps, called 'The Capstone.' Although there were several officers watching for us to take us, yet we escaped without their knowledge; when the singing commenced we left unnoticed, and they had not an opportunity of seeing us."[18]

As President Brigham Young finished laying the capstone he then stood upon it and said:

" 'The last stone is laid upon the temple, and I pray the Almighty in the name of Jesus to defend us in this place, and sustain us until the temple is finished and we have all got our endowments.'

The whole congregation then following the motion of President Young and shouted as loud as possible: 'Hosanna! Hosanna! Hosanna! to God and the Lamb! Amen! Amen! and Amen!'

'So let it be, thou Almighty God,' solemnly concluded President Young."[19]

Thus the world began to understand that "Mormonism" was not born to die with its first Prophet. And it began to be whispered that the Prophet Joseph dead was even more potent than when living. His testimony had been sealed with his blood, and it gave to his life and his labors an additional sanctity in the eyes of his followers, as well as making his testimony more binding upon the world.

Renewal of Mob Violence

Seeing then the continued prosperity of Nauvoo and her

18. *Taylor's Journal, Ms.*, entry of May 24th, 1845.
19. *Wm Clayton's Journal*, May 24, 1845. Also *Times and Seasons*, June 1st, 1845.

citizens, the people in the immediate vicinity and in the surrounding counties again commenced hostilities, if, indeed, it may be said that they had ever ceased from them. Early in September, 1845, mobbing the scattered families of the saints began in earnest. A meeting was held by anti-"Mormons" near what was called the "Morley Settlement,"[20] to devise means of getting rid of the saints settled there. During the meeting guns were fired at the house where it was being held, and the assault charged upon the saints, though it was done by some of the mob's own party—that they might have an excuse for their meditated acts of violence upon the people of Nauvoo. Such was the general belief at the time; and Governor Ford in his *History of Illinois,* speaking of this circumstance, says:

> "In the fall of 1845, the anti-Mormons of Lima and Green Plains, held a meeting to devise means for the expulsion of the Mormons from their neighborhood. They appointed some persons of their own number to fire a few shots at the house where they were assembled; but to do it in such a way as to hurt none who attended the meeting. The meeting was held, the house was fired at, but so as to hurt no one; and the anti-Mormons suddenly breaking up their meeting, rode all over the country spreading the dire alarm, that the Mormons had commenced the work of massacre and death."[21]

An attack was made upon the Morley Settlement, and on the eleventh of the month—September, 1845—though the burnings began on the 10th,[22] twenty-nine houses were burned down, while their occupants were driven into the

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20. The Morley Settlement was situated in Lima township, Adams county, just over the south line of Hancock county, and about 25 miles due south of Nauvoo. It is a neighborhood where quite a number of saints resided in 1839 to 1846. Most of these at the Morley Settlement, however, located northeast of Lima, in the extreme south end of Hancock county, in what is now Walker township, on and around a townsite which they had surveyed and named Yelrome. (*Historical Record,* Jenson, Index, Morley Settlement).

21. Ford's *History of Illinois,* p. 406. The historian of Hancock county, Gregg, p. 341, says: "It is proper to state that the Mormons and their friends have charged the firing on the schoolhouse of Green Plains to have been a sham previously arranged by the mobbers to create a sympathy in their favor. This has been denied; whether true or not, we do not know." It will be observed that Gregg makes no mention of the fact that Ford in his *History of Illinois,* also makes the charge that members of the mob fired upon their own meeting.

22. *John Taylor's Journal,* entry of 11th of September, 1845.

bushes, where men, women, and children laid drenched with rain through the night, anxiously awaiting the breaking of day.

Speaking of this outrage, the editor of the *Quincy Whig,* Mr. Bartlett, said:

"Seriously, these outrages should be put a stop to at once; if the Mormons have been guilty of crime, why punish them; but do not visit their sins upon defenseless women and children. This is as bad as the savages. * * * It is feared that this rising against the Mormons is not confined to the Morley Settlement, but that there is an understanding among the 'anties'[23] in the northern part of this (Adams) and Hancock counties to make a general sweep, burning and destroying the property of the Mormons wherever it can be found. If this is the case, there will be employment for the executive of the state, and that soon. * * * Still later news from above [referring to Hancock county] was received late on Monday night. The outrages were still continued. The flouring mill, carding machine, etc., of Norman Buel, a Mormon, one mile and a half west of Lima is now a heap of ashes. Colonel Levi Williams, of Green Plains has ordered out his brigade, it is said, to aid the anti-Mormons. The anti-Mormons from Schuyler [county] and the adjoining counties, are flocking in and great distress of life and property may be expected. Heaven only knows where these proceedings will end. It is time the strong arm of power was extended to quell them."

This was the last utterance of Mr. S. M. Bartlett, editor of the *Quincy Whig,* on this side of the question. By the time the next week's issue of his paper was due he had attended an anti-"Mormon" meeting and went over to the other side—to the side of mobocracy; all of which led Mr. Josiah B. Conyers, M. D., (a non-"Mormon") to say in his *Brief History of the Hancock County Mob,* 1846, that in the above comment on the outrageous acts of the mob, the editor in the *Quincy Whig* had spoken like himself:

"The remarks Mr. Bartlett here makes in connection with the account given of the house burnings, were such as truly comported with the dignity and candor of a respectable editor of the press. He here spoke himself, and spoke in behalf of humanity and the law. He here spoke out boldly, that violence was resorted to, and that helpless women and children were thrown out into a storm; 'and,' said he, 'seriously,

23. Meaning anti-"Mormons."

these outrages should be put a stop to at once;' that 'it was as bad as the savages;' and called on 'the strong arm of power to quell them.' We repeat, again, that S. M. Bartlett here spoke himself, uninfluenced by the demagogues of the day. He spoke as a philanthropist and patriot; and had he been left to himself, in all probability he would never have appealed to any other power than the strong arm of law; and our beloved country would have been saved from the deep and damnable disgrace of banishing from our land, by mob violence, innocent women and children. But here this unfortunate editor took leave of his senses on this subject—never more to return. He fell into the hands of professed friends, to become their organ of mob violence; * * * In our opinion Mr. Bartlett will ever have just cause to regret, to the latest day of his existence, that he stooped from the proud and high toned dignity, put forth in the above article, to become the organ of a foul and unprincipled mob."[24]

The Deming-Marshall Tragedy

In the midst of the exciting scenes which followed, the sheriff of Hancock county, Mr. J. B. Backenstos, proved himself a friend to law and order. This was the Mr. Backenstos who had represented Hancock county in the lower branch of the Illinois legislature, and who had defended the people of Nauvoo so fearlessly. He had been elected sheriff to succeed Minor R. Deming in August. Mr. Deming unfortunately, on the 24th of June, had engaged in an altercation with Dr. Samuel Marshall, county clerk of Hancock county. The cause of the trouble was never clearly ascertained, but it is supposed to have been "in regard to some mistake in official business."[25] In the struggle that took place between the two men, Deming shot Marshall, killing him instantly. The case at Deming's request, was at once brought before a grand jury, and an indictment was found, but Deming was admitted to bail in the sum of $5,000.[26] Though the quarrel of these two county officials had nothing to do with affairs at Nauvoo, yet because one—Deming—was pro-"Mormon" in sentiment, and Dr. Marshall, anti-"Mormon," the case is usually

24. *Brief History of the Hancock County Mob*, Josiah B. Conyers, pp. 5, 6.
25. See Gregg's *History of Hancock County*, p. 339.
26. Deming was never brought to trial. "He was stricken with congestive fever no doubt brought on or aggravated by excitement, and he died on the tenth of September and was buried at Quincy." (*History of Hancock County*, p. 339).

mentioned in connection with "Mormon" history. Mr. Deming immediately resigned his office as sheriff; and in the special election held in August, Mr. Backenstos was elected to fill the unexpired term by a vote of 2,334 as against 750 votes cast for John Scott an anti-"Mormon."

Mr. Backenstos did all in his power to arrest the spread of violence and called upon all law-abiding citizens to act as a *posse comitatus,* but announced it as his opinion that the citizens of Nauvoo had better take no part in suppressing the mob-violence, since that might lead to a civil war. At the same time he told the people of Hancock county that "The Mormon community had acted with more than ordinary forbearance, remaining perfectly quiet, and offering no resistance when their dwellings, their buildings, stacks of grain, etc., were set on fire in their presence. They had forborne until forbearance was no longer a virtue."

It would almost seem past belief that this statement of "non-resistence" of their enemies could be true; and yet it is confirmed by the evidence of anti-"Mormon" witnesses. Mr. Gregg, both in his *Prophet of Palmyra* and in his *History of Hancock County,* 1880, confirms it. In the second work mentioned above (p. 374), speaking of the manner in which the burnings were carried on in the Morley Settlement, he says:

> "From a very respectable old gentleman (now deceased), who was a witness of some of the house-burning operations in the fall of 1845, we have the following statement received from him verbally, during the last year (1880). He says that for such lawless and outrageous acts, they were done in such a quiet and orderly manner as to be astonishing. He resided not far from some of the houses that were burned; and hearing what was going on he mounted his horse and rode to where the work was in progress. * * * The manner was to go to a house and warn the inmates out, that they were going to burn it. Usually there would be no show of resistance; but all hands, burners and all, would proceed to take out the goods and place them out of danger. When the goods were all securely removed, the torch would be applied and the house consumed. Then on to another."

Policy of Non-Resistance at Morley Settlement

As a matter of fact the brethren at Morley Settlement, after the first few cases of burning, acted under instructions from the twelve at Nauvoo. In his journal under date of September 11th,—the burnings began on the 10th—Elder John Taylor, after noting the arrival of the news of the burnings, says:

"We (the twelve) held a council and thought it advisable, as we were going west in the spring, to keep all things as quiet as possible and not resent anything. Thinking by these pacific measures that they would be likely not to molest us; and to show the surrounding country that we were orderly disposed people and desirous of keeping the peace. It was also counseled that the brethren from the surrounding settlements should come into Nauvoo with their grain. After the trouble we had had to finish the temple to get our endowments, we thought it of more importance than to squabble with the mob about property, seeing that the houses were not of much importance and no lives were lost!"

It should be remembered that this was said when the first few cases of house-burning was reported. Later the matter took on a more serious aspect, and under date of September 13th, Elder Taylor makes this entry in his journal:

"A number of the brethren were rendered houseless and homeless by a few reckless desperadoes in consequence of their adherence to the gospel. What rendered it more trying for them was that they had it in their power to destroy their persecutors, and yet in consequence of our counsel endured it patiently, and looked tamely on to see their houses and property destroyed for the gospel and the kingdom of heaven's sake; they are good and faithful men or they would not have done it."[27]

Heroic Stand of Sheriff Jacob Backenstos of Hancock County

The sheriff's appeal to citizens outside of Nauvoo for a *posse* to suppress mob violence was all in vain, none responded; and as the house-burning continued, he perforce, had to call upon the citizens of Nauvoo to suppress it. From

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27. *Taylor's Journal, Ms.*, Sept. 13th, 1845, p. 123.

these he formed a *posse comitatus* and by vigorous measures dispersed the rioters, and soon had the situation well in hand.

His efforts had so far succeeded that in a Proclamation issued on the 20th of September he said:

"Since firing upon the mob at Bear Creek on the 16th instant, [they were in the act of burning houses, two were killed and others were wounded], there has been no burning of any houses, barns, grain stacks, nor anything else, that has come to my knowledge. The mobbers, rioters, and other outlaws, have principally fled without the limits of this county. Peace and quiet, law and order have been restored in Hancock county,

Therefore, I, Jacob Backenstos, sheriff of Hancock county, hereby proclaim the county of Hancock in peace; that the rioters have dispersed and gone to their homes, or fled this county and state. Let all good citizens who were expelled by the mobbers, from their homes, and those who fled from the county for security against mob violence, return to their homes, they shall be protected. I have an armed force stationed in the courthouse at Carthage for the protection of the officers of the county, who are compelled by law to reside at the county seat, and for the protection of all persons having business at, or who may desire to visit Carthage and the surrounding country. I have a number of small scouting parties reconnoitering the county to keep peace and protect the settlements, and make arrests of those that are known to be guilty of riot, in whose hands writs have been placed. I desire that the citizens will aid them in ferreting them out, that they may be arrested and brought to justice."

And on the 25th of the same month he said in another Proclamation:

"There seems to be a continuance of peace throughout Hancock county. There has been no burning of houses or other property since a party of my *posse* pursued the mob and fired upon them. In my last proclamation I stated that the mobbers had fled the country; as yet they have not returned; they are brawling about the adjoining counties, state of Missouri, and Iowa territory, circulating all kinds of falsehoods and misrepresentations, for the purpose of getting aid, in order to recommence burning and mobbing, etc. As yet they have not been able to raise any considerable force to march into Hancock under arms, against the Constitution and the law."

The course of the anti-"Mormons" at Carthage, however, had been such that Chauncy Robinson, postmaster and county recorder was compelled to flee from the place with his family; so did Captain Rose, treasurer and assessor

of the county. The sheriff's (Mr. Backenstos') home was surrounded, admittance for the purpose of searching it demanded, and Mrs. Backenstos was informed that her husband must leave the county "under the penalty of consequences which meant death," says Mr. Backenstos.[28] In consequence of these conditions prevailing the sheriff took possession of the courthouse at Carthage and stationed a company of his *posse* there, promising protection to all classes of its citizens, and the force remained at Carthage until the sheriff was relieved by a *posse* under military officers appointed by the governor.

Naturally the success of the sheriff gave great satisfaction to the citizens of Nauvoo; and the editor of the *Neighbor* heartily congratulated him in the following editorial utterance:

> "We feel it our duty to say that Sheriff Backenstos is entitled to the highest encomium of every American patriot, for the prompt and energetic measures, and his unceasing vigilance, which so successfully put to flight the blood-thirsty, pestilential, and property-wasting mob of Hancock county, and vicinity."

Even the *State Register,* so strongly anti-"Mormon," published at Springfield said: "Sheriff Backenstos deserves great credit for his exertion in quelling the mob of Hancock county."[29] Still this victory of an officer honestly seeking to bring peace to the community was not to be used in visiting retaliation in kind upon the rioters. Their offenses were merely to be laid open to the law. In the same editorial in which the course of Mr. Backenstos was praised, the editor of the *Neighbor* said:

> "Let every sufferer and every honest man be ready with precepts when one of the rioters or burners is recognized, to take him and hand him over to the law, that he may receive his reward. *But let no man attempt to settle his own claims. Magnify the law.*"[30]

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28. Proclamation II, published in *Nauvoo Neighbor* of 17th of September.
29. Quoted by the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* Oct. 1st, 1845.
30. The *Neighbor,* Sept. 24, 1845.

On visiting Warsaw on the 16th of September friends warned Sheriff Backenstos of plotters against his life in that place and advised him to conceal himself from them. Deeming this incompatible with his duties as a public officer, Mr. Backenstos left Warsaw accompanied by a friend in his buggy, but on reaching the open prairie, he continued alone towards Nauvoo. Some distance further on he saw eastward of him on the Carthage road a body of about twenty mounted men, also a buggy and wagon, evidently *en route* for Warsaw. A detachment of four men left the main body with the intention, it would appear, of intercepting him; and when he whipped up his horse to avoid them, they then pursued him, the chase continuing for two miles. At this point Sheriff Backenstos overtook three men with teams *en route* for Nauvoo whom he summoned as a *posse* to aid him in resisting his pursuers. The sheriff himself took a position in the road pistol in hand and shouted to the approaching horsemen to halt. Instead of doing so one of the horsemen raised his gun either to intimidate or shoot the sheriff, when one of the newly drafted *posse* fired upon and killed him. The fallen man, who died before his party could reach Warsaw with him, was Frank A. Worrell who was in charge of the guard of Carthage Greys at the prison when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered.

Gregg, in his *History of Hancock County,* gives a different version of this incident, claiming that the purpose of the horsemen who followed the sheriff was merely to get information about the burnings and riots; and that neither Worrell nor any of his associates had made any demonstration of violence.[31] Gregg also claims that the whole Worrell party numbered but nine; that they were *en route* for Warsaw "to ascertain the facts as to the disturbances at Green Plains," south of Warsaw, in Walker township; and that the two-horse wagon contained the arms of the party.[32] The char-

31. See *History of Hancock County,* p. 340.
32. *Ibid,* pp. 340-341.

acter of Worrell, however, as a bitter anti-"Mormon," the part he took in the murder of the Smith brothers, the fact that after he and his party failed to intercept the sheriff they gave chase to him for two miles, will scarcely stand against Sheriff Backenstos' account of the affair given publicly in his Proclamation No. II, which appeared in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of 17th of September, the day following the killing of Worrell. Sheriff Backenstos issued five official proclamations in all between the 10th of September and the 25th of the same month.[33]

Subsequently Sheriff Backenstos and Orrin P. Rockwell were indicted and later placed on trial for the "murder" of Worrell; the sheriff at Peoria, and Rockwell at Galena, each having taken a change of venue; both were acquitted.

Gregg says concerning the killing of Worrell: "Who was the actually guilty party may never be known."[34] There certainly was no occasion for keeping the matter secret, since the killing was altogether justifiable, under the circumstances, and it became a matter of common knowledge both in Nauvoo and Utah that it was Orrin Porter Rockwell—acting under orders of Sheriff Backenstos—and John Redder, who saved the officer's life.[35]

While Backenstos was rapidly bringing the affairs of Hancock county into order, he of necessity was doing it by a "Mormon" *posse comitatus,* since no other citizens would respond to his call for aid, although most earnestly appealed to by the sheriff. It was held by the anti-"Mormon" part of the community that the sheriff was carrying affairs with a very high hand, which called for executive interference. Accordingly Governor Ford sent a detachment of four hundred

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33. They are published in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* in the impressions of that paper of the 10th, 17th and 24th of September, respectively, and the 1st of October. They constitute important historical documents for the period they cover. They are also published in *Millennial Star,* vol. vi, No. 12; and because of their unique historical value are reproduced in the *Notes* at the end of this chapter.

34. *History of Hancock County,* p. 341.

35. See *Historical Record,* Jenson, pp. 814-5; also Cannon's History of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor,* vol. xvii, p. 68.

militia into Hancock county under command of General John J. Hardin, who was accompanied by J. A. McDougal, attorney general of the state, and also by Judge Stephen A. Douglas and Major W. B. Warren as advisors.[36] When Sheriff Backenstos first received the news of the governor's action to supercede him in the control of affairs in Hancock county by General Hardin's military *posse,* he gave it no credence, and in his 5th proclamation declared the alleged action of Governor Ford to be "a forgery or fraud," so sure was he of the governor's support in his procedure to suppress the riots in Hancock county. The governor's action in superceding the sheriff, however, (in which act also he superceded the civil by the military authority) was a reality; that part of the sheriff's *posse* stationed at Carthage was dismissed and sent to their homes, and thereafter but little is heard of Mr. Backenstos in the affairs of Hancock county, as civil government was now abdicated in that county until after the expulsion of the saints from Nauvoo.

After his activity in the suppression of mob violence, which threw him into the attitude of defending and protecting the Latter-day Saints, residence for Sheriff Backenstos in Hancock county was of course out of the question. He therefore sought other scenes of activity; according to Gregg he obtained an appointment through Congressman Hoge to an office in the lead mines, and later was made captain in the forces sent against Mexico.[37]

Notes

1. Babbitt's First Speech Against the Repeal of the Nauvoo Charters

Mr. Babbitt's first speech was a plea for justice for the "Mormon" leaders and people, in the course of which he said:

"Did the 'Mormons' ever resist the execution of the law? If in

36. See *History of Hancock County,* Gregg, pp. 341-2.
37. *History of Hancock County,* p. 336.

some instances they resorted to unjustifiable subterfuges[38] to keep out of the hands of their prosecutors, it was but to escape a certain and summary death, with which they had been publicly threatened. What had they to expect from men who openly avowed their nefarious designs and even said they had their bullets run for twelve months for the express purpose of shooting 'Mormons,' if they did not leave their possessions and their homes, and take refuge with the Indians in the recesses of the Rocky Mountains, or in the wilds of the west?

I say would any man be expected to go to Carthage under such circumstances, when he had nothing to expect but an unrelenting persecution and a violent death? Among men who acknowledge no law, would not obey the commands of the executive of our state, and said in derision of his power, 'we have no governor, he is a Mormon governor?' "

In concluding he said:

"Other cities had transcended their chartered rights as well as Nauvoo, even in the city of Springfield a public lecturer has been fined by the common council for daring to lecture upon science without a license; had this been done in the city, and under the authorities of ill-fated Nauvoo, the cry would have gone out, and unmerited censure heaped upon the 'Mormons.' Be just then, regard the principles of equal rights, and deal out to the citizens of every portion of our state even-handed justice, forget not your duties in the madness of prejudice. If the privileges of the Nauvoo charter are too extensive, if it grants power exceptionable, repeal those provisions, and leave them in possession of their just rights."[39]

2. Babbitt's Second Speech

In his second speech Mr. Babbitt grew bolder in the defense of his constituents, concerning the destruction of the *Expositor* press he said:

"The destruction of a press in Nauvoo was sounded as the token of alarm to awaken the people to a sense of apparent danger from 'Mormon' violence. Sir, I do not wish to palliate the offense, but is that the only press that has been destroyed? The very first one to my knowledge was a 'Mormon' press in the state of Missouri; they were first sufferers then, and why was it not trumpeted to the ends of the earth—made the subject of public investigation, and visited by the work of legislative condemnation? Presses have been destroyed in our own state, and passed unnoticed by the public. Mr. Speaker, why are these

38. This doubtless had reference to the use of the *habeas corpus* powers of the city of Nauvoo, by invoking those powers in cases other than those arising under city ordinances; and also to the assumed "right" of a prisoner personally to determine, if not what justice he will consent to appear before, at least determine that he will *not* appear before the one issuing the writ, because by doing so his life would be put in jeopardy.

39. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Jan. 29, 1843.

invidious distinctions made? Disguise it as we may, make such imputations as we please, charge it upon this or upon that, it is but the base and unhallowed spirit of religious intolerance, and the workings of unsatisfied political ambition. The press in Nauvoo was established for political purposes by the Whigs, who even made propositions to divide our representation upon this floor, which being refused them, they commenced a tirade of abuse, made their press obnoxious, and detrimental to the best interests of that people, who by their city authorities declared it a public nuisance and ordered it to be abated, which was done. If contrary to law, an action of trespass might have been sustained and a remedy found in courts of law—but instead of that a hue and cry commenced—a mob was raised—violence threatened —warnings sent out—and the surrounding country excited by rumors and false reports, which fanned by the constant breeze of prejudice resulted in the difficulties and disgraceful scenes which occurred in Hancock county.

Mr. Speaker, why this continued opposition? Why are we brought up here to be the object of vindictive legislation, when the very cause of all complaint is removed? It was Joseph Smith the Prophet of the 'Mormon' people who was alleged to be the sole cause of all difficulties. He is no more—they have wreaked their vengeance upon his head—they have murdered him. And must it now be, as in olden times, because the fathers have eaten sour grapes the children's teeth are set on edge?"

3. Of the Rise and Prosperity of Nauvoo

Of Nauvoo and her people Mr. Babbitt said:

"Perhaps he [Mr. Logan of Sangamon county][40] does not know that Nauvoo is on the Mississippi river—that a large and respectable city has sprung up in four years containing about 12,000 inhabitants—that farms have been improved and made productive—that manufactories have been commenced—a rich and growing trade encouraged, and wealth increased by the rapid development of the national resources of our country. Perhaps he does not know that the 'Mormon' citizens of our state are engaged in the common associations of life—that they like other men—are honest and industrious in their pursuit after happiness and wealth. Yet sir, his ignorance of the fact, makes it no less true. For increase of population and advancement in wealth, the 'Mormon' city of Nauvoo is without a parallel in the annals of our country. It has become the object of universal notice and admiration. It has excited the curiosity of the civilized world."[41]

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40. This passage in Mr. Babbitt's remarks is preceded by the following characterization of Mr. Logan's speech: "He [Logan] assails their [the 'Mormons'] church, he abused their Prophet, he falsified their doctrines, charged them with every crime, and endeavored to blacken with infamy and disgrace the character of innocent persons, on account of their religion. Notwithstanding his loud protestation against the spirit of prejudice and intolerance, they were most manifest in his speech."

41. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, March 5th, 1845.

4. Backenstos' Speech—Charges Against the Anti-"Mormons" of Illinois

Mr. Backenstos in his speech against the repeal of the Nauvoo charters boldly arraigned the anti-"Mormons" of Illinois in such manner as to create against him a very bitter feeling. So little has been said upon that side of the subject, however, that it is proper to give the statement that was made upon the floor of the lower house of the Illinois legislature.

"*Mr. Speaker,* inasmuch as the gentlemen on the other side of the question have been charging all manner of crimes against the Mormons, they have [been] indiscriminately impeached, indicted, and found guilty of every possible crime known to our laws—such have been the declarations of gentlemen upon this floor. All the disturbances in Hancock [county] have been packed upon the Mormons. This is not only untrue and unjust, but it is also calculated to mislead the public mind; one general impeachment has been made against the Mormons. Now sir, I have drawn up an impeachment with specifications against these self-styled 'law-abiding anti-Mormons.' I do not design to say anything which is not susceptible of the clearest proof; in the first place, I will state that the enemies of the citizens of Nauvoo formed a conspiracy to provoke them into an outbreak." [Here Mr. Backenstos made sundry charges of crimes and misdemeanors against the anti-"Mormons" as follows]:

"I charge them of having called public meetings and loudly and strongly threaten the extermination of the Mormon population, and of all those who would not join in their wicked schemes.

I charge them with having reported that their property was stolen by Mormons, when there was not the slightest evidence to that effect.

I charge them with having torn down the dwelling of a peaceable citizen, because he would not join them in their crusade against the Mormons, and [of having] driven him and his family from their homes.

I charge them with having driven from the county seat of Hancock [county], peaceable and quiet citizens, some of whom were amongst the first settlers of that county, charged with no other crime, and guilty of no other offense, than that they were Mormons.

I charge them with having threatened and resisted the sheriff and his deputy, when acting under and by authority of law.

I charge them with openly resisting a constable when in the lawful discharge of his official duty, by assembling an armed force, and at the point of the bayonet preventing the arrest of a man charged with crime.

I charge them with having posted upon the doors of the dwellings of peaceable and unoffending families at the hour of midnight, written notices warning them to leave their home in a given time, threatening them with vengeance and destruction if they did not comply; filling even the hearts of men with consternation and dismay, and distracting defenseless women and children.

I charge them with having made base and false representations to

his excellency Governor Ford, through some of their safety committees, and of endeavoring to inflame the public mind with the free circulation of falsehoods.

I charge them with having sent emissaries to the state of Missouri, to procure aid to carry out their base and wicked designs.

I charge them with having undertaken to revoke a contract through one of their kind committees, between one of the first settlers and a peaceable quiet Mormon.

I charge them with having assembled with dirks, pistols, bowie-knives, and clubs, to intimidate and resist the county commissioners' court of Hancock, when in due exercise of their public functions.

I charge them with having called out the militia of the neighboring counties in the name of the governor and commander-in-chief without his authority or consent.

I charge them with having leveled their cannon and fired their muskets into steamboats, when on their way up the great Mississippi river, compelling them to land at the town of Warsaw, there to be detained to undergo a search.

I charge them with having hanged our governor in "effigy" because he would not join them in their oppression of the Mormons.

I charge them with having committed murder without a parallel for its atrocity and cowardice in the annals of American history.[42]

Mr. Speaker, these are crimes and misdemeanors, which I charge upon the anti-Mormons in and about Hancock county; and sir, these charges are substantially true, and I defy anyone to controvert them; they are susceptible of proof and cannot be denied; those outrages which I have enumerated have been committed by that portion of the anti-Mormon party, which we might well denominate as 'the mob portion;' there are many who style themselves anti-Mormons, yet at the same time they look upon this mob action with alarm and indignation. Then, sir, if you are in search of crimes and criminals in Hancock county, you need not go amongst the Mormons, for you will find them as thick as hail amongst that very class of citizens who style themselves anti-Mormons, who are asking this legislature to repeal the Nauvoo city charters in order more successfully to oppress that people and drive them from our state. Do the citizens in the surrounding counties of Hancock ask or petition for the repeal of the Mormon charters, as some are pleased to term them? Does your table groan under the petitions which have come up from the people praying for unconditional repeal of the city charter of Nauvoo? No; not a single petition has made its appearance. No voice has been heard demanding this hasty action. It would be regarded as an act of oppression unprecedented in this country and without parallel in the history of legislation, to repeal a city charter, against the known and expressed will and wishes of the people who reside under the operation of the

42. The murder of the Smith brothers.

chartered privileges. If the charter is repealed it will be regarded, and I fear too truly, the legitimate offspring of religious persecutions."[43]

5. Speech of Mr. Ross, of Fulton County—Non-"Mormon"—Against the Repeal of the Nauvoo Charters

The value of the speech of Mr. Ross as an historical document seems to have been overlooked both by "Mormon" and fair-minded non-"Mormon" writers, as nowhere is it referred to by either class, and of course the anti-"Mormon" writers would find nothing in his utterances that would give them or their cause aid or comfort. Mr. Ross' speech was against absolute repeal of the Nauvoo charters and in favor of either so amending the existing charters as to take away its alleged mischievous features, or enacting for the city a modifical charter which would reserve for the city the necessary powers for a normal city government.

(a) *Personal Attitude of Mr. Ross Towards the "Mormons" and their Faith*: "With the Mormons, as a people, I am no way connected, I have nothing to expect from them in a political point of view; they constitute no part of my constituency. And as for their religion, I hold it in utter diregard, and think it one of the shallowest devices, which for centuries past has been imposed upon the intelligence of christendom."

(b) *Would Do Justice in Order Not to Aid "Mormonism" by Persecution*: "Another reason, Mr. Speaker, why I am opposed to the unconditional repeal, but in favor of the amendments to the bill granting them a modified charter, is, that I believe Mormonism is a shallow device, and the history of all ages goes to prove that persecution will ever increase religious fanaticism. Some men may say, and honestly think, the passage of this bill will not be persecution; but sir, it will go before the world under no other color. It will be received by all christendom as an act of religious intolerance. Sympathy will be aroused, and by its willing influence bring thousands to their standard."

(c) *Too Much Credence Should Not be Given to Charges Against the "Mormon" Leaders*: "A tirade of abuse has been heaped upon the Mormon leaders. It is easy to make attacks and prefer charges against any man or set of men who occupy a considerable station in the community. But sir, it is no part of my nature to endeavor to traduce and blacken the character of any individual, neither is it just or generous to make distinctions or give preferences upon the grounds urged against that people; we should recollect they are a part and portion of our common state; just as much entitled to the privileges of our institutions, and the protection of our laws as any other. Too much credit should not be given to the stories and reports so rife in this community. They originated in excitement, and have teemed upon our public journals; *many of them are without foundation in truth, and not*

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43. Spoken in open session of the Illinois legislature and printed in the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, March 12, 1845.

worthy even a serious consideration in truth, and should not for one moment be entertained by this house to influence their action upon the subject matter of this debate."

(d) *Reasons for Opposing Absolute Repeal*: "I will give some of the reasons why I am of the opinion the bill should not pass, repealing unconditionally the charter of Nauvoo. One of which is, by so doing we shall take part in and prejudice the judicial proceedings now pending in Hancock county [i. e. the trial of the accused murderers of the Smith brothers]. Cases have been brought into existence by the difficulties there, men have been arrested, and stand charged with crime of murder, who look with more anxiety, and depend more upon the action of the house than they do upon legal proceedings, or the justice of their cause. *By repealing that charter, we throw the mantle of public sanction over their acts of violence, screen them from the just punishment of their crimes, and give our legislative endorsement to murder of the deepest and darkest hue.*

And upon what information are we called to act in this matter? Is it from vague rumors or reports which have circulated throughout the length and breadth of our state? Do not gentlemen know that they originated in excitement, and were borne out upon the wings of scandal against that people? *Prejudice kindled and enlivened the coals of calumny, passion fanned them to flame, and the Mormons have been the victims of the devouring elements.*

Is it from information from the executive, who was forced to visit the scenes, to maintain inviolate public peace and who is conversant with the facts, and knows full well the history of the Hancock difficulties? What does all information go to prove? He tells us the Mormons were not the sole offenders, but that there was an attempt made to drive and exterminate them from the state.

The gentleman from Macon [Mr. Benedict] has been pleased to say, that the governor's message, in relation to 'military encampments' and 'wolf hunts' are all an 'idle tale,' but I think sir, this house will bear me out when I say it is an able, impartial document, and worthy of our confidence and respectful consideration. Does he recommend the unconditional repeal of their charter? No sir, but of its modification."

(e) *On the Destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor*: "We are told that the citizens of Nauvoo destroyed a press, and in this country where freedom of speech and liberty of the press are held sacred, it is not strange that our feelings of indignation should be aroused at such a gross outrage upon the rights of any people. That, however, was not the only press that has been destroyed in our state. Two were destroyed in the city of Alton,[44] and the owner put to death for pro-

44. Mr. Ross here refers to the destruction of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy's presses at Alton in 1837; and, by the way, there were three presses destroyed by the mob throwing them into the Mississippi (See Ford's *History of Illinois*, chapter viii). As a side light upon the spirit of the people of Illinois in those days with reference to mob proceedings, the statement of Governor Ford in regard to the settlement of this Lovejoy affair is interesting. He says: "After the violence

mulgating his doctrines of political economy, and did any proposition come up here for the repeal of their city charter in consequence of that act? An attack has been made here in this town of Springfield upon a printing office on account of political differences, and yet the legislature did not vent their spleen upon its act of incorporation.

They seek and single out one city to punish the crimes for which others go free. Excitements will sometimes arise, and the rage of heated passions rise above all law; but this to my mind is no reason why laws should be abolished."

(f) *A Plea for Justice*: "Mr. Speaker, so far as my constituents are concerned, they do not wish me to act the cringing slave to any religious denomination for political or any other purposes, but are willing to extend equal rights and privileges to all. They ask nothing for themselves but what is just and right, and will grant to others all that is reasonable. I do hope, sir, we may be candid, and act with deliberation upon this matter. Remove preconceived prejudices from our minds and deal out evenhanded justice to all."[45]

6. The Five Official Proclamations of J. B. Backenstos, Sheriff of Hancock County, September, 1845

The historical value of these official proclamations is such, as showing forth the condition of things on the eve of the departure of the Latter-day Saints from Nauvoo, and the spirit of those lawless conditions, that it is thought proper to publish the proclamations in full, that they may be available for all time to come as undoubted testimonies of an official character of the abdication of government in the state of Illinois, so far as affecting the Latter-day Saints was concerned. It is no marvel that the saints fled from such conditions as are represented in these proclamations. And when men ask how it is the Latter-day Saints have not been able to live in peace with their neighbors in Ohio, Missouri and Illinois, let them also ask, how can a people settle themselves to acceptance of such conditions as these official proclamations disclose?

No. I

To The Citizens of Hancock County

Whereas, a mob of from one to two hundred men under arms, have gathered themselves together in the S. W. part of Hancock county, and are at this time destroying the dwellings and other buildings, stacks of

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of feeling somewhat subsided, both parties were indicted for their crimes arising out of these transactions [the destruction of the presses, and the killing of Mr. Lovejoy, and one of the opposite party]; and were all acquitted; *making it a matter of record that in fact the abolitionists had not provoked an assault; that there had been no mob; and that no one had been killed or wounded.*" (!) (Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 245).

45. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Feb. 19, 1845.

grain and other property, of a portion of our citizens, and in the most inhuman manner compelling defenceless children and women to rise from their sick beds, and exposing them to the rays of the parching sun, there to lie and suffer, without the aid and assistance of a friendly hand to minister to their wants in their suffering condition.

The riotous spare not the widow nor the orphan; and while I am writing this proclamation, the smoke is rising to the clouds, and the flames are devouring four buildings which have been just set on fire by the rioters. Thousands of dollars worth of property have already been consumed; an entire settlement of about sixty or seventy families laid waste, the inhabitants thereof fired upon, narrowly escaping with their lives, and forced to flee before the mob.

By the revised laws of our state, under the criminal code, sixth division, 58 section, page 181, the crime of arson is defined as follows:—Every person who shall wilfully and maliciously burn, or cause to be burned, any dwelling house, kitchen, office, shop, barn, stable, storehouse, &c. shall be deemed guilty of arson, and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term not less than one year, nor more than ten years; and should the life or lives of any person be lost in consequence of any such burning aforesaid, such offender shall be guilty of murder, and shall be indicted and punished accordingly.

And, whereas, the laws of this state makes it my duty as a peace officer of this county to suppress all riots, routs, &c., &c., and all other crimes,

Therefore, I, Jacob B. Backenstos, sheriff of the county of Hancock, and state of Illinois, in the name of the people of the said state, and by the authority vested in me by virtue of my office, hereby solemnly command the said rioters and other peace-breakers to desist forthwith, disperse, and go to their homes, under the penalty of the laws. And I hereby call upon all the law-abiding citizens as a *posse commitatus* of Hancock county, to give their united aid in suppressing the riotous and in maintaining the supremacy of the laws.

J. B. BACKENSTOS, Sheriff of Hancock County, Illinois.

P. S. It is a part of my policy that the citizens of Nauvoo remain quiet, and not a man from that city leave as a *posse*, until it be made manifest that the law and order citizens, without the city, have not force sufficient to suppress the rioters of this disgraceful outrage, but that two thousand effective men hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning to any point in Hancock county.

J. B. BACKENSTOS, Sheriff, &c.

Green Plains, Hancock County, Illinois, Sept. 13th, 1845.

No. II.

TO THE CITIZENS OF HANCOCK COUNTY, ILLINOIS, AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTIES

It is truly painful that my first proclamation had not the desired

effect of quelling the mob in Hancock county. I was strong in the hope, that when men engaged in such fiendish and wicked purposes, came to reflect after the excitement of the moment, that they would cease and go to their homes.

The burning and destruction of houses and other property was commenced on the tenth day of September instant, by a body of armed men who gathered in the southwest part of this county, headed, it is said, by the notorious Levi Williams. The mob is spreading itself in different directions; some of the mob have been in pursuit of me since Wednesday afternoon about three o'clock: they have pursued me on the public road and threatened my life, they levelled their arms at me, and desisted only when fired upon, and the fear of death put them in mind of their illegal mob proceedings. On yesterday an armed force undertook to take me: I became apprised of their intentions—evaded them and fled to Bear Creek, where I had a *posse commitatus*, and from thence I repaired for the second time to Warsaw, to ascertain if any reliable force could be procured in that place. I became satisfied that I could get no aid from that place.

I became further satisfied that my life was sought by some of the mobbers lurking about the town. This information was communicated to me by some personal friends with whom I had free intercourse, and in confidence I was apprised of the secret intentions of these desperadoes. My friends of Warsaw considered my life in danger, and advised me not to go out, but to remain secreted in some safe place; but my business, as an officer of the peace, demanded my departure from that place.

I procured the aid of a personal friend to guard me out of that place into the prairie some three or four miles. All my friends advised me, should I see or meet men with arms, that I had better evade them, and under no consideration to get into their hands. After parting with the gentleman who so kindly escorted me thus far, and having traveled about a mile and a half further, I discovered an armed body of some twenty or more men on the Warsaw and Carthage road, two or three miles eastward of me and going towards Warsaw. I watched them, and on discovering that four men of the force, mounted on horses, left the main body apparently to strike a point in advance of me, with all the speed of their horses, and finding that they were in pursuit of me, I put the whip to my horse, for I was in a buggy, they taking a nearer cut, evidently gained on me.

The chase lasted for a distance of two miles, when I fortunately overtook three men with teams. I immediately informed them that armed men were in pursuit of me, evidently to take my life. I summoned them as a *posse* to aid me in resisting them. I dismounted, took a position in the road with pistol in hand. I commanded them (the mobbers) to stop, when one of them held his musket in a shooting attitude, whereupon one of my *posse* fired, and, it is believed, took effect on one of the lawless banditti. We remained and stood our ground, prepared for the worst, for about ten minutes. The mobbers retreating some little distance, made no further assault but finally retreated. I then made my way for the city of Nauvoo, where I am at this time.

Knowing the plans and designs of the mob faction in our county, I am induced to be thus full and minute in detailing the particulars of those seeking my life, because I dare take steps as a peace officer, to put an end to the proceedings of the most lawless, disgraceful, and inhuman banditti that ever infested our state, inasmuch as I have in vain applied to the citizens of this county, without the limits of the city of Nauvoo, therefore,

I, Jacob B. Backenstos, Sheriff of the county of Hancock and state of Illinois, in the name of the people of the said state, and by virtue of the authority in me vested, hereby again solemnly command the mobbers and rioters throughout this county to disperse, desist, and forthwith go to their homes, under the penalty of the laws of our country, and such consequences as may follow:—

And I hereby call upon, and likewise command every able-bodied man throughout the county, to arm himself in the best possible manner, and to resist any and all further violence on the part of the mob, and not to permit a further destruction of property, and to arrest all those engaged in this wicked proceeding and destruction of property, and threatening of lives; and, I further command that the *posse commitatus* repair to the nearest points invaded by the rioters, and to defend at the point of the bayonet, and at all hazards, the lives and property of the peaceable citizens, and again reinstate the supremacy of the laws.

J. B. BACKENSTOS, Sheriff of Hancock County, Illinois.

Sept. 16th, 1845. *Half-past two o'clock.*

P. S. It is proper to state that, the Mormon community have acted with more than ordinary forbearance—remaining perfectly quiet, and offering no resistance, when their dwellings, other buildings, and stacks of grain, &c., were set on fire in their presence, and they have forborne until forbearance is no longer a virtue.

The notorious Colonel Levi Williams, who is at the head of the mob, has ordered out the militia of this brigade, comprising Hancock, M'Donough, and Schuyler counties; but it is to be hoped that no good citizen will turn out and aid him or others in the overthrow of the laws of our country, and it is certain that no good citizen will cross the Mississippi river with a design to aid the rioters.

J. B. B., Sheriff.

No. III.

TO THE CITIZENS OF HANCOCK COUNTY AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY

Whereas, the community at large may and do expect at my hands, a fair and impartial statement of facts, with regard to the riot which has been raging and is still continuing its ravages with the firebrand and otherwise.

Since the issuing of my second proclamation, the mob have become more infuriated than ever. The postmaster at Carthage, Chauncey Robinson, Esq., who is also county recorder, was compelled to flee from

Carthage with his family, in order that their lives might be spared. Captain Rose, the treasurer and assessor of Hancock county, was also expelled from his residence in Carthage, and obliged to flee to some secure place, with his family, for safety. At Warsaw, Edward A. Bedell, Esq., postmaster of that place, and a justice of the peace of the Warsaw precinct, was obliged to flee to save his life, giving him but half a minute's time to prepare to go. These gentlemen have been driven from their homes by force of arms, and threats of immediate death, if they offered any resistance.

Messrs. Bedell and Robinson are well known by very many citizens of the adjoining counties, and they are favourably known too, and are amongst our very best citizens in Hancock, and (if there be any merit in it) they rank among the oldest settlers of this county. Captain Rose is much respected by all honourable men with whom he is acquainted. On the night of the 15th instant, an armed mob surrounded my residence, at Carthage, in search of me as they said, and greatly terrified my wife and children, demanding entrance to search my house, and informing Mrs. B. that I must leave Hancock county immediately, under the penalty of consequences which meant death.

On the night of the 16th I raised an armed force of mounted men, and marched to Carthage to rescue my family and others threatened. On entering the town we were fired upon by some of the mobbers, who instantly fled. My heart sickens when I think of the awfully distressed state in which I found my family, in the hands of a gang of black-hearted villains, guilty of all the crimes known to our laws. It is, however, due, to say, that there are a few of the Carthagenians and Warsaw people who have heretofore acted with the mob faction, who are opposed to this riot, yet, up to this time, they have not joined the standard of law and order. The families which I designed to rescue had all fled, with the exception of Mrs. Deming, the widow of the late General Deming, who was of opinion that she might escape their vengeance, inasmuch as the recent death of her husband it was thought, would have appeased their wrath against that family.

After we had entered the town, persons were seen running about the streets with firebrands. Anticipating their intention of firing their own buildings in order to charge the same upon the *posse commitatus* under my command, we immediately took steps to prevent this, by threatening to put to the sword all those engaged in firing the place.

We then directed our march towards Warsaw, and on reaching a point midway to that place, I was informed of new depredations by the mob. I sent my family to Nauvoo for safety, under a small guard, and took up a line of march in the direction of the rising smoke. On reaching a point about three miles from the rising flames, I divided the *posse commitatus* in order to surround those engaged in burning; we were discovered by them. On our approach the mobbers fled, the *posse* pursuing, with directions to arrest them if possible, and to fire upon them if they would not be arrested. The house-burners retreated towards one of their strong places at the speed of their horses, a part of the *posse* pursuing at full speed, and firing upon them, killing two and wound-

ing, it is believed, others. This occurred on Beaver Creek, about two o'clock this afternoon.

I commanded one of the detachments in person, and authorized the person who commanded the other. As I was then satisfied that the burners had fled from that place, we directed our line of march northwardly, when we were informed of the approach of a reinforcement of mounted men, who were ordered to reconnoitre, raise people to defend, and aid them in defending the settlement against the depredations of the mob. We then directed our course to Nauvoo, performing a forced march of about sixty-five miles in the space of twenty hours. This expedition is the first effort at resistance to mob violence in the county, since the outbreak. I have now a *posse commitatus* numbering upwards of two thousand well armed men, firm and ready, to aid me in suppressing the riot, and in arresting them [the rioters]. I am happy in informing the citizens that two thousand additional armed men hold themselves in readiness to be called out when necessary.

To those honourable and worthy citizens in the adjoining counties, who have proffered their aid in quelling this disgraceful mob, I will say, after returning my grateful acknowledgments for the kind interest which they have manifested in defence of the rights of American citizens, the Constitution, and the laws of our beloved country, that, as yet, I have confidence that I can command force sufficient within this county, to arrest, or, if that fails, to put to the sword, every villain engaged in this inhuman outrage; I am sanguine of success, whether my life be spared or not. Gladly will we receive aid from any of the adjoining counties, for the suppression of the rioters, in the event of the force in this county being insufficient. If no considerable numbers of mobbers gather from without Hancock, success will crown my efforts. I am well advised that no considerable number from any of our adjoining counties will come and act with any mob; and I now declare if the mob shall fire their own buildings, grain, or other property, for the purpose of charging the same on the *posse*, I shall deal with the same as though they destroyed the property of others, and arrest or put to the sword all such incendiaries.

Since my second proclamation, I have learned further particulars of the scoundrels who were in pursuit of me on the highway on the 16th instant, the facts of which were fully set forth in the said proclamation, so far as were in my possession. I now inform the public, that Franklin A. Worrell was one of the four who, on that occasion, pursued me; was shot by one of the four *posse* whom I summoned on the spot to protect my life. Worrell died the same day.

J. B. BACKENSTOS, Sheriff of Hancock County, Illinois.

Hancock County, Illinois, Sept. 17th, 1845.

No. IV.

TO THE CITIZENS OF HANCOCK COUNTY, ILLINOIS, AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTIES

Since issuing proclamation No. 3, new things have transpired in

which the public at large feel a deep and abiding interest, who expect from me a full and unvarnished statement of facts, as they exist with regard to the rioters, if within my knowledge, as well as of my proceedings in attempting to suppress the same, with all the important facts as they occur during my progress.

On the evening of the 18th instant, I proceeded with 200 well armed mounted men, for the second time, to the southwest part of the county, which has sustained nearly all the suffering and destruction by the mob, to join the detachment which I had previously detailed to reconnoitre, make arrests, and prevent further burning. My intention was to attack the encampment of the rioters on the following day and rout them. I received intelligence that they had changed their position, which caused me to countermand a previous order for a reinforcement of 800 infantry, and two pieces of ordinance. I also received intelligence that the mob were encamped in the bottom near the Mississippi river, near Warsaw, with at least 800 armed men, and one piece of artillery. As I had previously determined to march into the camp of the rioters, and arrest or disperse them, I again ordered a reinforcement of four hundred infantry and one piece of artillery, with the intention of attacking the camp; this gave me the command of a *posse* with 700 men and one piece of ordinance.

Knowing the courage, bravery and skill of the forces under my command, I was willing to make an attack upon the enemy entrenched behind their fortifications. I then took up a line of march to Carthage, the county seat of Hancock, the residence of nearly all the notorious Carthage Grays, and the headquarters of a band of the most infamous and villainous scoundrels that ever infested any community, who have, for the last two years, abandoned labour and the ordinary avocations of good citizens; they are generally poor; a few have been trading upon borrowed capital, but they are selfish and will not even trust their own mob friends. Many of those have considerable large families—they must live and do live. How, I would ask, do such men get a living? men without means and with families too, and who do nothing but brawl about grog shops, cursing and abusing better citizens than they can be; men who are openly upholding mob violence, aiding and abetting the extermination of the very best and oldest settlers in this county, because, forsooth, they have the independence of differing with them in opinion. Did not the community in this and the surrounding counties already know the names of those heaven-daring land pirates, I should publish their names at full length. I entered the town of Carthage about the setting of the sun, as I had a large number of writs for the arrest of those accused of burning houses, barns, and stacks of grain. I ordered my *posse* to surround the town and permit none to escape, but to bring every man to the courthouse in order that I might arrest such persons as I had writs against, and detain such other persons in custody as are accused by respectable persons until writs could be procured, that they might be dealt with according to law. All those against whom I had writs fled before I could have them surrounded, except one Anthony Barkman.

Colonel Gettis was arrested on suspicion of being one of the ring leaders; he is charged with having ordered out his regiment in order to join the mob, orders signed by him directed to and commanding the captains of companies under his command, requiring them immediately to call out their respective companies being in existence; this Colonel Gettis admits, but claims that he was commanded to do so by a superior officer, *viz*, Colonel Levi Williams, who claims to hold and have the command of this brigade, comprising Hancock, M'Donough and Schuyler counties, by virtue of seniority by commission.

Colonel Gettis agreed to remain under arrest until morning, when I informed him that he would not be detained, as I was unable to get positive testimony that he was engaged in burning, or that he advised others so to do: however, there are several suspicious circumstances connected with the conduct and acts of Colonel Gettis. For several days previous to my entrance into Carthage, for instance, Colonel Levi Williams, John M'Cauley (a notorious advocate of mobbers), several others of the same gang, and the same Colonel Gettis, held a secret meeting in Carthage on the 16th instant. Colonel G. is a strong advocate for the extermination of a portion of the community of this county. Some of the law and order citizens of Carthage and vicinity felt disposed to censure me for not putting him under arrest, as it is believed he is a co-partner of the notorious Colonel Levi Williams.

After the *posse* was put in motion in the direction of Carthage, I addressed a communication to Colonel Levi Williams and others in the words and figures following, to wit:—

Two o'Clock p. m., Sept. 18th, 1845.

"Head quarters of the Sheriff of Hancock county, commanding the *posse commitatus* of the southern detachment in said county.

To the mob gathered in the southwest part of Hancock county, Illinois, commanded and directed by Colonel Levi Williams and a few others, who, as it is said, have a strong force under their influence and guidance, and who are also strongly fortified, as I am informed, and who have, as I know, destroyed much property with force of arms, by going about this county shooting at, and compelling peaceable citizens to leave their homes, and applying firebrands to their buildings, grain, &c., and otherwise by all manner of inhuman treatment to the sick and helpless women and children. It is unnecessary for me again to remind you of the magnitude of the crimes of which you already stand charged. Some of the sick women and children who were compelled to leave their sick beds under your wicked and fiendish fiat have since died, as it is believed, in consequence of exposure to the inclemency of the weather and the rays of the sun, thus adding murder to the lesser crime of arson. My duty as an officer is defined by law. Your mob proceedings require of me an effort to quell you in your mad career, if possible, without the shedding of blood. You will all do me the justice to say that I have spared no pains in endeavouring to accomplish such a desirable result, having issued proclamations and taken pains that copies were sent to

your mob camps. You know my duty. You were advised openly of my determination and policy which were fully set forth in my proclamations. You have not desisted in your depredations, but on the other hand you became more emboldened than before.

In the mean time I have raised a *posse commitatus* in order to arrest all engaged in this riot if possible, and in case they should not submit to law and be arrested, to fire upon them or put them to the sword.

The painful necessity of firing upon a part of your depredators, became apparent on the 16th inst., at which time several of the burners were killed, and we caught them in the act of burning buildings. I will close this communication by again appealing to you in the name of humanity, the law, and the good of yourselves and our country, that you instantly desist your mobbing and burning, and deliver yourselves into my hands, to be dealt with according to law; that is to say, you the leaders; and to surrender into my hands the ordinance which you procured by fraud and deception, and that you also deliver into my hands the state arms which you have twice heretofore refused to surrender upon the demand of the executive of the state to his authorized agent, and forthwith disperse each and all of you to your houses, and pursue the ordinary avocations of good and peaceable citizens. Such a course will be honourable to you, and save the shedding of much blood.

I am authorized to receive and take charge of all the public arms in this county. It is expected that you will comply with the above reasonable requests. I hereby pledge myself to protect you in all your constitutional rights, and that you shall be dealt with according to the laws of our country. Should you see fit to submit to the requirements as set forth above, you will, on the part of the mob, communicate to me in writing at the Chapman Place, midway between Carthage and Warsaw, on to-morrow at twelve o'clock. Should you not submit, or refuse to reply, your silence will be taken as a refusal to surrender to the laws, when you must expect the consequences.

Respectfully yours, &c.

J. B. BACKENSTOS, Sheriff, Hancock County."

I am directed by Governor Ford to collect the public arms which have been demanded in vain twice before from the mobbers; to wit, the arms of the Carthage Grays, and the arms in the hands of Captains Grover and Davis at Warsaw. Under this order and instruction I directed my *posse* at Carthage to collect all the public arms which were so unfortunately placed in the hands of officers and privates who have on many occasions used them as a means to terrify, insult, and abuse the peaceable citizens of our county. I have collected nine stand and a part of the accoutrements, and will endeavour to get the balance. I have them in my possession, subject to the order of the commander-in-chief of the Illinois militia; they are not and shall not be used by the *posse* under my command, as I have no authority from the governor for so doing.

The *posse* under my command have been prompt and obedient to all my orders, with the exception of one order in relation to the collection of the state arms in Carthage. I ordered the *posse* to ask for and receive from any person in possession of any arms of the Carthage Grays, and to deliver them to me at the courthouse. This order was disobeyed or misunderstood, by two of the *posse* bringing three guns, the private property of citizens; and one man quarrelled with a lady, and used in her presence ungentlemanly language. I ordered the three men under arrest, placed them under guard, sent them home, and returned the guns.

After leaving a sufficient force to defend the place against the mobbers, both within and without the town of Carthage, at about twelve o'clock on the 20th instant, we took up our line of march to the place of rendezvous at Chapman Place, between Warsaw and Carthage, thence to proceed against the mob encampment, with a design to arrest or rout them from their hiding place; before I reached midway to Warsaw, I received positive intelligence that the mob had fled the county and state by crossing the Mississippi river at Warsaw, with all their arms, cannon, &c., to Missouri. I marched the *posse* to Warsaw for the purpose of making arrests, remained a short time, when I directed the infantry and artillery northwardly, on the prairie road, and I proceeded up the bottom road with the mounted forces; I am now on the bank of the Mississippi river, near Montebello.

Since firing upon the mob at Bear Creek on the 16th instant, there has been no burning of any houses, barns, grain, stacks, nor any thing else, that has come to my knowledge. The mobbers, rioters, and other outlaws, have principally fled without the limits of this county. Peace and quiet, law and order, have been restored in Hancock county.

Therefore, I, Jacob B. Backenstos, Sheriff of Hancock County, hereby proclaim the county of Hancock in peace; that the rioters have dispersed and gone to their homes, or fled this county and state. Let all good citizens who were expelled, by the mobbers, from their homes, and those who fled from the county for security against mob violence, return to their homes, they shall be protected. I have an armed force stationed in the courthouse at Carthage, for the protection of the officers of the county, who are compelled by law to reside at the county seat, and for the protection of all persons having business at, or who may desire to visit Carthage, and also to protect from insult and mob violence the inhabitants of Carthage and the surrounding country. I have a number of small scouting parties reconnoitering the county to keep peace and protect the settlements, and make arrests of those that are known to be guilty of the riot, in whose hands writs have been placed. I desire that the citizens will aid them in ferriting them out, that they may be arrested and brought to justice. J. B. BACKENSTOS.

Bank of the Mississippi River, near Montebello, September 20th, 1845.

P. S.—The *Warsaw Signal* extra, of the 18th Sept. contains its usual amount of wilful and malicious falsehoods. It is unnecessary for me to deny any one statement. I pronounce the entire extra one tissue

of lies from beginning to end, so far as they purport to give the news of the killing of Worrell and M'Braty, and the balance set forth in relation to the difficulties in our county, and I hold myself responsible to prove the same false, by men of the best standing. J. B. B.

No. V.

To The Citizens of Hancock County and the Surrounding Country

In issuing this my fifth proclamation, I shall be obliged to omit many things which have transpired in this county since the 20th instant, (the date of proclamation No. 4), nevertheless I shall endeavour to give all the important facts that may be interesting to the community. There seems to be a continuance of peace throughout Hancock county. There has been no burning of houses or other property since a party of my *posse* pursued the mob and fired upon them

In my last proclamation I stated that the mobbers had fled the country; as yet they have not returned; they are brawling about the adjoining counties, state of Missouri, and Iowa territory, circulating all kinds of falsehoods and misrepresentations, for the purpose of getting aid, in order to recommence burning and mobbing, &c. As yet they have not been able to raise any considerable force to march into Hancock under arms, against the Constitution and the laws, and I am certain that unless the mob faction can succeed in deceiving the people without this county by fraud, and forgery of militia orders, and proclamations purporting to emanate from the executive and commander-in-chief of the Illinois militia, that they cannot get force sufficient to recommence their depredations. Let me entreat the people abroad not to act in haste.

There are many complaints made to me by Mormons and anti-Mormons, about stealing cattle, &c. I have used every exertion in the power of man to ferrit out the truth concerning these complaints and reports. Many Mormons who were burnt out in the southwest part of this county, were employed for the last ten or twelve days in removing their household furniture, other moveables, and grain to Nauvoo city. After they had finished hauling their goods, proceeded to gather and drive their cattle from the infested district to Nauvoo, but could not find them. There are many who are willing to make affidavit that their cattle were left in the hands of the mob when they were exterminated, and when they went in search of their cattle afterwards could not find them. More than 200 head of cattle are missing in this way according to complaints made to me. There are also complaints by several Mormons that horses have been stolen from them. There are also many articles of minor importance reported to me as having been stolen from the Mormons. Some 50 head of cattle are reported to have been stolen from the settlement about five miles east of Warsaw, and about the same number near Carthage. The cattle which are said to have been stolen from near Carthage and Warsaw, belong mostly to B. F. Marsh, Esq., and the

Messrs. Chandlers, near Warsaw, and to Messrs. Mullen and Fails, and Mr. Alex. Barnes, near Carthage. There were also stolen from Ebenezer Rand, Esq., of Carthage, two bee gums; a Mrs. Hawley reports some clothing missing.

Every one of those persons who report property stolen, who are not Mormons, are by no means regarded as enemies by them; but on the other hand, they have all denounced this mobbing and burning as a most infamous act. It is nothing more than reasonable to suppose that men who will burn houses, barns, grain and other property, and who will drive and exterminate United States postmasters and other officers, from their offices and homes with force of arms, under the penalty of death, are none too good to steal cattle, horses, and sheep too. Men who are guilty of such damnable outrages are hardened against all the tender feelings of human beings; the savages would shrink with horror at such base and cowardly acts as are characteristic of this mob faction. Again, why is it that the stealing of cattle and horses is confined nearly in every instance to those who are opposed to the mobocrats? If the Mormons are guilty of these depredations complained of, is it not a remarkable circumstance that not a single hoof of all the cattle and horses that are alleged to have been stolen, were taken from any of those engaged in the mobbing; in every case, so far as I can learn, they were taken from persons opposed to this wicked proceeding of the mob party.

That infamous black-hearted and murderous scoundrel Thomas C. Sharp, editor of that treasonable paper called the *Warsaw Signal,* himself guilty of all the crimes known to our laws, is at the head of this band of mobbers and exterminators. Are the people in Hancock county and the surrounding country prepared that such a debased heaven-daring villain as Sharp, shall give tone to public opinion. I ask, will an honest and honourable community for a moment seriously entertain any thing that may emanate from such a fountain of corruption? For the honour and perpetuity of our glorious republican institutions, it is to be hoped not. Sharp openly and boldly calls upon the citizens of this and the adjoining counties and other places, to come into Hancock to overthrow the law. Fellow citizens, will you take the advice of such a scape-gallows as Sharp, the author of our difficulties and troubles; a murderer, and the apologist of murderers, house-burners, &c.

Sharp's rule of moral principle is exemplified as follows by his own writings:—If men in the custody of the law, and under promise of protection, be murdered in cold blood, Sharp is found the apologist of the murderers, and would take a hand himself. If men pursue one another on our highways with muskets and swords, at the speed of horses, for miles, with the intention of killing or arresting, without process, an officer of the county, against whom no charge is or was alleged, and one of the villains should be killed, murder is the cry of this Sharp; or if a gang of villains, burning and continue to burn for six days, the dwellings, barns and stacks of grain and hay—expelling sick women and children from their sick beds, and exposing them to the inclemency of the weather, and die in consequence of such cruel and fiendish treatment; and after having been warned, time and again by the proper

officer, of what they might expect in case they should not desist; and when caught in the act of burning houses, flee and refuse to be taken, are fired upon—a few killed, Sharp's cry of murder, murder is again raised at the top of his voice. What a poor scamp—for he certainly does not know how contemptible he is in the eyes of all honourable men. He has no associates except those who are *particeps criminis* with him.

Sharp in his last *Signal* has made comments upon, and attempts to prove some statements false, which I made in proclamations numbered two and three. How does he get his information as to the killing of Worrell to be untrue? His informants can be no other than those guilty with Worrell in pursuing me for my life on the highway, and who are ready to say and swear any thing that may clear them from punishment which they so richly deserve; and as to firing upon the mob, he relies upon men for testimony, guilty of crimes which will secure them a safe place in our state penitentiary for years, and others are candidates like himself, for the gallows. Such is the character of Sharp's informants, upon those subjects which he speaks of in his *Signal;* none others of the mob were in sight or hearing at the time the occurrence took place.

Fellow-citizens, a proclamation was handed to me this moment, purporting to be from Governor Ford of our state; it certainly is a forgery or fraud. You will observe that it is simply dated, "Executive Department, Springfield, Sept. 21st, 1845." It does not state whether it comes from Springfield, Ohio, Kentucky, or any other state. The proclamation also states that Colonels Baker and Merriman, had volunteered to command, &c. And also the proclamation is signed Thomas Ford, governor and commander-in-chief. In order to make such a document official, it should be signed as Governor of Illinois, and commander-in-chief of the Illinois militia. I pronounce it a base fraud, I hope no armed men will come into Hancock county, under such circumstances. I shall regard them in the character of a mob, and shall treat them accordingly. I am personally acquainted with Major Baker and Captain Merriman, and I am warranted in saying that they would, under no circumstances, aid or countenance a mob. I will again say, that from the general phraseology of the proclamation, I pronounce it a fraud upon the people. Let no man turn out under it, as it is evidently one of Sharp's latest acts of rascality and one of the last dying efforts to raise a mob.

I will herewith submit a few affidavits, they speak for themselves.[45] One of these affidavits fully shows whether Worrell and his blood hounds knew me or not when they pursued me on the prairie, it also speaks to the point as to the course the anti-Mormon mob intended to pursue; it explains something about taking horses, and (as Tom Sharp would have it) about the lesser crimes of killing and slaying and burning. I have only to say that as to the character of John Harper, Esq., as a good citizen and honest man, he is honourable and independent; he

45 These affidavits give accounts of house, barn and stack burnings, and other acts of mob violence referred to by the sheriff in his proclamation. They were signed separately by John Harper, E. B. Rose, and Jas. Gellows. (*Nauvoo Neighbor,* Oct. 1st, 1845).

has no superior in our section of country, and as to Captain Rose, he is respected by all; his standing and character is proof against all base men. As to the other gentleman, I am not acquainted with him.

Men engaged in burning houses for six long days, have fled this county to avoid an arrest; they are now using their utmost endeavours to raise help in the neighbouring counties, and in the state of Missouri, to re-commence burning and mobbing.

Will honest men be influenced by such characters? We will see. Every thing has remained quiet for nine successive days, and unless the mob will again re-assemble in Hancock county, peace will continue.

I would say to the citizens of Augusta in this county, that as I have been informed by good authority, that some of you had fled the county by crossing into the county of Schuyler, and there made an encampment for the gathering of the mob; if such is the fact, let me remonstrate against such an act, and entreat you to come to your homes, and aid in the maintainance of peace.

Some of the mobbers said that I refused to submit to law, there being a writ out against me for killing Worrell, sworn out by one of the parties in company with Worrell when they pursued me. This is false; I twice offered to surrender myself into the hands of the constable, who said that he did not care any thing about it, that he considered it all a mistake in the boys in taking out the writ. I am at all times ready to be tried by the laws of my country.

J. B. BACKENSTOS, Sheriff, Hancock County.

Carthage, Sept. 25th, eleven o'clock a. m., 1845.[46]

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46. These proclamations were published as they were issued in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* for September, 1845; the first four of them are reproduced in the *Neighbor* of Sept. 21st, and the fifth in the issue following, Oct. 1st, 1845. The whole series are reproduced in *Millennial Star*, vol. vi, no. 12, Dec. 1st, 1845.

CHAPTER LXVIII

The Agreement of the Church Authorities to Leave Illinois —Preparations for Departure

IN the midst of the tumultuous scenes described in the preceding chapter, the citizens of Quincy convened on the twenty-second of September, 1845. It was generally known that the Prophet Joseph had contemplated going west with the main body of the church, and it was one of the objects of this meeting to appoint a committee to confer with the church authorities and learn what their present intentions were as to leaving the state. It was expressed as the opinion of the meeting that the only basis upon which the Latter-day Saint troubles could be settled would be the removal of the saints from Illinois. "It is a settled thing," said Mr. Bartlett, editor of the *Quincy Whig,* in his issue following the meeting of the above date—

> "It is a settled thing that the public sentiment of the state is against the Mormons, and it will be in vain for them to contend against it; and to prevent bloodshed, and the sacrifice of many lives on both sides, it is their duty to obey the public will, and leave the state as speedily as possible. That they will do this we have a confident hope —and that too, before the last extreme is resorted to—that of force."

The Voice of Illinois—"The Saints Must Go"

We are sorry to say that many of the leading men of Quincy, principally prominent members of the bar, who before had been kindly disposed towards the citizens of Nauvoo, now turned against them, and became the advocates of their expulsion from the state, and indirectly though unintentionally, perhaps, lent the weight of their influence to the support and spread of mob law. Among such men we are sorry to mention Stephen A. Douglas, Major W. B. Warren, and O. H. Browning. The latter had defended the Prophet Joseph on more than one occasion when unjustly charged with crime before the courts of the country. Eloquently reciting the

wrongs of the saints when they were expelled from Missouri, he said their suffering would have enlisted the sympathy of adamantine hearts; and now to see him leagued with those bent upon bringing about a repetition of those sorrows and hardships, only on a much larger scale, is an event to be truly deplored.[1]

On the first and second of October a great anti-"Mormon" convention met in Carthage. Nine counties were represented, Hancock county excepted and excluded. Fifty-eight delegates reported to the convention; representing, it is said, fifty or sixty thousand people in the nine counties.[2] Isaac N. Morris, of Adams county, was chosen chairman, three more from other counties were chosen secretaries and three from each county represented constituted the committee on resolutions.[3] The purpose of the convention was to take into consideration the affairs of Hancock county, especially with reference to the effect those affairs were having upon the peace of the surrounding counties and the peace of the state. The series of resolutions reported and adopted reviewed the situation from the anti-"Mormon" standpoint, and arrived substantially at the same conclusions as the before mentioned convention at Quincy, expressed in the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That it is the settled and deliberate conviction of this convention that it is now too late to attempt the settlement of the difficulties in Hancock county upon any other basis than that of the removal of the Mormons from the state; and we therefore accept and respectfully recommend to the people of the surrounding counties to accept the proposition made by the Mormons to remove from the state next spring, and to wait with patience the time appointed for removal."

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1. Mr. Browning afterwards held the position of United States senator from Illinois. He was appointed to that position in 1861 to fill the unexpired term of Stephen A. Douglas. He was instrumental with his friend, Abraham Lincoln, in organizing the Republican party in Illinois. He entered President Andrew Johnson's cabinet in March, 1868, as secretary of the interior; and also for a time was designated by the president to perform the duties of attorney general, in addition to those of secretary of the interior. (History of Illinois, in *History of Hancock County,* Gregg, p. 164).

2. Gregg's *Prophet of Palmyra,* pp. 336-7.

3. Gregg's *History of Hancock County,* p. 342.

Governor Ford through Messrs. Hardin, Warren, Douglas, and McDougal conveyed a message to the church leaders in which he advised them to leave the state. The body of the communication follows:

Governor Ford's Advice to the Church

"I wish you to say to the Mormons for me, that I regret very much, that so much excitement and hatred against them should exist in the public mind. Nevertheless, it is due to truth to say that the public mind everywhere is so decidedly hostile to them that public opinion is not inclined to do them common justice. Every bad report against them is greedily swallowed, whilst nothing can be heard in their favor; under these circumstances, I fear that they will never be able to live in peace with their neighbors of Hancock and the surrounding counties. There is no legal power in the state to compel them to leave, and no such power will be exercised during my administration.

The spirit of the people, however, is up and the signs are very evident that an attempt will be made by the surrounding counties to drive them out. Such an attempt may fail once or even twice, but if undertaken in earnest and persevered in, it must finally succeed. Those who may think it wrong to drive out the Mormons cannot be made to fight in their defense, and indeed the people of the state will never tolerate the expense of frequent military expeditions to defend them. The Mormons may think themselves strong enough to defend themselves; but do they want to live in a state of continued war? They may overcome their enemies; but those enemies will rally again, and murders will be committed and mischief done from this time out, as each party may find itself able.

I desire that you will impress these facts upon the Mormons, and that you will counsel and promote peaceable means of accommodation whereby the Mormons may be induced to leave the state. It is acknowledged by me that the state has no power to insist upon their removal, that it is a great hardship on them to remove from their comfortable homes and the property which they have accumulated by years of toil; but is it not better that they should do so voluntarily than to live in a state of continual war?"[4]

Confessed Impotency of Illinois' Government

This presentation of the case could well be called Governor Ford's *Confession of the Failure of Civil Government in the State of Illinois.* Induce the "Mormons" "to leave the state," for while it is confessed that "there is no legal

4. *Nauvoo Neighbor,* Oct. 29, 1845, where the communication in full will be found.

power in the state to compel them to leave," "those who may think it wrong to drive out the Mormons cannot be made to fight in their defense;" the "Mormons" may think themselves strong enough to defend themselves; but had they not better leave "than to live in a state of perpetual war?"[5] But where may one look for the dignity, and power of the sovereign state of Illinois in the presence of this pusillanimous attitude of her executive? He begs a deeply injured people to leave the state, notwithstanding "it is a great hardship on them," to use the governor's own words above, "to remove from their comfortable homes and the property which they have accumulated by years of toil." To this he might have added: And sacrifice their temple within which they had just begun to worship God, and administer that ritual which would have stood to them as the daily sacrifice did to ancient Israel, making sacred the place of God's sanctuary; also the graves of their martyred Prophet and Patriarch, and many other martyrs' graves, for here were interred hundreds of the victims of Missouri's relentless persecution;[6] also the sacrifice of all those hopes of the future greatness and glory of the

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5. The governor of Illinois made a still franker confession than the above on the failure of civil government in Hancock county; and really the failure was the whole state's failure; for the governor admitted the state's inability to stop rioting and civil war in one of its counties. Following is the passage: "No one would be convicted of any crime in Hancock; and this put an end to the administration of the criminal law in that distracted county. Government was at an end there, and the whole community were delivered up to the dominion of a frightful anarchy. If the whole state had been in the same condition, then indeed would have been verified to the letter what was said by a wit, when he expressed an opinion that the people were neither capable of governing themselves nor of being governed by others. *And truly there can be no government in a free country where the people do not voluntarily obey the laws.*" (Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 369).

6. I know of nothing more plaintive in "Mormon" literature than a hymn composed by Wm. Clayton, celebrating the martyred dead of the church and expressing the assurance of a glorious resurrection for them. One verse is devoted to the dead at Nauvoo:

"And in Nauvoo, the city where
  The temple cheered the brave,
Hundreds of faithful saints have found
  A cold, yet peaceful grave;
And there they now are sleeping
  Beneath the silent clay,
But soon they'll share the glories
  Of a resurrection day.

"City of Joseph."[7] These things are more dear to the hearts of a sincere people than the merely material sacrifices involved, and should not have been left out of the governor's catalogue of things to be surrendered to the inability of a sovereign state to maintain government.

Respecting those several demands made upon them by the Quincy committee, Messrs. Hardin, Douglas *et al,* and the governor himself, the twelve, as the responsible church leaders, took the following course:

Answering the Quincy committee's communication of the 22nd of September, they said, under date of 24th, the same month:

PROPOSITION OF THE CHURCH LEADERS IN RESPECT OF REMOVAL

"*Whereas,* a council of the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, at Nauvoo, have this day received a communication from Henry Asbury, P. Robbins, Albert J. Pearson, P. A. Goodwin, J. N. Ralston, M. Rogers, and E. Conyers, Messrs. Committee of the citizens of Quincy, requesting us to 'communicate in writing our disposition and intention at this time, particularly with regard to removing to some place where the peculiar organization of our church will not be likely to engender so much strife and contention as so unhappily exists at this time in Hancock and some of the adjoining counties;'

And, *whereas,* said Committee have reported to us the doings

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7. At the 6th of April, 1845, conference of the church, it was moved by President Brigham Young and carried by vote of the conference "that henceforth and forever, this city shall be called the 'City of Joseph.' "

The conference also took the following action: "President Brigham Young then arose * * * and said he wanted to know if the saints are satisfied that Joseph Smith lived and died as a prophet, seer, and revelator to this church, whereupon,

Elder Phelps moved that we accept the labors of Joseph Smith as a prophet, seer and revelator to the nineteenth century; and that we are satisfied that he lived according to his profession, and died a martyr to the truth.—Carried unanimously.

Elder Phelps moved that we accept the labors of Hyrum Smith, believing that he lived according to his profession, and died a martyr to the truth. Carried unanimously." (*Times and Seasons,* vol. vi, p. 869).

The following comment follows the conference minutes as setting forth conditions prevailing at the time the change of names occurred: "Never have we seen the time before when the people were more willing to receive and listen to counsel than now. The high council have only had one case in about seven weeks. Our magistrates have nothing to do. Every man is doing his best to cultivate the ground, and all are anxious to provide things honestly in the sight of all men—to honor our God, our country, and its laws. Whenever a dispute or difficulty arises, a word from the proper source puts all to rights, and no resort to law. May God ever save us from this snare of men, this drainer of the purse, and this fruitful source of contention and strife." (*Times and Seasons,* vol. vi, p. 871).

of a public meeting of the citizens of Quincy, on 22nd inst., by which it appears there are some feelings in that place concerning us as a people, and in relation to which sundry resolutions were passed, purporting to be for the purpose of maintaining or restoring peace to the country;

And, *whereas,* it is our desire, and ever has been, to live in peace with all men, so far as we can, without sacrificing the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of our own consciences, which privilege is guaranteed to us by the Constitution of these United States;

And, *whereas,* we have, time and again, and again, been driven from our peaceful homes, and our women and children been obliged to exist on the prairies, in the forests, on the roads, and in tents, in the dead of winter, suffering all manner of hardships, even to death itself, as the people of Quincy well know; the remembrance of whose hospitality in former days still causes our hearts to burn with joy, and raise the prayer to heaven for blessings on their heads;

And, *whereas,* it is now so late in the season that it is impossible for us, as a people, to remove this fall, without causing a repetition of like sufferings;

And, *whereas,* it has been represented to us from other sources, than those named, and even in some communications from the executive of this state, that many of the citizens of the state were unfriendly to our views and principles;

And, *whereas,* many scores of our homes in this county have been burned to ashes, without any justifiable cause or provocation, and we have made no resistance, till compelled by the authorities of the county to do so, and that authority not connected with our church;

And, *whereas,* said resistance to mobocracy, from the legally constituted authorities, appears to be misunderstood by some, and misconstrued by others, so as to produce an undue excitement in the public mind;

And, *whereas,* we desire peace above all other earthly blessings—

Therefore, we would say to the committee above mentioned and to the governor, and all the authorities and people of Illinois, and the surrounding states and territories; that we propose to leave this county next spring, for some point so remote, that there will not need to be a difficulty with the people and ourselves, *provided certain propositions necessary for the accomplishment of our removal, shall be observed, as follows,* to wit:

That the citizens of this, and the surrounding counties, and all men, will use their influence and exertions, to help us to sell or rent our properties, so as to get means enough that we can help the widow, the fatherless and destitute to remove with us;

That all men will let us alone with their vexatious law suits, so that we may have the time, for we have broken no law; and help us to cash, dry goods, groceries, good oxen, milch cows, beef cattle, sheep, wagons, mules, harnesses, horses, &c., in exchange for our property, at a fair price, and deeds given at payment, that we may have the means to accomplish a removal, without the suffering of the destitute, to an extent beyond the endurance of human nature;

That all exchanges of property be conducted by a committee or committees of both parties, so that all business may be transacted honorably and speedily;

That we will use all lawful means, in connection with others to preserve the public peace while we tarry, and shall expect decidedly that we be no more molested with house-burning, or any other depredations, to waste our property and time and hinder our business;

That is a mistaken idea that we 'have proposed to remove in six months;' for that would be so early in the spring, that grass might not grow nor water run, both of which would be necessary for our removal, but we propose to use our influence, to have no more seed time nor harvest among our people in this county, after gathering our present crops. And that all communications to us be made in writing.

By order of the Council.

[Signed] "BRIGHAM YOUNG, Prest.
Willard Richards, Clerk."[8]

REACTION OF THE QUINCY COMMITTEE

On receipt of this communication the Quincy committee reported to a mass meeting of the citizens of that city the propositions of the "Mormon authorities," which were regarded as satisfactory in part, but it was thought they were not as full or decisive as was necessary. The mass meeting to which they reported, however, accepted the propositions and decided to recommend the people in the surrounding counties to do the same. "But," said one of the resolutions:

"We accept it [the proposition of the church authorities] as an unconditional proposition to remove. We do not intend to bring ourselves under any obligation to purchase their property or furnish purchasers for the same, but we will in no way hinder or obstruct them in their efforts to sell; and will expect them to dispose of their property, and remove at the time appointed."[9]

Commenting upon this resolution Dr. Conyers in his *Hancock County Mob,* says with just indignation and sarcasm:

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8. *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry of Sept. 25, 1845, p. 99.

9. *Hancock County Mob,* Conyers, 1846, p. 13. It should be remembered that the authority here cited, and which will frequently be quoted covering the brief period of which he treats, is not a "Mormon" authority, but Dr. Josiah B. Conyers, of Quincy—a non-"Mormon." Dr. Conyers could be prompted by no other motive than the love of truth and a hatred of mob violence in publishing his little work on the *Hancock County Mob.* It is so replete with trustworthy facts, reports of committees, and copies of official documents, as to make it altogether reliable as a source of information upon the movements of the Hancock county mob.

"The first one [i. e. the first resolution] in our opinion, is unique. They accepted and recommended to the people of the surrounding counties to accept an unconditional proposition to remove. But understand, Mr. Mormon, though we accept it and recommend the surrounding counties to do so, likewise, (reprobate you, unconditionally) we do not intend to bring ourselves under any obligation to purchase your property, or to furnish purchasers; but we will be very kind and obliging, and will in no way, hinder or obstruct you in your efforts to sell, provided, nevertheless, this shall not be so construed as to prevent us from running off the purchaser. But we expect this small favor of you, *viz.*, that you must dispose of your property and leave at the appointed time."[10]

On the first of October, Messrs. Hardin, Warren, Douglas and McDougal had a consultation with the twelve and other leading brethren of the church in respect of the saints moving to the west, and on the same day asked that the intention of the brethren to move be stated in writing in order that they might present it to the governor and people of the state. Following is the note addressed to the brethren upon the subject:

"Nauvoo, Oct. 1st, 1845.

To the First President and Council of the Church at Nauvoo:—

Having had a free and full conversation with you this day in reference to your proposed removal from this [Hancock] county, together with the members of your church, we have to request you to submit the facts and intentions stated to us in said conversation to writing, in order that we may lay them before the governor and people of the state. We hope that by so doing it will have a tendency to allay the excitement at present existing in the public mind.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

Respectively yours, &c.,

John J. Hardin,
W. B. Warren,
S. A. Douglass,
J. A. McDougall."[11]

In answer the twelve through President Brigham Young presented to the above gentlemen a copy of their answer to the Quincy Committee of the 24th of September; and then extended their communication as follows:

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10. *Ibid*, p. 14.
11. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Oct. 1st. 1845.

Response of the Twelve

"In addition to this we would say that we had commenced making arrangements to remove from this county previous to the recent disturbances;

That we now have four companies organized of one hundred families each; and six companies more now organizing of the same number each; preparatory to a removal;

That one thousand families, including the twelve, the high council, the trustees and general authorities of the church, are fully determined to remove in the spring, independent of the contingency of selling our property; and that this company will comprise from five to six thousand souls;

That the church, as a body, desire to remove with us, and will, if sales can be effected so as to receive the necessary means.

That the organization of the church we represent is such that there never can exist but one head or presidency, at any one time, and all good members wish to be with the organization, and all are determined to remove to some distant point where we shall neither infringe or be infringed upon, so soon as time and means will permit.

That we have some hundreds of farms, and some 2,000 or more houses for sale in this city and county,[12] and we request all good citizens to assist in the disposal of our property.

That we do not expect to find purchasers for our temple and other public buildings, but we are willing to rent them to a respectable community who may inhabit the city;

That we wish it distinctly understood that although we may not

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12. "There was grain enough growing within ten miles of Nauvoo, raised by the Mormons, to feed the whole population for two years if they were to do nothing but gather it in and feast upon it:" (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1845, p. 134, quoted by Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 211, note 38). In his journal, John Taylor, one of the twelve, describes a feast held out on the open prairie east of Nauvoo in the "Big Field," a cooperative enterprise, that was very successful. "The Big Field," Elder Taylor explains, "is organized according to the laws of the state and covers six sections, or three thousand eight hundred and forty acres of land. We understood from the officers of the company, that about thirty thousand bushels of corn, and nearly the same amount of wheat had been raised the first season. Sixty thousand bushels of wheat and corn, without wanting an abundance of oats, barley, buckwheat, potatoes and other vegetables, do not indicate indolence, poverty and famine, but rather carries an idea that God helps them that help themselves." Then, as showing the temperate character of the people of Nauvoo, and the principles and hopes by which they were inspired, he continues:

"This public demonstration of the bounty of providence, goes to show that the people of that section are willing to make others happy as well as themselves.

It is a fine thing for the bishops of the several wards to remember the poor; and we think this 'feast upon the prairies,' was a kind of token of times to come.

It is also worthy of remark that this band of brethren, under the broad canopy, spent the day most happily, without strong drink, or swearing or gambling; feasting as all honest people ought to, to be healthy, upon the simple luxuries that sustain life, with pure water, peace and union, praying and praising God who hath so liberally rewarded their labor and begun to make the prairies blossom as the rose." (*Taylor's Journal Ms.*, entry for 5th Sept., 1845).

find purchasers for our property, we will not sacrifice or give it away, or suffer it illegally to be wrested from us;

That we do not intend to sow any wheat this fall, and should we sell, we shall not put in any more crops of any description;

That as soon as practicable we will appoint committees for this city [Nauvoo], La Harpe, Macedonia, Bear Creek, and all necessary places to give information to purchasers.[13]

That if all these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people that we are in earnest, we will soon give them a sign that cannot be mistaken; *we will leave them!*

In behalf of the council,

Respectively yours, &c.,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, President.

Willard Richards, Clerk."[14]

QUINCY COMMITTTEE'S SOULLESS ADDRESS TO THE SAINTS

These declarations were reported to the Carthage convention by Messrs. Hardin, Douglas *et al,* and upon the reception of them by the Carthage convention and the public generally, these gentlemen wrote the church leaders as follows:

"Since we made public the statement made by you to us, there seems to be a general acquiescence in it by the citizens of other counties and of this [Hancock], so far as to agree to return and withhold all further violence, and that you be permitted to depart in peace next spring.

We are convinced that affairs have reached such a crisis that it has become impossible for your church to remain in peace in this county.

After what has been written and said by yourselves, it will be confidently expected by us and the whole community, that you will remove from the state, with your whole church, *in the manner you have agreed in your statement to us.*

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13. The following committees were announced in a printed circular:

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

Appointed at the general conference, for the sale of lands in Hancock county.

Nauvoo.—Winslow Farr, Edward Hunter, Rufus Beach, A. W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Heywood, John Benbow and Daniel Russell.

La Harpe.—Lyman Coray, John Clark and John L. Bartolph.

Macedonia.—Wm. G. Perkins, Isaac Clark and Andrew H. Perkins.

Camp Creek.—Nelson Higgins, Samuel Shepherd and Daniel Allen.

Knowlton's Settlement.—Sidney A. Knowlton, Eleazer Brown, and James Rawlins.

Highland Branch.—James Duncan, Wm. A. Duncan and John Loveless.

Montebello.—Eleazer Miller and Jesse Spurgin.

Yelrome.—Solomon Hancock and Horace Rawson.

In Iowa, every man is appointed to act as a committee of the whole for the sale of lands.

14. *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Oct. 1st, 1845; see also *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* entry of Oct. 1, 1845, p. 134-5.

Should you not do so we are satisfied, however, much we may deprecate violence and bloodshed, that violent measures will be resorted to, to compel your removal; which will result in most disastrous consequences to yourselves and your opponents, and that the end will be your expulsion from the state. * * *

By carrying out in good faith your proposition to remove, as submitted to us, we think you should be, and will be permitted to depart peaceably next spring for your destination west of the Rocky Mountains. * * *

With many wishes that you may find that peace and prosperity in the land of your destination, which you desire, we have the honor to subscribe ourselves," etc.[15]

Same Committee's Address to the Anti-"Mormons"

Messrs. Hardin, Douglas *et al* also addressed a communication to the "anti-Mormon citizens of Hancock county," in which they state the intentions and pledges of the Latter-day Saint leaders to leave Illinois in the spring for the west, and added:

"These measures, we think, ought to satisfy you. All that some of you might demand cannot be granted consistently with the rights of others, you should be satisfied with attaining that which is practicable and probable. * * *

It cannot be denied that the burning of the houses of Mormons in your county, by which a large number of women and children have been rendered homeless and houseless in the beginning of winter, was an act criminal in itself and disgraceful to its perpetrators. And it should also be known, that it has led many persons to believe, that, even if the Mormons are as bad as they are represented, they are no worse than those who have thus burned their houses.

Whether your cause is just or unjust, the acts of these incendiaries have thus lost for you something of the sympathy and good will of your fellow citizens; and a resort to, or persistence in such a course under existing circumstances will make you forfeit all the respect and sympathy of the community."[16]

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15. The communication of Hardin *et al* is published *in extenso* in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Oct. 29th, 1845. The last impression of that periodical, by the way. Its editorial utterance on discontinuing the publication opened as follows: "As we are making all the preparation in our power to leave the United States next spring, *because we are compelled by mobocracy*, on account of the weakness of the law and the stupidity or hypocrisy of its executors, to quit the 'asylum of the oppressed,' we thought it advisable to discontinue the *Neighbor* at this number."

16. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Oct. 29, 1845, where the communication is published in full.

Review of the Carthage Convention's Action

The Carthage convention of October 1st and 2nd, representing the citizens of nine counties adjacent to Hancock county adopted a preamble and a series of resolutions which reflected all the prejudice, bitterness, and untruthfulness of the anti-"Mormons" of Hancock county. The preamble took for granted that the alleged "depredations of the Mormons upon the persons and property of the other citizens of Hancock county and the surrounding counties," were true; and this in face of the fact that after a careful investigation of the matter the governor of the state in his special message to the legislature, only in the preceding December, declared that these reported "Mormon depredations" were greatly exaggerated; that there was not a greater proportion of thieves in the "Mormon" communities than in other communities; that if Nauvoo were compared with St. Louis, or any western city, "the proportion would not be so great;"[17] that many of the charges against the saints were unfounded, of which he gives several examples, some of which have already been quoted in these pages. He refers to disappointed aspirants to political offices as among those who were active "in blowing up the fury of the people, in hopes that a popular movement might be set on foot which would result in the expulsion or extermination of the Mormon voters." "For this purpose," he continues, "public meetings had been called; inflammatory speeches had been made; exaggerated and unfounded reports had been extensively circulated; committees had been appointed and rode night and day to spread the reports and solicit aid of the neighboring counties."[18]

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17. See chapter lxvii and note 7.

18. Ford's Message to the Illinois Legislature is published in *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Jan. 1st, 1845. Further describing this system of agitation the governor says: "A system of excitement and agitation was artfully planned and executed with tact. It was planned and executed very much upon the principle adopted by the Jacobins in revolutionary France. It consisted in spreading reports and rumors of the most fearful character. As examples: On the morning before my arrival at Carthage, I was awakened at an early hour by the frightful report which was asserted with confidence and apparent consternation that the Mormons had already commenced the work of burning, destruction, and murder, and that every man was instantly

As this preamble to the resolution adopted by the Carthage convention assumed that the Latter-day Saints were guilty of all that their enemies alleged against them, so did it give a clear bill of acquittal to the "old citizens" of Hancock county. From "long acquaintance with the old citizens of Hancock county," said convention, claimed "an intimate knowledge of their honor, integrity, and strict observance of the laws of their country!" And this in face of the fact of that lawless agitation, and desperate conspiracy, which resulted in the cold-blooded murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage prison while under the especially pledged faith of the state of Illinois! A murder which involved a very large number of the old settlers of Hancock county, of the officers of the state and the county, both in the direct fact of the killing, and as accessories either before or after the fact of the murder; and for which crime there had been no vindication of the law by punishment of the guilty.

The bill of acquittal for responsibility of wrong doing given to the "old citizens of Hancock county," in the matter of the "Mormon" troubles, and this affirmation of their "honor, integrity, and strict observance of the laws of their country," was also made in the face of the fact that without provocation, and without even pretended justification, the anti-"Mormons" among these "old citizens," commencing within three weeks and continuing up to within one week of the convening of that Carthage convention, pounced upon the "Mormon" settlements in the south part of Hancock county, set fire to Buel's flouring mill and carding machine; and then commenced to burn the houses of the people, their stacks of hay and grain together with their stables and everything that the incendiary could destroy, continuing the work until about one hundred and twenty-five houses were thus

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wanted at Carthage for the protection of the country. We lost no time in starting; but when we arrived at Carthage we could hear no more concerning this story." (Ford's Message to the Legislature, 1845). The governor also gives other instances of misrepresentations.

destroyed.[19] In this diabolical work helpless women and children, as well as the men, were rendered homeless at the beginning of winter; and turned out upon the open prairie without food or shelter—and for what?

Even Messrs. Hardin, and Douglas *et al,* in their address to the "anti-Mormon citizens of Hancock county," as we have seen, denounced this house burning as "an act criminal in itself, and disgraceful to its perpetrators," and had led many persons to believe that if the "Mormons" were as bad as they were represented, "they were no worse than those who burned their houses." Yet this Carthage convention could vouch for "the honor, integrity, and strict observance of the laws of their country, of the old citizens of Hancock county!"

If all the "old citizens of Hancock county" were not directly guilty of these crimes, and all did not approve of what was done, none of them had the virtue to stand up in vindication of the law, and the honor of their state.

In the body of the Carthage resolutions it was declared that it was too late to settle the difficulties in Hancock county upon any other basis than that of the removal of the "Mormons" from the state; that the convention would seek to prevent any thing that might operate against the removal of the "Mormons," but they would expect equal good faith on their part in the matter of moving; if the "Mormons" did not comply with *"their own proposition, the consequences must abide with themselves;"* that the convention would recommend to the people it represented "immediately to adopt a military organization to act in relation to Hancock county affairs, as future exigencies may require;" a subsequent reso-

19. This is the number as usually stated, Gregg says: "For a week the burning continued until the whole of Morley-Town was in ashes, with many other residences in the Bear Creek region and that of Green Plains. In all it is stated that as many as 100 or 125 houses were burned and their occupants driven off." (*History of Hancock County,* p. 340). Ford puts the number at 175, "houses and hovels" that were burnt, "the inmates having to flee for their lives" (*History of Illinois,* p. 407). "Hovels,"—hence of little value. "As much as to say," remarks Dr. Conyers, commenting on a similar statement—"they were poor people, therefore of little consequence. But which was truly the greater shame!" (*History of the Hancock County Mob,* p. 77).

lution, the 8th, appointed a committee to report on an efficient plan for organizing volunteer companies in compliance with the resolutions of the convention;[20] that as an indispensable condition to the pacification of the county the "old citizens"—[this had reference to those recently engaged in house-burning]—"be permitted to return to their homes unmolested by the present sheriff [Backenstos] and the Mormons for anything alleged against them; and that any 'attempt to arrest or prosecute such citizens for pretended offenses,' will, inevitably, lead to the renewal of the late disorders;" that as the "Mormons" are under control of a few leaders, "and beyond the reach of law," the whole body should be held responsible for all lawless acts against persons or property of "our citizens;" that the convention "utterly repudiates the impudent assertion" that the "Mormons" are "persecuted for righteousness sake"—"do not believe them to be a persecuted people"—whatever grievances they suffered were the necessary consequences "of their illegal, wicked and dishonest acts;"[21] that the convention recommend the stationing of a small military force in Hancock county until spring to prevent depredations on private property and preserve the peace; "that the Hon. N. H. Purple, judge of this judicial circuit be requested not to hold a court in Hancock county this fall;" as such court could not be holden without produc-

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20. Here might be asked the same questions that were propounded to the "Quincy Meeting" by Dr. Conyers when that meeting adopted a similar resolution: "An army to be raised! And by whose orders—by what law—and for what purpose? We answer without orders, without law, and to drive free citizens, men, women, and children, from their homes and their country, as the sequel will clearly show." (*History of the Hancock County Mob*, p. 14).

21. The resolution embodying this statement received special sanction of Mr. Gregg (who was in attendance at the convention) both in his *Prophet of Palmyra* (pp. 337-8), and also in his *History of Hancock County*, where he says that this particular resolution "is as much as the most ardent anti-Mormon could ask (Sic!), and should forever shut the mouths of those Mormon apologists, who have regarded them as a persecuted people, only needing to be let alone." Of course! for have not their persecutors told them they were not persecuted? Considered from such premises there never has been such a thing in this world as persecution. No one has ever yet admitted he persecuted anybody. Every persecution named in history has either been denied or justified by the persecutors, and hence not persecution.

ing collision between the "Mormons" and anti-"Mormons" and renewing excitement and disturbances.[22]

The remaining resolutions related to providing for the publication of the convention's proceedings, and for "an extensive military organization" throughout the nine counties represented.

It will be observed from the whole proceedings of this Carthage convention that those recently guilty of mob violence, house-burning and otherwise destroying and confiscating the property of the saints,[23] were to be protected from prosecution before the courts; and those who might have the temerity to prosecute them and vindicate the law, were threatened with a renewal of that same lawless violence from which they had already suffered so much.

Governor Ford seems to have acted upon the suggestions of the Carthage convention. The pledges given by the church leaders to the Quincy committee, and renewed to the governor's committee, Messrs. Hardin, Douglas *et al*, to leave the state in the ensuing spring, was apparently deemed sufficient to pacify the county, and the troops which General Hardin brought with him, numbering four hundred, were withdrawn, except one hundred, principally from Adams county, which were left under command of Major Warren, to keep the peace and maintain order. According to Governor Ford, Warren's policy was not satisfactory to either side to

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22. On this action Dr. Conyers comments as follows: "Instead of appealing to the legal tribunals of the country, and lending their influence to aid the court in enforcing the law against all offenders whomsoever, here are learned members of the bar preparing resolutions, calling upon judicial court to step aside, and give full sway to the lawless, to be adopted by acclamation by hundreds of men, many of whom were just out of a mob of house-burners, the smoke of which had not yet passed out of view" (*Hancock County Mob*, p. 22). These same incendiaries demanding, it might be added, through one of the resolutions passed by the convention (No. 4), "as an indispensable condition to the pacification of the county that the old citizens of the county be permitted to return to their homes, unmolested by the present sheriff, and the Mormons, for anything alleged against them;" and this under the threat of "renewal of the late disorders"—mob-violence and house-burning!

23. The fact of the destruction of other property than the burning of houses being involved in assaults upon the saints in Hancock county is proven from the Proclamation of Sheriff Backenstos, No. v. See *Note* 6 in preceding chapter.

the controversy. Warren "was ready to enforce arrests of criminals for new offenses on either side," says Ford, "and this pleased neither the "Mormons" nor the anti-"Mormons." Civil war was on the point of breaking out more than a dozen times during the winter. Both parties complained of Major Warren."[24]

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24. *History of Illinois,* Ford, pp. 411-412.

CHAPTER LXIX

The Church Authorities Planning the Western Movement

IT HAD for some time been evident to the leading church authorities that it would be impossible for the saints to remain in Nauvoo or in any part of Illinois. As early as August 28th, 1845, at a council meeting of the twelve in the temple, it was voted that an expedition be sent to California in the ensuing spring. A little later, *viz*, September 9th, at the council meeting of the twelve in the temple a resolution was adopted providing for the selection of fifteen hundred men to go to "Great Salt Lake Valley," to find a location for the saints. A committee was also appointed to gather information with reference to emigration. The twelve themselves while in seclusion in the temple on account of the activities of their enemies gave attention to the reading of books published on the subject of explorations of the west, and routes of travel therein, as witness the following *Journal* entries:

"*Thursday, Aug. 28th, 1845.* In council with the twelve, wherein we made arrangements, and voted for an expedition of a number of persons to go to California in the ensuing spring. After which we had our quorum meeting."[1]

"*Tuesday, Sept. 9th, 1845.* * * * 2 p. m. General council meeting *Resolved* that a company of 1500 men be selected to go to Great Salt Lake Valley, and that a committee of five be appointed to gather information relative to emigration and report same to the council. * * *

Saturday, Dec. 20th, 1845. * * * I dictated the arrangements for the day (i. e. in the Nauvoo temple). Afterwards with a few of the twelve and others, heard F. D. Richards read *Fremont's Journal* giving an account of his travels to California."

"*Sunday, Dec. 27th, 1845.* * * * After prayers (in the temple) a general conversation ensued, in which the twelve and bishop [Whitney], J. M. Grant and several others took part. The visit of the marshal [U. S.] and the emigration to California were the prominent

1. *Journal of John Taylor*, above date of entry.

topics. Elder Parley P. Pratt read from Hasting's account of California."[2]

Appeal of the Saints to the Governors of Respective States

As early as March a document had been drafted by John Taylor, making an appeal to the governors of all the states of the American Union, excepting Missouri and Illinois, for protection, counsel, and asylum for the Church of the Latter-day Saints in this its hour of trial. After briefly reciting the injustice inflicted upon the church community in the states of Missouri and Illinois, the martyrdoms and the loss of property inflicted upon them, and their present helpless condition in consequence of the repeal of the charter of their chief city and the secret combinations forming against them for their destruction,[3] the petition proceeded as follows:—

"With these facts before you, Sir, will you write to us without delay, as a father and friend, and advise us what to do? We are, many of us, citizens of your state, and all members of the same great confederacy. Our fathers, nay, some of us, have fought and bled for our country and we love her Constitution dearly.

In the name of Israel's God, and by the virtue of multiplied ties of country and kindred, we ask your friendly interposition in our favor. Will it be too much to ask you to convene a special session of your state legislature, and furnish us an asylum where we can enjoy our rights of conscience and religion unmolested? Or will you in a special message to that body when convened, recommend a remonstrance against such unhallowed acts of oppression and expatriation, as this people have continued to receive from the states of Missouri and Illinois? Or will you favor us by your personal influence, and by your official rank?

Or will you express your views concerning what is called the *Great Western Measure*, of colonizing the Latter-day Saints in Oregon, the Northwestern Territory, or some location, remote from the states, where the hand of oppression shall not crush every noble principle, and extinguish every patriotic feeling?

And now, Honored Sir, having reached out our imploring hands

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2. For above three entries see *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, on respective dates.

3. On this head the document said: "To crown the climax of these bloody deeds, the state has repealed all those chartered rights by which we might have defended ourselves against oppressors. If we defend ourselves hereafter against violence, whether it comes under the shadow of the law or otherwise—for we have reason to expect it both ways—we shall then be charged with treason, and suffer the penalty; and if we continue passive and non-resistant, we must certainly expect to perish, for our enemies have sworn it."

with deep solemnity, we would importune with you as a father, a friend, a patriot, and a statesman; by the Constitution of American liberty—by the blood of our fathers, who have fought for the independence of this Republic; by the blood of the martyrs which has been shed in our midst; by the wailings of the widows and orphans; by our murdered fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children; by the dread of immediate destruction, from secret combinations now forming for our overthrow, and by every endearing tie that binds men to men, and renders life bearable, and that, too, for aught we know, for the last time, that you will lend your immediate aid to quell the violence of mobocracy and exert your influence to establish us as a people in our civil and religious rights, where we now are, or in some part of the United States, or at some place remote therefrom, where we may colonize in peace and safety as soon as circumstances will permit.

We sincerely hope that your future prompt measures towards us will be dictated by the best feelings that dwell in the bosom of humanity; and the blessings of a grateful people, and of many ready to perish, shall come upon you.

We are sir,

With great respect, your obd't serv'ts,

[Signed] "Brigham Young,
Willard Richards,
John Taylor,
George Miller,
W. W. Phelps,
Orson Spencer,
L. R. Foster, Committee.

In behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, at Nauvoo, Illinois."

A postscript discloses the wretched conditions obtaining at Nauvoo in respect of the mail service, so far as the community of the Latter-day Saints of that city was concerned, and renders their appeal all the more pathetic:—

"P. S. As many of our communications postmarked at Nauvoo have failed of their destination, and the mails around us have been intercepted by our enemies, we shall send this to some distant office by the hand of a special messenger."

An Appeal to the Executive of the United States

The document as prepared for the governors of the respective states appears in the *Journal of John Taylor* for 1845,[4] with the following introductory remark: "Engaged

4. *Journal of John Taylor*, pp. 46-50.

in writing a document to the governors of the different states. The following is a copy." Then follows the document. The document is dated "March, 1845," slightly modified in order to meet national conditions in its requests, it was addressed to President James K. Polk, asking him if he would not "convene a special session of congress and furnish us an asylum where we can enjoy our rights of conscience and religion unmolested," said the petition. "Or will you, in a special message to that body, when convened, recommend a remonstrance against such unhallowed acts of oppression and expatriation as this people have continued to receive from the states of Missouri and Illinois:" The personnel of the committee signing this appeal to the president was slightly different from the one sent to the governors, being as follows:

Brigham Young,	Orson Pratt,
Willard Richards,	W. W. Phelps,
Orson Spencer,	A. W. Babbitt,

J. M. Bernhisel

The document sent to the president bears date of April 24th, 1845, and will be found *in extenso* in Tullidge's *History of Brigham Young.*[5]

Nothing came of these petitions. Neither President Polk or any of the governors took notice of it, excepting Thomas S. Drew, governor of the state of Arkansas, who wrote a very polite and thoughtful answer to the committee, showing how helpless the governor of Arkansas was to interfere with the internal affairs of another state, "where its operations do not distract or in any way affect the good order of the citizens of the state of Arkansas;" and wisely suggesting the removal of the saints to the west and waiting upon and trusting to time for a vindication of themselves and their system—where, if they were wrong, their wrongs would be abated with many degrees of allowance, and if right, migration will afford

5. *History of Brigham Young, or Utah and Her Founders,* Tullidge, 1877, pp. 129-133; and in Whitney's *History of Utah,* vol. i, pp. 241-2.

opportunity to make it manifest in due season to the whole civilized world. The document is somewhat unique, and being the only answer made to this appeal of the church of the Latter-day Saints to the governors of the states of the Union, it is worthy of a place in these pages *in extenso*.[6]

Governor Thomas S. Drew's Letter to President Young and Council

"Executive Office, Little Rock, Ark.
May 27th, 1845.

Hon. Brigham Young, Pres. of the Com. of Twelve of Christ's Church of Latter-day Saints, at Nauvoo, Ill:

Sir: Your letter of the 1st inst., has been received and claims my earnest attention. I must acknowledge my inability to serve your people by calling an extra session of the general assembly of this state for the object contemplated; and although I do not know that prejudice against your tenets in Arkansas would weigh aught against the action of that body, in refusing to furnish within our borders an asylum from the oppression of which you sorely complain; yet I am sure the representatives of the people would long hesitate to extend to any class of citizens exclusive privileges, however innocent their motives, aims, objects or actions might appear, when the prospects of collision from causes of which in your case I know nothing, appear so evident from the two very recent manifestations presented in the states of Missouri and Illinois. I have no doubt Illinois, prompted by the kindest of sympathies for your people in the late struggle and overthrow they encountered in Missouri, extended a liberal helping hand but to repent her supposed folly. Could Arkansas, after witnessing the same scene reenacted in Illinois, calculate on anything short of a like catastrophe?

I am not sufficiently informed of the course taken against you by the authorities of the state of Illinois in the difficulties detailed in your communication, to justify a recommendation from me to the legislature to remonstrate against the acts of Illinois—the detailed statement of facts afforded me by your communication being of *ex parte* character. But were I regularly informed of all the facts from both parties, and felt able to form a correct opinion as to the justice of the course pursued by the state of Illinois, yet I am of opinion that this state would not have, nor would I have, as its chief executive officer, the right to interfere in the least with the internal concerns or police of the state of Illinois, or of any other neighboring state, where its operations do not distract or in any way affect the good order of the citizens of the state of Arkansas. There are instances, but they are rare, where the interposition of one state to arrest the progress of violence in another would be at all admissible: such, for instance, as where the public authorities of

6. The original letter is on file at the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

the state affected are palpably incompetent to quell an insurrection within her limits and the violence is likely to extend its ravages and bad influence to such neighboring state; or where a proper call has been made for succor.

Nor can I afford to exercise my official rank as chief executive of this state, in behalf of a faction in a neighboring state: and I humbly conceive that my personal influence would add nothing to your cause unless it should prove to be a just one, in which event public opinion will afford you support of a character more lasting in the eye of an enlightened public, than wiser and greater men than your humble servant, than official rank, or force backed by power. It is true that while prejudice may have the ascendency over the minds of the neighboring community, your people may be exposed more or less to loss of life, and destruction of property: I therefore heartily agree with you in the proposed plan of emigration to the Oregon territory—or to California—the north of Texas or to Nebraska; thereby placing your community beyond the reach of contention until, at least, you shall have had time and opportunity to test the practicability of your system, and to develop its contemplated superior advantages in ameliorating the condition of the human race, and adding to the blessings of civil and religious liberty. That such a community constituted as yours with the mass of prejudice which surrounds and obstructs its progress at this time, can not prosper in that or any of the neighboring states, appears very evident from the signal failures upon two occasions under auspices at least as favorable as you could reasonably expect from any of the states.

My personal sympathies are strong for the oppressed, though my official station can know nothing but what is sanctioned by the strictest justice, and that circumscribed to the limited jurisdiction of my own state: and while I deplore, as a man and a philanthropist, your distressed situation, I would refer you to the emphatic and patriarchal proposition of Abraham to Lot: and whilst I allude to the eloquent paraphrase of one of Virginia's most gifted sons wherein he circumscribed the bounds of our domain within to the great valley of the Mississippi, I would only add that the way is now open to the Pacific without let or hindrance. Should the Latter-day Saints migrate to Oregon they will carry with them the good will of philanthropists and the blessings of every friend of humanity. If they are wrong, their wrongs will be abated with many degrees of allowance, and if right migration will afford an opportunity to make it manifest in due season to the whole civilized world.

With my hearty desires for your peace and prosperity,
I subscribe myself respectfully yours,
[Signed] "Thos. S. Drew."

It must be remembered that during these days, *viz*, in the summer and fall of 1845, and up to the time of the departure of the saints from the city, Nauvoo was without

municipal government, her charters having been repealed by the legislature; and anarchy existed in the county, and, for the saints in the surrounding counties also; for there was no protection of life or property where they were concerned. Under these circumstances it is small wonder if irregularities existed in Nauvoo. Desperate and lawless men, not of the Latter-day Saint faith, flocked to the city as to a rendezvous, because it had been falsely heralded abroad as the gathering place of thieves, counterfeiters and murderers; and it was all too easy to charge their crimes to the saints and have them generally regarded as instances of "Mormon lawlessness."

The Whistling and Whittling Brigade

It was in the midst of these conditions, and as some slight means of protection and defense that the somewhat famous "whistling and whittling brigade" of Nauvoo was formed. These consisted of troops of boys armed with strong jack-knives or bowie knives and sticks; and who, when a suspected or undesirable stranger was found upon the streets of the city, would gather round him and whistle and whittle vigorously, following him wherever he went. They spoke no word, they answered no questions, they just "whistled and whittled," but constantly gathered closer round the stranger. They were too small individually for him to strike, but too many for him to fight; and finally exasperated and yet helpless the victim would leave Nauvoo. Thus many thieves and otherwise undesirable characters who, under one pretext or another, came to prey upon the city's misfortunes were gotten rid of without any real violence.[7]

It was from the midst of such conditions also, that is in the absence of a city government, the general reign of

7. Linn charges that this manner of getting rid of "undesirables" was employed against those who came to inquire for stolen goods (*Story of the Mormons*, p. 261). There is no evidence that the action was particularly directed to such persons, certainly none that it was confined to such cases. The fact was that the city was helpless in the presence of such evils as were being forced upon it, and the "whistling and whittling brigade" was a device for protection against such persons as a police force, under normal conditions, would have controlled.

anarchy that prevailed in Hancock county, and the almost certainty of death in the event of surrendering themselves to officers of the law, who had become but the agents of mobs, that some of the leading brethren at Nauvoo—notably President Brigham Young[8] and Elder John Taylor[9]—declared their determination not to submit to arrest, under illegal processes, only to be dragged into the midst of their enemies to be murdered as were Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

Major Warren *vs.* John Taylor

It was at this juncture that Major Warren who had been charged by Governor Ford to supervise, in a military way, the affairs of Hancock county and keep the peace, appeared in Nauvoo, to inquire into this alleged determination to "resist the law." Major Warren upbraided the two brethren, President Young and John Taylor for their declared intention of "resistance to law." Whereupon Elder Taylor made the following reply:

"Major Warren, I stand before you as a man who has received deep injury from the citizens of this state, and consequently have some feelings. You talk, sir, about 'the majesty of law, and maintaining the law:' why, sir, the law to us is a mere farce. For years past the law has been made use of only as an engine of oppression. We have received no protection from it. I have suffered under its cruel influence. You talk about your troops being efficient, supporting law and preserving peace. This tale may do to tell some, but it fails to charm us. * * * You talk about the majesty of the law! what has become of those murderers [i. e. of Joseph and Hyrum Smith]? Have they been hung or shot, or in any way punished? No, sir, you know they have not. With their hands yet reeking in blood, having become hardened in their deeds of infamy, knowing that they will not be punished, they are now applying the torch to the houses of those they have so deeply injured? What has been done to them under your administration? Have they been brought to justice, have they been punished for their infamous proceedings? No, sir, not one of them. They are still burning houses under your supervision; and you have either been unwilling

8. *Journal of Discourses*, vol. v, p. 78; also vol. ii, p. 317; also *Historical Record*, Jenson, p. 10.

9. *Taylor's Journal, Ms.*, entry under April 13th, 1845. These declarations led Major Warren in the winter of 1846 to interview the brethren and upbraid them for what he called their "resistance to law."

JOHN TAYLOR

or unable to stop them. Houses have been burned since your arrival here, men have been kidnapped, cattle stolen, our brethren abused and robbed when going after their corn. Are we to stand still and let marauders and house-burners come into our city under the real or assumed name of 'governor's troops,' and yet offer no resistance to their nefarious deeds? Are we to be held still by you, while they thrust the hot iron into us? I tell you plainly, for one, *I will not do it*. I speak now on my own responsibility, and I tell you, sir, I will not stand it, I care nothing for your decrees, your martial law or any other law, I mean to protect myself; and if my brethren are to be insulted and abused in going after their own corn, and pursuing their lawful business—if nobody else will go to protect them I will. They shall not be abused under pretext of law or anything else; and there is not a patriot in the world but what would bear me out in it."

Major Warren saw the storm rising and sought at several points to check Elder Taylor's remarks, but to no purpose, for he continued:

"Where is the spirit of '76? Where is the fire that burned in the bosoms of those who fought and bled for liberty? Is there no one who will stand up in defense of the oppressed? If a man had the least spark of humanity burning in his bosom—if he were not hardened and desperate, he would be ashamed to oppress a people already goaded by a yoke too intolerable to be borne, and that, too, in a boasted land of liberty. Talk about law? Sir, I stand before you as a victim of law. I feel warm on this subject—who would not? I have seen my best friends shot down while under legal protection. What is our governor? These scenes have been enacted under his supervision. What are our generals and judges? They have aided in these matters. * * * What are all these legal men but a pack of scoundrels? And you will talk to us of law and order, and threaten us with punishment for disobeying your commands and protecting our rights! What are we? Are we beasts? I tell you for one, sir, I shall protect myself, law or no law, judge or no judge, governor or no governor. I will not stand such infernal rascality, and if I have to fight it out, I will sell my life as dearly as I can."

A few days after this, Major Warren again rode into Nauvoo with his troops. It was reported that he had writs for the twelve, but he sent word that he wanted an interview with them and pledged his word that no writs should be served. In the interview which followed he read a letter from Mr. Brayman, attorney general *pro tem* of the state, asking if the statement made by Mr. Young and Mr. Taylor to the

effect that they would not be subject to any law and would resist all civil process, was to be looked upon as sincere.

They denied having made such statement. What they complained of was mal-administration and illegal prosecution. They had always been subject to law. They had always sustained it and still felt disposed to do so. "But I wish to make a few remarks concerning my own individual feelings," said Elder Taylor:

> "I have endured as much as I feel willing to endure under this government. I feel myself oppressed and wronged. I have never violated any law in the United States, and to be vexed and annoyed continually with vexatious law suits and illegal prosecutions, I do not feel disposed tamely to submit to. If it is not enough for me to be deprived of my rights and my liberty; if it is not enough for me to sacrifice my property and to become an exile; if I can not have the short space of six months to dispose of my effects and to leave the state—if the governor will only tell me, I will leave now; but I cannot and will not endure a continuation of these wrongs. I do not mean to be taken by any unjust requisition and thrust into prison; if I am, I must go there dead; for they shall not take me there alive. I have no personal feelings against you, Major Warren, but I will not put up with these accumulated wrongs."

The *Warsaw Signal* in speaking of this affair said that the troops had writs to serve on the twelve, and although Major Warren had pledged his honor to the twelve that no writs should be served, yet he was under promise to assist those holding them the day following; but after hearing the remarks of Elder Taylor fear seemed to have seized upon them and they were afraid to make any attempt at serving them. Judge Purple also advised them not to serve the writs as he had no doubt there would be blood shed. Warren accordingly left with his troops.[10]

Also in connection with all these matters, it must be remembered that it was part of the understanding in connection with the promise of the church leaders to leave Nauvoo in the spring that all hostilities, and vexatious law suits

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10. *Life of John Taylor*, ch. xviii. The original of this speech is on loose leaves of *Taylor's Journal* for 1846, which is in the possession of the writer who is the Biographer of the late President John Taylor.

should cease, and to this end the Carthage convention had suggested the suspension of the courts in Hancock county in order to lessen the likelihood of collision between the saints and their enemies, and also in order that the church and its leaders might proceed freely with their preparations for the proposed great exodus in the spring.[11] Yet in addition to the general record of repeated annoyances on the part of the mob towards the church leaders, and this interference on the part of Major Warren and his *posse,* an editorial in the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* under the title "Treachery," could say in truth:

> "*Treachery!*—The most solemn assurance made in the agreement for the Latter-day Saints to leave the United States next spring, was that all hostilities, vexatious law suits should cease; but it is reported, right in the face and eyes of the committees and conventions, that the mob had made complaints and got out writs in Iowa against the twelve in order to demand them of Governor Ford under martial law. If there is anything like stopping the effusion of blood, or any honor in that move, we have forgotten the meaning of confidence. We never have resisted law nor do we mean to, but we leave the world to judge what faith is to be placed in mob promises; or what confidence may be put in committee or convention pledges!"[12]

Thus while great efforts were being put forth by the people who were about to sacrifice the farms, gardens and homes they had redeemed from a wilderness, and in every way were trying to fulfill their agreement with the mob, the conditions of removal were constantly violated by the mob party of the old settlers, and threats even made of following the church leaders into Iowa to effect their arrest and that by the use of United States troops, in that territory.[13]

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11. See closing paragraphs of Brigham Young's answer to Quincy Committee, also made part of answer to Messrs. Hardin, Douglas, *et al, ante,* this chapter; also *Carthage Convention Resolutions,* No. 4.

12. *Nauvoo Neighbor,* Oct. 29, 1845. Following the paragraph in the text is this notice, *and it deals with events occurring after the "Mormon" agreement to leave in the spring, and after the preservation of peace had been committed to Major Warren and his troops:*—"We understand some eight or ten buildings have been burned by the mob, in the south part of the county, but Major Warren said he would probably be there in a few days, with the governor's troops!"

13. Governor Ford makes reference to this threatened arrest of the twelve by military authority. (Ford's *History of Illinois,* p. 413).

The Threat of Using the Federal Authority Against the Saints

This threat of the use of federal authority to affect the arrest of the church authorities, relative to alleged counterfeiting of United States money, and even to prevent the migration of the saints to the west, was wickedly put forth and fostered by Governor Ford (really to play upon the fears of the church and hasten its departure from Illinois) and quite widely discussed in the press of both state and nation.

Relative to the charge of counterfeiting and the threatened arrests of the twelve therefor, Governor Ford said:

"Indictments had been found against nine of them in the circuit court of the United States for the district of Illinois, at its December term, 1845, for counterfeiting the current coin of the United States. The United States marshal had applied to me for a militia force to arrest them; but in pursuance of the amnesty agreed on for old offenses, believing that the arrest of the accused would prevent the removal of the Mormons, and that if arrested there was not the least chance that any of them would ever be convicted, I declined the application unless regularly called upon by the president of the United States according to law. It was generally agreed that it would be impolitic to arrest the leaders and thus put an end to the preparations for removal when it was notorious that none of them would be convicted; for they always commanded evidence and witnesses enough to make a conviction impossible.[14] But with a view to hasten their removal *they were made to believe that the president would order the regular army to Nauvoo as soon as the navigation opened in the spring.* This had its intended effect; the twelve, with about two thousand of their followers, immediately crossed the Mississippi before the breaking of the ice. But before this the deputy marshal had sought to arrest the accused without success."

There is not the slightest evidence in existence that "the twelve" were in any way connected with alleged counterfeiting operations at Nauvoo, it was clearly a "trumped up charge," so far as they were concerned. It appears that some counterfeiters had located at Nauvoo but were routed by the diligence of the church leaders against them and their illegal traffic. These were the parties who made the charges of counterfeiting against the brethren at Springfield.

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14. Governor Ford is utterly unwarranted in this assertion by any evidence that may be referred to in the history of the Latter-day Saints in Illinois.

"We venture to say that our brethren have made no counterfeit money," said the circular of the high council of Nauvoo. Then, referring to current rumors on that head, continued: "If any miller has received fifteen hundred dollars base coin in a week, from us [as was charged], let him testify. If any land agent of the general government has received 'wagon loads' of base coin from us in payment for lands, [as was also charged], let him tell it. Those witnesses against us have spun a long yarn; but if our brethren had never used an influence against them to break them up, and to cause them to leave our city, after having satisfied themselves that they were engaged in the very business of which they accuse us, their revenge might never have been roused to father upon us their own illegitimate and bogus productions."

In relation to other charges current against the saints at Nauvoo the high council circular continued:

"We have never tied a black strap around any person's neck, neither have we cut their bowels out, nor fed any to the 'cat-fish.' The systematic order of stealing of which these grave witnesses speak, must certainly be original with them. Such a plan could never originate with any person, except some one who wished to fan the flames of death and destruction around us. The very dregs of malice and revenge are mingled in the statements of those witnesses alluded to by the *Sangomon Journal*. We should think that every man of sense might see this. In fact many editors do see it, and they have our thanks for speaking of it."[15]

The passage from Ford's *History* discloses the fact, that by the subterfuge of making the twelve believe—if they did believe it—the United States army would be sent to Nauvoo in the spring to make arrests and to prevent the movement westward, Governor Ford himself was a party to those annoyances from which the saints suffered while making preparations for their exodus from the United States. The manner in which he sought to create this impression of likely interference by the United States, was by sending a letter to Sheriff Backenstos, generally regarded as a "Jack-Mormon," in which the governor cunningly set forth the probability of intervention by the federal government against the movement of the saints to the west. The letter follows:

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15. See circular of the high council in full, bearing date of 20th January, 1846, in *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, pp. 1096-7.

FORD'S LETTER

"Springfield, Dec. 29, 1845.

Dear Sir—In the matter of the late attempt to make arrests by the deputy marshal in Nauvoo, you will understand that that was entirely an affair of the United States Government, in which this state took no official part. A demand was made on me by the marshal for troops which was promptly refused. I am not yet advised that the troops under the command of Major Warren took any part. If they did they had no orders from me and I cannot think that they did take any part in assisting the deputy marshal for that would have been contrary to the settled and solemn understanding between Major Warren and myself. I had heard some rumor of the matter before I received your letter, from which I inferred that some of the men may have gone with the deputy marshal as a mere personal guard.

You know that the impression has become pretty general that no officer can go with safety unattended to Nauvoo to arrest any of their principal men. The idea is, that an officer thus exposed would be liable to be murdered. This may be all idle supposition, yet it is sufficient to account for the men going with the marshal without supposing that they went to assist him.

This indictment in the United States court against the leading Mormons puts a new face on the matter. It will bring them and the United States for the first time into collision. It is impossible for me to guess with any certainty, as to the course of Mr. Polk in the matter, but I would think it likely that he will order up a regiment or two of the regular army, and perhaps call on me for the militia, in which event I will be compelled to order them, as you know.

I hope that the administration will not act in the matter this winter. *If the Mormons remain in the state, a strong force will be ordered to Nauvoo by the secretary of war, to remain there until arrests can be made.* This you know is all guess work, as I have no such official relations with the government at Washington as would enable me to know it certainly. I also think that it is very likely that the government at Washington will interfere to prevent the Mormons from going west of the Rocky Mountains. Many intelligent persons sincerely believe that they will join the British if they go there, and be more trouble than ever, and I think that this consideration is likely to influence the government.

If it should be the case that the government will order and station a large force at Nauvoo—and they can keep their soldiers there with as little expense as anywhere else—and shall interfere to prevent their emigration, it will put the Mormon leaders who are indicted in a worse box than they have yet been.

They will have to separate from their people and become fugitives in the earth, or submit to a trial on their indictments. These are all mere speculations of mine, but it will be for you and them to calculate whether the results guessed at, are not probable.

I am most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Thomas Ford."

On this infamous communication, written with intent to deceive, and copied into his *Journal*, Brigham Young made the following comment:

> "Should Governor Ford's speculations and suppositions in relation to United States troops prove correct, and the government send a regular force to arrest us, we will run no risk of being murdered by them as our leaders have been; and as to fearing a trial before the courts it is all gammon; for our danger consists only in being held still by the authorities while mobs massacre us, as Governor Ford held Joseph and Hyrum Smith while they were butchered."[16]

Some of the great newspapers of the country discussed this subject of preventing the movement of the church to the west. Among these were both the *New York Sun* and the *Washington* (D. C.) *Union*.

Both James Arlington Bennett and William Smith, brother of the Prophet Joseph, had communications in the *New York Sun* about the intentions of the saints when once removed to the west. The former saying that there would be "a mighty gathering from all nations of the earth to the Mormon empire, now about to be established on the Pacific Ocean! *One thing you may rely on*—and that is, this people will never annex themselves to any government on earth; nor is it desirable they should, as they are determined to be governed by their own laws." Bennett stated that he had been strongly urged by the saints to go with them as a military leader, "but I am too old," he said, "to settle in the west." Wm. Smith, according to an editorial statement of the *Sun* is represented as saying that it was the design of the saints "to set up an independent government somewhere in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, or near California." That the plan had been maturing "for a long time;" "and that, in fact, with hate in their hearts, skilfully kept up by the Mormon leaders, whose pockets are to be enriched by their toil, the mass of the Mormons will be alike purged of American feeling, and shut out by a barrier of

16. *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for Sunday, 4th January, 1846, p. 6.

mountains and church restriction from any other than Mormon freedom. That the design of Brigham Young and the twelve is to build up a sacerdotal tyranny, the spirit of which will be more repugnant to the spread of republican principles than could possibly be the rule of Europe." These are William Smith's views, and it should be remembered he was now excommunicated from the church and bitterly hostile to the twelve and their administration.

To all this the *Washington Union* said editorially: "We entirely concur with the *Sun* in the belief that 'our government should look to this matter in season.' With angry and fanatical feelings such as the Mormons would carry with them, our own citizens would find them troublesome customers, let the tide of emigration be diverted to Oregon or to California. We understand that the number of Mormons is already estimated at 57,000."[17]

The Sacrifices of the Saints in Leaving Illinois

Notwithstanding all these vexatious circumstances, however, every exertion by the saints at Nauvoo to be ready for the great exodus in the spring, although it was evident that the movement would be at great sacrifice; and the people of Illinois did not hesitate to take advantage of the situation to secure much for little. Of these sacrifices even Governor Ford says:

"During the winter of 1845-6 the Mormons made the most prodigious preparations for removal. All the houses in Nauvoo, and even the temple, were converted into workshops;[18] and before spring, more than twelve thousand wagons were in readiness. The people from all parts of the country flocked to Nauvoo to purchase houses and farms, which were sold extremely low, lower than the prices at a sheriff's sale, for money, wagons, horses, oxen, cattle, and other articles of personal property, which might be needed by the Mormons in their exodus into the wilderness."[19]

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17. The quotations from the *Sun* and the *Union* will be found in the *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, pp. 1051-1052.

18. The governor is mistaken as to the temple being converted into a workshop. The workshops of the temple, however, were used in making preparations for the move West.

19. Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 412.

Of the sacrifice made by the Latter-day Saints at this time, H. H. Bancroft, in his *History of Utah,* writes:

"The arbitrary acts of the people of Illinois in forcing the departure of the saints lays them open to the grave charge among others of a desire to possess their property for less than its value. Houses and lots, farms and merchandise, could not be turned into money, or even into wagons and livestock, in a moment, except at a ruinous sacrifice. * * * It was not a noble sentiment which had actuated the people of Missouri; it was not a noble sentiment which now actuated the people of Illinois, thus to continue their persecutions during the preparations for departure, and drive a whole cityful from their homes out upon the bleak prairie in the dead of winter.

There was but little money in circulation throughout the west at that time. Over vast wild sections skins were the only currency, and at the settlements traffic for the most part assumed the form of barter or exchange of labor. It was, therefore, exceedingly difficult, as I have said, for the saints to get their property into portable form, even after selling their lands at half or quarter their value. The Gentiles, of course, could pay what they pleased, being the only buyers, and the saints being forced to sell. Moreover, there was more property thrown upon the market than could be taken at once, and the departure of so large and thrifty a portion of the population was of itself sufficient to depreciate property. The best they could do was to exchange their lands for wagons and horses and cattle, and this they did to as large extent as possible, scouring the country for a hundred miles around in search of livestock.

And now, putting upon their animals and vehicles such of their household effects as they could carry, in small detachments the migratory saints began to leave Nauvoo. Before them was the ice-bound river, and beyond that the wilderness."

In a footnote, Mr. Bancroft quotes from *Ms.* sources the following: "The Mormons went up and down with their furniture, etc., and traded for anything that could travel, such as an animal or a wagon. * * * Another company went out in May, but they did not sell their property, leaving it in the hands of trustees to sell."[20] "Their two story brick house, which they had occupied but three months, and which they had denied themselves in every way to build, Mrs Richards says was sold for 'two yoke of half-broken cattle and an old wagon'."[21]

20. Well's *Narrative, Ms.,* 37.
21. Richards' *Reminiscences, Ms.,* Bancroft's *Utah,* pp. 216-217.

Conference in the Nauvoo Temple—Items

Previous to their departure it was decided that a conference should be held in the temple and accordingly on the 6th of October, 1845, the conference was convened. Among other things done at this conference was the making of a covenant proposed by Brigham Young and unanimously carried—"That we take all the saints with us, to the extent of our ability, that is, our influence and property." After the motion was carried unanimously President Young remarked: "If you will be faithful to your covenant, I will now prophesy that the great God will shower down means upon this people to accomplish it to the very letter." Elder W. W. Phelps was appointed to make provision for the writing of books for the education of the youth in the new location. It was ordered by the conference that a perfect settlement with the trustees in trust of the church and with the temple committee be made, both as to tithing and temple offerings, that the saints might "not go away indebted to the Lord." It was also voted to discontinue the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* but continue the publication of the *Times and Seasons* up to the very time of the departure into the wilderness. This was carried out, the last issue of the *Times and Seasons* coming from the press under date of the 15th of February, 1846, and the next day the editor, Elder John Taylor, left the city to join his brethren of the twelve in Iowa.

"Mother Lucy Smith" at the Last Nauvoo Conference

One of the most pathetic incidents in the history of the Latter-day Saints occurred at this conference—the appearance of "Mother Lucy Smith," mother of the now martyred Prophet—upon the stand, and her address to the saints. The account of the incident is published in the minutes of the conference:

"She commenced by saying that she was truly glad that the Lord had let her see so large a congregation. * * * There were compara-

tively few in the assembly who were acquainted with her family. She was the mother of eleven children, seven of whom were boys [now all but one dead]. She raised them in the fear and love of God, and never was there a more obedient family. She warned parents that they were accountable for their children's conduct; advised them to give them books and work to keep them from idleness; warned all to be full of love; goodness and kindness; and never to do in secret, what they would not do in the presence of millions. She wished to know of the congregation whether they considered her a 'Mother in Israel'—(upon which President Brigham Young said: 'All who consider Mother Smith as a 'Mother in Israel,' signify it by saying yes'—one universal 'Yes' rang throughout the congregation). * * * Here in this city lay my dead, my husband and children; and if so be the rest of my children go with you, (and I would to God they may all go), they will not go without me; and if I go, I want my bones brought back in case I die away, and deposited with my husband and children. (Mother Smith said many more good things, but the rest being inaudible to the reporters, they are lost. Brigham Young explained to the congregation what 'Mother Smith' said, as follows: * * * 'Mother Smith proposes a thing which rejoices my heart; she will go with us. I can answer for the authorities of the church; we want her and her children to go with us; and I pledge myself in behalf of the authorities of the church that while we have anything they shall share with us. * * * And I pledge myself if Mother Smith goes with us and I outlive her, I will do my best to bring her bones back again, and deposit them with her children, and I want to know if this people are willing to enter into a covenant to do the same?' ") [unanimous vote in the affirmative].[22]

Outfit Necessary for a Family of Five

It will doubtless be of interest for the reader to know the "outfit" considered necessary to reasonably equip a family for the pioneer wilderness journey.

Bill of Particulars

For the emigrants leaving this government next spring.
Each family consisting of five persons, to be provided with—

1 good strong wagon well covered with a light box.
2 or 3 good yoke of oxen between the age of 4 and 10 years.
2 or more milch cows.
1 or more good beefs.
3 sheep if they can be obtained.
1000 lbs. of flour or other bread, or bread stuffs in good sacks.
1 good musket or rifle to each male over the age of twelve years.
1 lb. powder.
4 lbs. lead.
1 do. Tea.
5 do. coffee.
100 do. sugar.
1 do. cayenne pepper.
2 do. black do.

22. *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, Nov. 1st, 1845, pp. 1013-1014, also *Millennial Star*, vol. vii, p. 23.

½ lb. mustard.
10 do. rice for each family.
1 do. cinnamon.
½ do. cloves.
1 doz. nutmegs.
25 lbs. salt.
5 lbs. saleratus.
10 do. dried apples.
1 bush. of beans.
A few lbs. of dried beef or bacon.
5 lbs. dried peaches.
20 do. do. pumpkin.
25 do. seed grain.
1 gal. alcohol.
20 lbs. of soap each family.
4 or 5 fish hooks and lines.
15 lbs. iron and steel.
A few lbs. of wrought nails.
One or more sets of saw or grist mill irons to company of 100 families.
1 good seine and hook for each company.
2 sets of pulley blocks and ropes to each company for crossing rivers.
From 25 to 100 lbs. of farming and mechanical tools.
Cooking utensils to consist of bake kettle, frying pan, coffee pot, and tea kettle.
Tin cups, plates, knives, forks, spoons, and pans as few as will do.
A good tent and furniture to each 2 families.
Clothing and bedding to each family, not to exceed 500 pounds.
Ten extra teams for each company of 100 families.

N. B.—In adidtion to the above list, horse and mule teams can be used as well as oxen. Many items of comfort and convenience will suggest themselves to a wise and provident people, and can be laid in in season; but none should start without filling the original bill.[23]

First Departure from Nauvoo

Nauvoo presented a busy scene those days. Men were hurrying to and fro collecting wagons and putting them in repair; the roar of the smith's forge was well nigh perpetual, and even the stillness of the night was broken by the steady beating of the sledge and the ringing of anvils. Committees were seeking purchasers of real estate and converting both that and personal property into anything that would be of service to those just about to plunge into an unknown wilderness;[24] and purchasers were thronging Nauvoo, intermittently, to take advantage of those bargains in houses and lands which the necessities of the saints threw in their way; and which

23. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Oct. 29th, 1845.

24. In the *Times and Seasons* for 15th of November, 1845, p. 1031, it is reported that "at a meeting held in the 'Music Hall,' it was stated that 3,285 families were making ready with 1,508 wagons on hand, and 1,892 building."

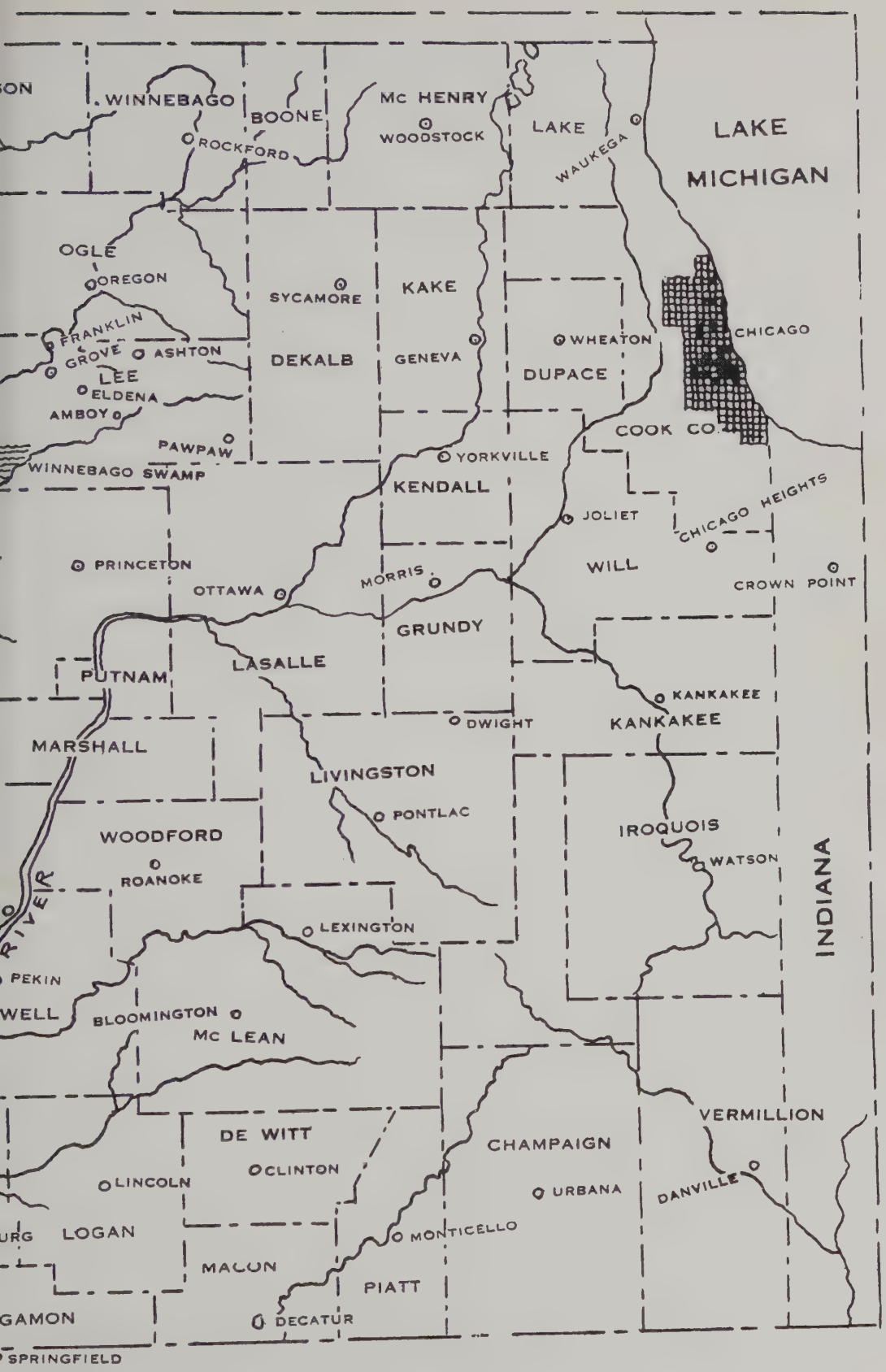
they could purchase "lower than the prices at a sheriff's sale."[25]

First and chiefly to give an earnest of the intentions of the saints to leave the state where they had suffered so much, and to thereby remove all occasion for the implacable wrath of their enemies, who were so impatient that they could not wait for spring to come for the sacrifice of their victims; and, secondly, no doubt, to prevent what they may have thought would be federal interference with their movement westward, the twelve and the high council, with about four hundred families, crossed the Mississippi on the ice on the 11th of February, 1846; and were soon lost to view in the wilderness of Iowa. Other companies continued to follow as fast as they could make ready, until by the latter part of April, the great body of the church had left Nauvoo; to them, since the martyrdom, the beloved "City of Joseph."

25. Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 412.

END VOLUME II

MAP OF ILLINOIS
GALENA
JO DAVIESS
MAQUOKETA
RIVER
WAPSIPICON
RIVER
CLINTON
FULTON
WHITESIDE
TIPTON
DAVENPORT
PORT BYRON
WEST LIBERTY
MUSCATINE
MISSISSIPPI
MOLINE
IOWA
IOWA RIVER
ROCK ISLAND
HENRY
WASHINGTON
CAMBRIDGE
ALEDO
MERCER
WOODHALL
KEITHSBURG
ALTONAD
SKUNK RIVER
FAIRFIELD
MT PLEASANT
WATAGA
UTAH
KNOX
DES MOINES RIVER
UAWKA
MONMOUTH
GALESBURG
BURLINGTON
GLADSTONE
WARREN
HENDERSON
ABINGTON
KEASOQUA
MEDINO
ROSEVILLE
FORT MADISON
DALLAS CITY
FARMINGTON
MONTROSE
LA HARPE
BLAKINSVILLE
PRAIRIE CITY
NAUVOO
LA CROSE
BUSHNELLO
MEMPHIS
MACOMB
Mc DONOUGH
FULTON
KAHOKA
RAMUS
KEOKUK
CARTHAGE
HAMILTON
FABIUS RIVER
WARSAW
HANCOCK CO.
INDUSTRY
VERMONT
TIOGGA
ASTORIA
EDINA
AUGUSTA
SCHUYLER
BUSVILLE
MONTLELLO
GOLDEN
CAMPPOINT
CAMPON
UASA
CLAYTON
ADAMS
MT STERLING
CASS
QUINCY
BROWN
FABIUS RIVER


WINNEBAGO
BOONE
ROCKFORD
Mc HENRY
WOODSTOCK
LAKE
WAUKEGA
LAKE MICHIGAN
OGLE
OREGON
SYCAMORE
KAKE
FRANKLIN GROVE
ASHTON
LEE
ELDENA
AMBOY
DEKALB
GENEVA
WHEATON
DUPACE
CHICAGO
COOK CO.
PAWPAW
WINNEBAGO SWAMP
YORKVILLE
KENDALL
JOLIET
CHICAGO HEIGHTS
PRINCETON
OTTAWA
MORRIS
WILL
CROWN POINT
GRUNDY
PUTNAM
LASALLE
KANKAKEE
DWIGHT
KANKAKEE
MARSHALL
LIVINGSTON
PONTIAC
IROQUOIS
WOODFORD
WATSON
ROANOKE
INDIANA
LEXINGTON
PEKIN
WELL
BLOOMINGTON
Mc LEAN
VERMILLION
DE WITT
CHAMPAIGN
CLINTON
LINCOLN
URBANA
DANVILLE
LOGAN
MONTICELLO
MACON
PIATT
GAMON
DECATUR
SPRINGFIELD

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